# INTERNATIONAL COMMUNAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

## The Communitarian Vision

## Proceedings of the Eighth International Communal Studies Conference.
## June 28-30, 2004

## The Amana Colonies, Iowa, USA

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## International Communal Studies Association
The International Communal Studies Association (ICSA) promotes the world-wide study of communal groups of all kinds, including communes, kibbutzim, religious groups, ecovillages, collective settlements, cohousing groups, housing co-operatives, etc. ICSA also promotes the exchange of information between communal scholars and community members. ICSA functions as a clearing house for research projects, encourages comparative studies, and maintains a list of communal organisations and individuals active in communal research. ICSA was founded in 1985 through collaboration between the Communal Studies Association, of USA, and the Kibbutz Studies Centres, of Israel. ICSA publishes a twice-yearly Bulletin, which is sent to all members. The ICSA web site is: www.ic.org/icsa/

ICSA has its headquarters at Yad Tabenkin Kibbutz Research Centre, Ramat Efal, 52960, Israel (e-mail: yadtabmaz@bezeqint.net). Individual membership is (US)$25 for one year, and (US)$45 for three years. The retiring Executive Director of ICSA is Professor Yaacov Oved, of Yad Tabenkin, Israel. The Board of Directors of ICSA is: Dr Gila Adar, Israel, Dr Deborah Altus, USA, Professor Pearl Bartelt, USA; Mr Albert Bates, USA; Professor Yuval Dror; Mr Sol Etzioni, Israel; Dr Peter Forster, The Netherlands; Dr Daniel Greenberg, USA; Professor Dennis Hardy, UK (President); Dr Baruch Kanari, Israel; Dr Bill Metcalf, Australia; Professor Tim Miller, USA (retiring President);

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We invite you to join ICSA, the International Communal Studies Association, and to take part in future activities, and to learn and contribute more to our understanding of the fascinating communal living groups around the globe.

Dr Bill Metcalf (past President)

# President's introduction

**Professor Tim Miller**
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Every three years scholars, communitarians and others interested in communal living gather for a conference sponsored by the International Communal Studies Association. In 2004 the ICSA held its eighth international conference in late June at the Amana Colonies, Iowa, USA. For three days we exchanged information and learned, in ways both formal and informal, about the philosophy and practice of community. For two days before the conference proper, about a third of the conferees took a tour to visit five present and historical communal sites: Maharishi Vedic City in Fairfield, Iowa; Nauvoo, Illinois; Bethel, Missouri; Sandhill Farm, Missouri; and Dancing Rabbit Ecovillage, Missouri.

We are now pleased to make many of the conference papers available to the wider public.

In 2001 the ICSA met at the ZEGG community in Germany, near Berlin. Soon afterwards planning began for the next conference, and Lanny Haldy generously volunteered the services of the Amana Heritage Society to oversee the 2004 gathering.

From its founding, the ICSA has been directed by Yaacov Oved, a professor emeritus at Tel Aviv University who is a longtime member of Kibbutz Palmachim, Israel. With this conference he has announced his intention to retire from his formal ICSA duties. He has earned a quiet retirement, certainly, but his leadership and many labors will be missed. We will continue without a formal executive director, but with Yaacov and his colleagues at Yad Tabenkin, the Research and Documentation Center of the United Kibbutz Movement near Tel Aviv, continuing to make sure that essential organization chores are performed.

Dennis Hardy has been elected president of the ICSA for the next three years, and will oversee the planning of the conference scheduled for 2007. We look forward to another fascinating examination of the diverse paths that comprise the world of organized cooperation today.

A three-year individual membership in the ICSA costs $45 (US). Memberships may be sent to ICSA, Yad Tabenkin, Ramat Efal, Israel 52960; email is *rsoboly-t@bezeqint.net*. The ICSA's website is at http://www.ic.org/icsa

Timothy Miller - Outgoing president of the ICSA

# A word from the Program Chair

The eighth International Communal Studies Association conference brought together scholars and students, communitarians and museum professionals from around the world. Over the course of three days, conference participants explored the meaning of the 'communitarian vision.' As the papers gathered here will indicate, topics of discussion ranged from the theory of intentional communities to the daily reality of living communally; the role of youth and of parents; the differing experiences of communities from Europe to Israel to Australia, and many other locales; to the troubling stress of challenge and change. It was this latter topic that set much of the tone of the conference as we could see first-hand the changes in the Amana colonies since forgoing communal living. And while we contemplated Amana's past, we also considered the future of the kibbutz and the many questions faced by kibbutz members at present.

Despite the numerous challenges discussed, a strong spirit of optimism pervaded the conference and the communitarian vision remains strong. You will see in this sampling of papers the passion and scholarship displayed at our gathering at the Amana Colonies. We hope you enjoy these selections. And please do join us at the next International Communal Studies Association conference as we continue to explore the past, the present, and the future of the communitarian vision.

Elizabeth A. De Wolfe
Program Chair
University of New England

# A word from the editor

The papers collected here were presented at the eighth conference of the International Communal Studies Association (ICSA) at Amana Colonies, Iowa, USA from the 28th to 30th June 2004. ICSA is an organization of scholars, community members and others with an interest in communities. The papers presented at the conference reflect this mix – they have a variety of styles and content, from academic articles to personal essays on community life. This is one of the strengths of ICSA.

The papers have been through a simple selection process: Those presenters who asked for their papers to be included here have been included, as long as they were on the theme of the conference. The content of papers represent the views of the authors themselves and not of ICSA, Amana Colonies, nor the conference sponsors.

The papers have also been through a simple editing process. Rather than impose an academic style on authors, the papers have been edited to use the same font and line spacing. Otherwise, the style used by the author has been retained, including the spelling conventions used in their country of origin.

The decision to produce an electronic book (eBook) of the proceedings was motivated by a desire to make them available to the widest possible audience at the lowest possible price. It is a format that worked well for the seventh conference proceedings. We welcome feedback on how this works for current readers.

Peter Forster

# Part 1 – Visions from the past

## 1.1 Kibbutz studies

# The realities of pioneering life as a fuel for fantasy: poetics in children's literature in the early kibbutz (1930-1950)

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Books for children are important cultural artifacts. They carry a load of social norms and ideals even if their authors claim no explicit didactic goals. The mere fact that an adult, having a completely developed cultural mindset, writes for children, is bound to deliver certain ideological values.

The books for children I will describe here were written 60 or even 70 years ago in another era, which I sometimes refer to as "The age of Innocence"; the wide blue skies of the Israeli summer, the scent of orange blossoms, and great expectations filling one's heart. As you can see, there is a nostalgic ring to my words.

Before developing my main claim I would like to state briefly my area of research, in order that things be put in a wider context. In the beginning of the 1990s I conducted a research on early kibbutz literature, written during the 1940s and 1950s by kibbutz members. My book on early kibbutz novels as ideological literature was published in 1995, under the name 'Underground Soul'. There I sought to look into the degrees of freedom in an ideologically-motivated society, during its formative stages. The question addressed in this book is whether it is at all possible for writers to maintain creative autonomy while operating within constraints, requiring them to pledge their talents first and foremost to expressing the norms of the collective of which they were a part.
In this current presentation I would like to focus on the early literature written for children on kibbutzim. Can we find a complete correlation between literature written for adults and that written for children regarding these characteristics? Does literature written for children reflect the same social norms and ideals found in texts written for adults?

Let me start, then, with a brief list of a few typical characteristics found in early kibbutz novels written for adults. The kibbutz ideology voiced in these texts was centered on three shared primary assumptions. The first was the merging of the new communal life and literature. Writers were perceived primarily as witness narrators, whose responsibility was to tell the tale of the 'kibbutz tribe'. This trend yielded document-like realistic plots pertaining to establishing new farming kibbutzim, settling the land, inhabiting the wilderness, and creating a new society. The second assumption was reconstructing the social rituals respected by the community. This resulted in detailed descriptions of working the soil and farming the land, descriptions of communal life, praising simplicity as an important value, etc. The last assumption was the image of the pioneer as a representative of both a communal and an individual entity. In sum, the new pioneering life in the land of Israel was to be the main fuel for literary imagination. Reality and

therefore realism, as a main genre, had priority over fiction. Everyday practices of the pioneers became charged with significance and were thus amplified beyond proportion. In this manner, each freshly-picked tomato and every newly-born calf assumed great 'historical' importance.

Let us now turn to a discussion on the first steps in books written specifically for children. In the early days of the kibbutz (1925 – 1930) a few rhymes or short stories for children were published at random in the daily or weekly inner magazines, which several kibbutzim issued for their members. These magazines were generally paper bulletins put-up on the notice board in the dining room. Later on, some pieces were published in a children magazine as an attachment to the labor party newspaper, 'Davar'. It was entitled "Davar for Children". In 1939, as two Kibbutzim publishing houses were established, (Hakibbutz Hamehuad and Sifriat Poalim), the means for producing books professionally was at last at hand. But the funds needed in order to produce books for children (fine paper, the use of colors, special formation, etc.) were not easily available. It took another 6 years until the first book written by a kibbutz author, was published. 'Come to Me Sweet Butterfly' by Fanya Bergstein, was issued in 1945 and immediately captured the attention of a wide audience, not only at the kibbutzim, but in Israel at large. Many of the first books for children that were published later on by the kibbutzim publishing houses were even then extremely popular in Israel and were issued in many consecutive editions. The Kibbutz movement saw itself at that time as 'avant-garde', not only in the social and economic sense, but also in the cultural arena, and many parents in Eretz Israel read kibbutz rhymes to their children even if they lived in the midst of a city such as Tel Aviv.

Let me now focus on two examples taken from two stages of the aforementioned process. First I will describe the story of one special book for children created jointly during the 1930's by members of one kibbutz for the children of their community. This is taken from my own kibbutz, Givat Brenner, which is celebrating its 76th anniversary this year. Next, I will discuss one of the first books for children produced by Hakibbutz Hamehuad publishing house: 'Let's Go to the Field' by Fanya Bergstein. Illustrations for this book were made by Michal Efrat, a member of Kibbutz Givat Haim Mehuad. These are paradigmatic examples as they contain some of the most important elements of kibbutz communal culture, and demonstrate the ability of the kibbutz of that time to influence Israeli society as a whole.

My quest starts with an intriguing entry I found in one of Givat Brenner's early bulletins, dated Sep-Oct 1930. Givat Brenner, my Kibbutz, was then two years old. The first two groups of pioneers who established the kibbutz came from Germany and Lithuania in 1928. The group came from a very rich cultural background, but was determined to leave old traditions behind. The new culture they were aiming to create existed at that particular moment only in their vision. Not many among them spoke Hebrew. They were very young, in their twenties; amongst them was only one family that came to the kibbutz with two young children. These facts are most pertinent if we want to understand the uniqueness, even boldness, of their cultural experiment. This very young community was seriously concerned, right from the start, with the cultural aspects of children's education in the new society, in the 'future culture'. The problems raised by the writer were very

practical:

> *We lack many important artifacts like, for instance, children's songs, children's tales and stories, everything that enriches a child's imagination; we use the Hebrew language in the most primitive way, and are not able to enrich stories and tales we tell our children* (Hazor, 1930, Givat Brenner's archives).

They were acutely aware of the fact that if nothing was prepared on time, namely even before the first child was born, everyone would naturally fall back on the bulk of rhymes and stories resonating in memories from their own childhood. What do you rhyme and sing to your child if not what you heard from your grandparents and your parents? So, will they tell their children the story of Snow White? The Brothers Grim stories? Or the horror tales of Max and Moritz?

The conclusions were very basic and extremely strict: kindergarten instructors must be selected carefully, first of all on the basis of their knowledge in Hebrew. Only people who speak the language properly can act as enculturating agents. Second, the kindergarten instructors should have the basic knowledge necessary to introduce the world of nature to the children, to explain everything that exists in their immediate surroundings: plants, trees, animals, the stars, the sun, biological and natural phenomena. Therefore 'bourgeois toys' like soldiers' games, fancy dolls, etc, should be strictly banned. Instead, children should be exposed to real experiences: they should have their small 'Garden of Eden', grow vegetables, plant trees, play mainly with natural substances like clay, from which they'll create figurines, animals, houses, garden beds, and the like. The article I am referring to didn't specify special characteristics or instructions concerning literature for children, but implications can be easily drawn.

**Wagon Carrying Hay**

The first book is a 'collective' production. It's a small booklet produced in Givat Brenner in 1937. The project started a few years earlier, in the early 1930s, as a family initiative: Arie Hazor, a local artist and educator, made it for his little son's, birthday. The first version was a coloring-book. Later on, Joseph Aechai, a teacher and occasional poet, added his rhymes. In 1937 they decided to create the book, 'Wagon Carrying Hay', for all the children of Givat Brenner. The book was produced using a very simple technique: the pictures were drawn in black and white, the rhymes were written by hand, printed by a duplicating machine and bound by hand. The children were supposed to join in and fill the empty spaces with color. Later, the kibbutz issued a photographic edition, based on the example that was preserved by the Hazor family. The coloring of this edition was done by the artist. The kibbutz issued this renewed edition for its 50th anniversary and distributed it once again to a new generation of kibbutz children. The book gradually reached, a professional quality of sorts.

You can learn a great deal from this small book about the norms and values that guided its production. The kindergarten yard in the 1930's was small and very poor; nevertheless, it seems as though the whole kibbutz was transformed into a big playground

for children: The ‘big house’ on the hill, the tents, the hen-roost, the cow shed, the green fields were theirs to tour and play. Children were invited to involve themselves with all details of kibbutz daily life. The texts and illustrations introduced them to local important figures, generally within the framework of their working-role on the kibbutz. Even the night-guard, who goes to sleep in the morning, when everybody else goes to work, is not absent from the scenery. The children are present in the scenes mainly as spectators of the great show, as it unfolds before their eyes on the “stage of history”: a kibbutz is born! The illustrations are in that case a sort of an earlier version of photography.

There is a distinct separation between work and fun: adults work while children have fun. The biggest fun, so it seems, was to ride the big wagon, loaded with green hay, going back and forth from the fields to the cow-shed. On top of the soft sweet-smelling pile you can see children, sitting very high, looking from above on the kibbutz ‘empire’. The text says: “That’s the wagon carrying hay; to the cow-shed, to the sheep-pen; who is higher, who is bigger? We are highest above all”. In other words: “We sit on top of the world!” These rhymes, as well as other texts in the book, are still repeated and known by heart by all generations of children for almost 70 years now.

*Figure 1: wagon carrying hay*

How do you trace ideological messages in literature for children? The translation into cultural values is based on the assumption that the various components in the text: the rhymes, the illustrations and design constitute a concrete incarnation of the abstract

values that they carry. Psychological research (Kritler & Kritler, 1980) shows that the translation of texts, colors and shapes into impressions, feelings, and abstract formations is both a natural, as well as an acquired, human practice. Ruth Gonen (2000) suggests that one may conclude the implied values from the visual and textual substance of a book for children using three main parameters. The actual story that the illustrations and texts recount, namely the theme of the book, its main figures, their clothes, their body language, their expressions and inter-relations comprise the first parameter. The second encompasses the world of cultural signs, the 'condensed signs', embedded in the book, such as a flag, religious objects, and even the use of certain colors. For instance, green or brown are the colors of earth and vegetation, used to symbolize closeness to nature. The figurative dimension comes next. This includes elements like layout, color, shape, size of the book, cover design, etc.

Using these guidelines it's easy to demonstrate that the authors of **Wagon Carrying Hay** intended to celebrate the simple work life of pioneers in Givat Brenner. According to the text the cycle of time is based on the natural rhythm of kibbutz life, one working-day from dawn to dusk. The scenes are all placed in open nature. Only the kitchen scene is located indoors. The human scenery is generally collective. The illustrations describe children generally in small groups. There are only two illustrations of an individual child throughout the entire book. The drawings of children and adults are almost schematic. They wear typical kibbutz clothes, 'working clothes', typical Israeli hats, etc. There are no family scenes. In a book for very young children it would be quite natural to have a mother or father figure placed in the texts, or at least in the illustrations. This absence is significant. I find the fact especially disturbing in the last scene. The last page describes a young child going to bed (this represents, of course, the period of collective dorms). The child's bed is floating under the open sky, embraced by nature itself, by the moon and the stars. Nevertheless, the child is alone. Only a dog is placed on the night scene - to keep the boy company and guard him from evil forces.

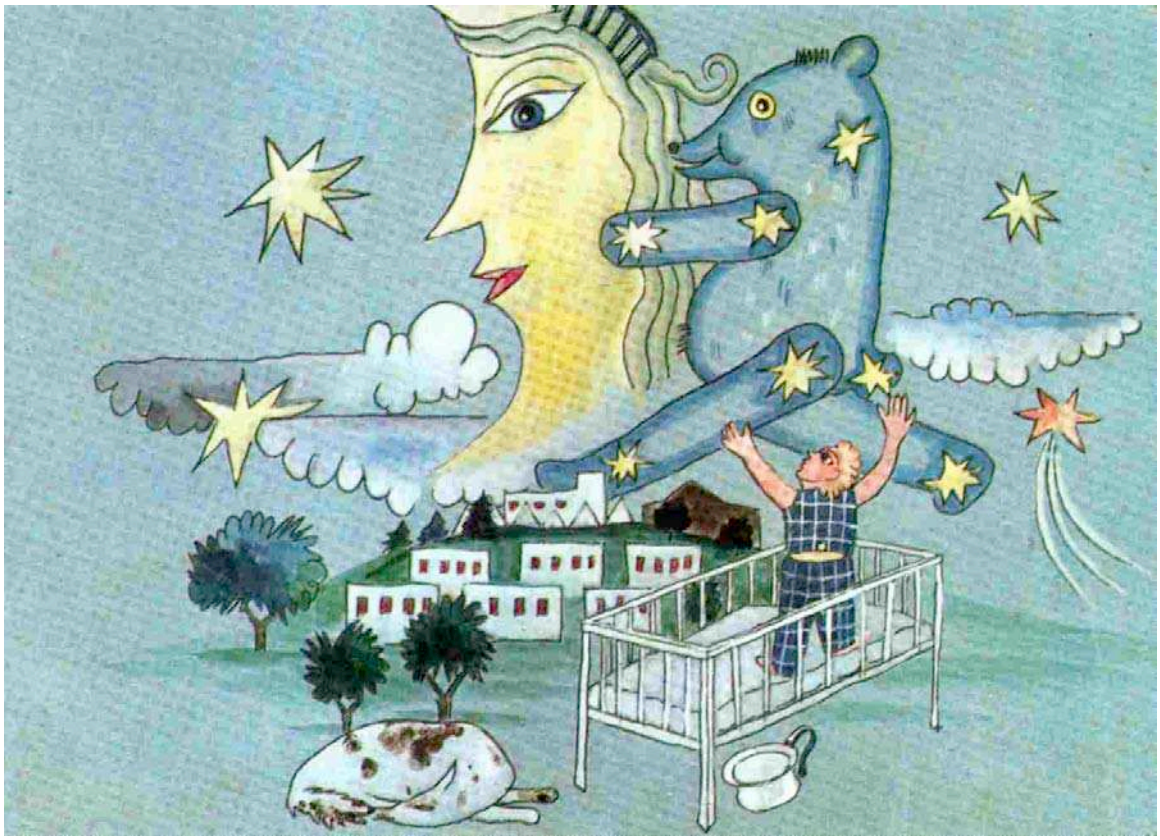

*Figure 2: night scene*

**Let's go to the Field**

The second example of children's literature I would like to introduce here belongs to a later phase. The book was written by an author I mentioned earlier: Fanya Bergstein, a member of Kibbutz Gvat. Bergstein was the first professional writer to write for children on the kibbutz. In 1945 she issued her first and most famous book for children: 'Come to me Sweet Butterfly', a 'best seller' from then on. Fanya came to Palestine in 1930. She started her career as a woman-poet almost immediately and wrote for adults as well as for children. She died in 1950 from a heart disease at the age of 42. Most of her literary legacy was published after her death, including: **Let's go to the Field** (1951).

If I were to consider the thought of artistic plagiarism I would be tempted to conclude that Fanya Bergstein knew **Wagon Carrying Hay**, the amateur production of kibbutz Givat Brenner. But I assume the poet was not even aware of Givat Brenner's modest venture. The similarity is based, of course, and this is not surprising, on the mutual codes, namely the 'collective subject' of the kibbutz community at that time. (Merging life with fiction, reconstructing social ceremonies, emphasizing and amplifying pioneers' reality, closeness to nature, etc.)

The cycle of time in this book is mainly seasonal. It's spring time, right after the rainy

season, harvest time (in Israel). Birds are nesting; sheep birth little lambs and the children collect their own harvest from their vegetable garden. Many poems introduce animals and birds, especially farm animals. 'Let's Go to the Field' was illustrated by Michal Efrat. Since the book was published after the author's death there was no active collaboration between the poet and the artist. Mical Efrat is a holocaust survivor. She is now 78 years old. She came from Czechoslovakia after the war in 1949, from the concentration-camp straight to the kibbutz. Before the war she studied in the Academy for graphics and arts. The book was her first artistic work in the new country. One critical remark she got after the book was issued – and she hasn't forgotten it since – is that the children she drew are not typical Israeli-kibbutz children; they are too "plump" (this remark might imply that the readers expected a certain image of kibbutz children, tough, as opposed to 'soft'). She said to me

> *When I came from there I could not create anything for adults; my soul was full of horrors. But I saw all around me these beautiful kibbutz children and decided I will create for them.*

Nevertheless, it would seem that Michal Efrat caught the message of the society she just recently joined right away. She also identified deeply with them. Her illustrations convey collective norms even more emphatically than the text written by Bergstein. In her illustrations the children wear uniform clothes, generally in blue. At times they are drawn from behind, or with bent faces, namely with no individual features. Other family figures, mother, father, who are actually mentioned in some poems, are not at all present in the pictures. The background scenery is always a kibbutz with typical decor, drawn in minimal lines, carrying values of simplicity and modesty, and of course the symbolic colors, green and brown are most dominant.

However there are differences too between the books. The Givat Brenner book describes adults, as well as children. The second book is focused entirely on children and their world. All the poems, whether written in first person or in the plural mode, describe the world from within, from the children's inner point of view. 'Wagon Carrying Hay' is in many ways uni-dimensional. The Bergstein book is more complex concerning the transmission of collective norms. Ten poems in the book, about a third of the total number, are using the plural mode: "Let's go to the field"; "Let's open the windows and let the sun shine in"; "Let's dive into the blue pool", etc. By using the plural as a preferable mode of speech the poet actually dictates the grammar that kibbutz children should obey as part of their collective world view. Some didactic segments in the book describe "a mirror world", reflecting important rituals of the adult community. Following are two such examples:

**We build**

We build a tiny house/ we build one floor and up / We work here more and more/ and raise another floor.
One and two – here's the yard / Three and four – there's the fence.
And now we are tired, very tired / It's time to rest, please be quiet / Ease, swing and doze

/ Our work is finished; now we drowse.
Wake up, come together now / come all of us / let's start again to build a new house.

**Harvest**

We also brought / soft carrots and small radishes / Carried in our baskets freshly picked tomatoes / We too sowed and planted / dug and watered / Here is our harvest, look and see.

Fanya Bergstein embeds the world of the kibbutz inside the children's inner world. Thus, the world of grown-ups, the pioneers, is translated and transformed into children's 'make believe' games (we are the builders; we bring harvest, etc). In other words, they are playing and acting out the world of adults, presenting a more interesting perception of the mechanism, or even manipulation, of ideology in the children's life, transferring the language of the 'collective subject' of the kibbutz society into the sub-conscious of children. The future generation has already assumed the views, ideas, habits, rituals and aspirations of the social group they belong to.

A few months ago, a new edition of 'Let's Go to the Field' was issued, the thirty-first. 'Come to me Sweet Butterfly' was issued in fifty editions - a rare achievement in the publishing arena in Israel. I don't know how many kids in Israel now go to the fields, or ride on top of hay wagons. The kibbutz does not play the role of the 'avant garde' any more. Its ideals are diminishing and working the land is not a prime social value in modern Israel, but as can be seen, kibbutz literature succeeds, even when the Kibbutz itself does not. The magical music ringing in the naive rhymes is as powerful as then and children, so it seems, are still charmed by it:

*Come to me, sweet butterfly,*
*Stay inside my open hand,*
*Sit and rest, don't fly away,*
*Then you can go off, on your way*

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# Kibbutz mothers: education and ideology

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Key words: motherhood, generation, ideology, kibbutz

**Abstract**

The article presents some of the findings of the author's PhD dissertation, carried out under the supervision of Professor Rivka Bar-Yosef of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. It deals with the experience of motherhood on kibbutz by three generations of mothers, as described by them in the late 1990s.

**Introduction**

As a kibbutz-born mother, I have been trying for many years to understand the significance of the unique relationship between my own personal experience of motherhood and the collective experience, related to the organizational and ideological structure of communal life on kibbutz. I wish to understand how my experience of motherhood was affected by this relationship. How did this relationship contribute to the development of my identity as a mother, as a person and as a woman?

In my study I decided to turn to mothers belonging to three generations to find out how they experienced motherhood and probe how this experience changed in the course of time. By urging them to express their own feelings, I hoped to be able to arrive at a better understanding of the significance kibbutz mothers ascribed to the experience of motherhood in their lives, and the relationship between the personal, subjective sense of motherhood and the collective experience, within a changing communal society, between the 1930s and the late 1990s. It appeared that their experiences reflected those of other mothers at the time.

This study focuses on the significance of motherhood for mothers of three generations in the kibbutzim of the Kibbutz Artzi Movement: the first generation, the founders, who came to the kibbutz from outside; the second generation, the kibbutz-born mothers; and the third generation, born on kibbutz to the second generation of mothers.

The study is interpretative and examines the ways in which the subjective experience of motherhood is forged within the context of the collective identity of the changing social reality of the kibbutz.

## The social structuring of motherhood

This section provides the theoretical underpinning of the study, within the context of a feminist perception of motherhood. Three feminist approaches to motherhood will be presented, including their conception of gender, reflecting their attitude to power and the power relations between the sexes, and in particular as regards motherhood (Lorber, 1994; Chodorow, 1978).

Radical feminist approaches to motherhood tend to reject biological motherhood and the process of giving birth, asserting that motherhood is a patriarchal trap and the basis of man's subjection and exploitation of the woman's body (Beauvoir, 1935; Firestone, 1970; Oakley, 1974; Pierce, 1976; Allen, 1986; Rich, 1991).

The liberal feminist approach encourages women to become mothers - not to renounce motherhood - and to develop other identities in addition to motherhood. This approach presents motherhood as a product of social structuring stemming from the mother's personality and history, and the family social-ideological and cultural framework within which she lives.

Unlike the radical stream, which tends to concern itself with the mother's body, the liberal stream focuses on the social and organizational foundations structuring the perception of motherhood (Dinnerstein, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; Ruddick, 1980; O'Brian, 1981; Hirsh, 1981; Gilligan, 1982; Langer, 1986; Rich, 1989; Allen, 1992).

The feminist linguistic approaches to motherhood link language, gender and motherhood. They assert that the existing language is incapable of describing the experience of motherhood in all its complexity. They call upon women to express their own uniqueness and cease to function as the products of the men's world. Eliminating the current dichotomous language will provide a more authentic expression of the complexity involved and of the various concepts of motherhood, and will enable men to enter the role of parenting their offspring more freely (Cixous,H, 1975; Kristeva, 1980, 1982, 1997; Irigaray, 1986; Glenn, 1994).

## Subjective and Collective Structuring of Motherhood on Kibbutz

Motherhood on kibbutz is related to three interwoven areas of content: the kibbutz family and the changes occurring in its relationship with the collective; the development of communal education on kibbutz; and the development of the women's status on kibbutz:

*The kibbutz family*: All the studies point to the process of change in the family's status on kibbutz, from an extremely limited role in the first years to a growing expansion of the space granted to family life (Talmon-Graber, 1972; Levitan, 1976; Rosner, Avnat, Cohen & Levitan, 1978; Ben Rafael & Witman, 1986; Rosner & Goetz, 1996; Palgi & Adar, 1997; Levin, 1997). The researchers differ in their view of the factors leading to the expansion of the family's roles. Some maintain that it was due to pressure by the women

to increase the family's roles in order to raise their own status, which tended to be low within the sphere of work and kibbutz functions (Ben Rafael & Witman, 1986). The researchers opposing this view maintain that if this were true, the strengthening of the family would also have boosted the women's public-political status, which did not happen (Palgi & Arad, 1997). The researchers adopting a sociological approach (Tiger & Shefer, 1975) assert that the reinstatement of the family proves the existence of a genetic code in women, which explains this process.

*The status of women on kibbutz:* It appears that from the beginning of kibbutz life, the women fought for a higher status and sought to participate in prestigious productive work, but in fact they were increasingly delegated to educational and service jobs. In the course of time distribution of work according to gender became even more clear-cut, with the women working mainly in education and the services, and the men in agricultural and industrial production (Levitan, 1976; Mednick, 1983).

Some consider the strengthening of the role of the kibbutz family as a means towards increasing the women's satisfaction with kibbutz life, leading to their greater involvement in public-political activities. There is a clear tendency among women to widen their educational horizons, to feel more independent economically and to act to ensure their rights, even to set up their own business enterprises. All this was a very slow process (Zamir, 1992; Blank, 1995; Dar in Ben-Rafael, 1996). However, Palgi (1996) points out that in the wake of the changes taking place in the recent decade, characterized by privatization, women kibbutz members are being even more marginalized within kibbutz society.

*Communal education:* Throughout the generations, the main responsibility for childcare, both collective and private, rested on the women. In the collective sphere, they functioned as 'metaplot' (childcare workers) and educators, or worked in the kitchen or laundry; in their private lives they met their children as mothers for a number of hours in the afternoon. Levin (1997) points to three salient periods of communal education:

From the founding of the kibbutz until the Second World War, the emphasis was on the child's development and physical health.
From the 1940s until the 1980s, childcare focused on emotional development and protection against 'maternal deprivation', a concept defined by Bowlby (1951).

According to his approach, the interpersonal skills of children growing up in boarding schools are impaired by paucity of maternal love.

Since the 1980s the emphasis has been on the development of intellectual excellence, particularly in the cognitive sphere. During this period, in the early 1990s, the revolutionary change of children sleeping in their parental home took place, and studies were published dealing with 'childhood deprivation' of the feeling of motherhood and the need to compensate for it (Plotnik, 1992).

**The methodology of the study**

Using Gilligan's (1982) method, I turned to the mothers themselves, urging them to give expression to their feelings, which may be presumed to reflect those of many others. I tried to reveal the unique elements of the experience of motherhood of each one of the respondents; the characteristic aspects they share with the mothers of their generation; and the common intergenerational attributes of kibbutz mothers. I considered the social and family reality described by the mothers and unraveled the prominent features from their personal stories.

I examined what the mothers had experienced in the wake of changes and social-educational arrangements introduced on kibbutz and the significance accrued to their experiences as a result. I probed their attitude to the children's house and to the *metaplot* (childcare workers), and how the experience of motherhood related to that of family and of fatherhood, what relations the mothers forged with their daughters and sons, and what was their relationship with their own mothers, and how their motherhood identity related to their second identity at work, to their education, functions and career. I wished to examine the ways in which their authentic subjective identity was forged in relation to the collective identity within the changing kibbutz society. I intend to describe and analyze the personal-social swing of the pendulum, characterizing the experience of motherhood.

**Research Design**

This study is interpretative-phenomenological, analyzing reality from the subjective perspective of those experiencing it. I sought to reveal the unique feature of each of the mothers, that which each group of mothers belonging to the same generation have in common, and whether all the mothers under study share a certain rapport to the changing ideology, culture and kibbutz society. In order to explore the research questions, I elicited narratives from the respondents, dealing with the specific topic of motherhood on kibbutz.

When using the qualitative approach, the theory is built up from the narrative produced by the respondents through the researcher's interpretation of the text. Strauss and Glaser (1967) call this method 'grounded theory'. The theory is formulated gradually, refined and examined in the field, and simultaneously related to increasingly generalized categories and concepts, until the collection of data is completed. The role of the researcher is to view the phenomenon constantly through the eyes of the respondents and interpret it from that point of view. The researcher must grasp the way the people construe the significance of their social existence, how they classify the phenomena around them, what is the intrasubjective interpretation they ascribe to their existential experience, and what are the implications of these interpretations for their daily life (Elor, 1990). On the basis of pilot research and the theoretical literature, three research questions were formulated.

**Research questions**

*1. What personal significance is ascribed by women on kibbutz to the experience of motherhood in their lives?*
*2. What are the generational characteristics of the experience of motherhood among the first, second and third generation of mothers?*
*3. What are the characteristics of the experience of motherhood across the generations – if any?*

The three questions were subdivided into the following components:

**Attitudes and values**

Preferences, aspirations and the mother's ways of bringing up her children. The roles of motherhood and the role of the children's house: the change in the mother's perception of the role of the parental home and its effect on her role as a mother. The distribution of powers and roles between the mothers and the *metaplot*, the children's house open or closed to the mothers, the relations between the mothers and the *metaplot* at different stages - when the children were in the nursery, in pre-school, in primary school and in secondary school.

The tension between the mothers' perceptions of what was expected of them as mothers (kibbutz-social ideology) and what they wanted, experienced and/or did as mothers.

Their identity as mothers and as women: The mothers' education, work, roles and personal development in the course of their lives; the relationship between their identity as mothers and as women, and the change in that relationship in the course of their lives.

Motherhood, family and couple relationship: Motherhood and fatherhood, as perceived by the mothers.

Mothers and daughters: Relations, ways of communication and topics discussed, vexations and conflicts, the level of the mothers' intervention; the figure of the mother as described by the daughter; the figure of the daughter as described by the mother.

The above questions stemmed from the literature and from the pilot. When additional relevant questions arose during the interviews, I dealt with them in the course of the analysis. On the other hand, questions and topics raised by me and not substantiated through the process of analysis were eliminated from the research.

**The Method**

The respondents: I interviewed mothers, members of Kibbutz Artzi kibbutzim, belonging to three generations: the generation of founders, who came to this country from the Diaspora during the 1930s, most of them graduates of the Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement (who are now in their eighties and nineties); the second generation, born on

kibbutz and who, as mothers, brought up their children within the framework of communal education (now aged 45-60); and the third generation, the grandchildren of the founders (now aged 27-40). The total number of respondents was 30, 10 mothers of each generation.

The text analysis: The text analysis was based on studies by Glaser and Srauss (1967), Srauss and Corbin (1990), Denzin and Lincoln (1994).

At the first stage, the text was coded openly. I highlighted the topics raised by the interviewees, preserving the way they were expressed by them. At the second stage I organized the topics raised by the interviewees along axes, thus relating them to each other and in a general way. The respondents' way of articulating and formulating the themes was also preserved at this stage. At the third stage, that of selective coding, I extracted from the axial coding the topics of particular interest to me in view of the research questions, in order to deal with them. At the fourth stage I sought their meanings and significance. This extrapolation enabled me to build a whole system of symbols, creating a culture, within which the phenomena were embedded. The interpretative process is actually an ongoing dialog between the researcher and the subject of the research. The interpretation is constantly upgraded dialectically between the two poles, the private and the general, the partial and the whole.

The analysis of the text was carried out on three levels: On the first level I analyzed each interview separately, revealed the narrative line, the main themes and the salient concepts. I also highlighted what the interview did not include. On the second level I analyzed each interview as related to the other interviews with mothers of the same generation, and on the third level the analysis extended across the generations, all the interviews being analyzed in relation to all three generations of interviewees.

All the names in the study are fictitious; I tried to invent names appropriate to each generation. I presented the findings only partially, the … between the quotations show where the respondents' words were omitted.

**The findings**

The topics revealed within the data provided by the interviews were grouped according to the following two axes:

The ideological-kibbutz axis, grouping the statements reflecting an ideological approach to communal education, to children's houses, to the roles of the *metaplot* and the children's sleeping arrangements. This axis tends to reflect the kibbutz collective view and the ongoing dialog between the community and the individual.

The gender-motherhood axis, grouping the statements by the mothers related to their identity as mothers and as women, to their occupations, education and to their memories and their relationship to their parental home and particularly to their mothers. This axis tends to express the subjective point of view, related to that of the society.

The research questions are discussed through a dialog between the findings and the attitudes of the researchers (Golan, 1967; Gerson, 1968; Rosner & Palgi, 1986; Ben Rafael & Witman, 1986; Zamir, 1986; Leshem, 1991; Plotnik 1992; Dar, 1995; Blank, 1995; Adar, 1996; Friedman, 1996; Palgi, 1997; and Kristeva, 1980, 1982, 1997; Gilligan, 1982; Irigaray, 1986; Rich, 1989; Glenn, 1994; Dinnerstein, 1976; Lavi, 1990; Chodorow, 1978; Ruddick, 1980, 1989; Spairo, 1979; Tiger & Shefer, 1975).

**Discussion of the Research Questions**

1. ***What personal significance is ascribed by women on kibbutz to the experience of motherhood in their lives?***

Significance is the relationship between the phenomenon and its context. The context is largely determined by the individual's frame of reference.

The interviewees ascribe a great deal of significance to the experience of motherhood in their lives. Motherhood is central to their identity as women, both among those for whom the significance of motherhood is mainly associated with suffering and worry, and among those for whom it spells success and joy. The researchers Orchan and Adar (1991) also found a high level of agreement in this respect between women on kibbutz and urban Jewish women; giving birth to children and bringing them up is the most important aspect of women's lives.

In the first generation, where motherhood seemed to be relegated to a marginal role, it is actually converted to 'collective motherhood', as *metaplot*, teachers and cooks. 'Collective motherhood' takes central place both on the private and the social level. In addition to the private significance, there is also a significance shared by the first generation mothers. This significance combines motherhood with group and national commitment, this commitment being more powerful than motherhood. Later the first generation motherhood is associated with a sense of pain and of having missed out on something precious. Some of the mothers feel the need to remedy their motherhood role. Some of them are able to do so, and some feel it is too late, and that there are remnants of motherhood patterns that cannot be remedied. For some motherhood conveys happiness and harmony with the ideological messages of the society.

The second-generation experience of motherhood is characterized by its focus on the family. This is more salient in motherhood than in the couple relationship. Some of them undergo an interesting process of development of motherhood and a sense of change in the significance they ascribe to motherhood. It is a change from a more achievement-oriented and 'institutional' motherhood to a more authentic and personal one. For some of them motherhood becomes central to their perception of the world, something reminiscent of Buber's I-Thou relationship. Something one feels but cannot define. Naomi's words are particularly reminiscent of such a feeling. Naomi is also the one closest to the feminist-linguist group, such as Kristeva (1980), Irigaray (1986) and others, in searching for words to express the feelings that pervade her as mother. Like them,

Naomi seeks to break the existing concepts regarding motherhood, and seeks new as yet undeveloped images.

Some of the mothers ascribe to motherhood the significance of suffering, anxiety and loss. Their motherhood is imbued with the voices of their mothers who died, of profound anxiety that they may lose their children, and of muted sorrow at having been deprived of their mothers, because communal education distanced mothers from their children owing to an ideological principle. Second generation mothers do not give free vent to their voice as mothers, they protect and hide the truth from their children; they touch them and hug them less, and display ambivalence towards them. They are both mothers, and daughters of the first generation, and they alternate between a lack of self-confidence and constant need of social approval, and an increasing display of inner strength as women. For them the significance of motherhood involves a penetrating reckoning with their own mothers, developing a reaction against them, and a growing inner need to be different from their mothers. In their motherhood there is apparently a need for compensation for having enjoyed too little motherly care from the first generation (Bettelheim, 1957; Zamir, 1986).

The significance ascribed to motherhood by *the third generation* is more personal, more experiential; they think about it less and feel it more. For them the significance of motherhood is a feeling of success and joy, a mirroring of themselves, a reflective process enabling them to grow and change; for them motherhood is a memory of loss, and also a great deal of responsibility and renunciation. For them motherhood is also a corrective of what they received from their mothers, but no longer with such force as that expressed by the second generation of mothers. They perceive their own mothers as more supportive and helpful to them than the second-generation mothers considered their mothers of the first generation.

The accumulation of personal meanings of motherhood reflects a rich assortment of voices. I am unable to present it here and the interested reader would have to turn to my doctoral thesis (as yet not translated from Hebrew), in order to listen to the mothers themselves. The great diversity of personal significance of motherhood reinforces, in my opinion, the social approaches to motherhood, presented by the following researchers: Chodorow (1978), Dinnerstein (1976), Gilligen (1982), Hirch (1981), O'Brian (1981), Ruddick (1980), Rich (1989, 1978), Langer (1986). These approaches maintain that the structuring of motherhood is related to the rapport between the social organizational environment and the personal world of the mother, including her history, her life space, her professional and family identity, and her social relations.

The great diversity in the experience of motherhood revealed in this study attests to the importance of the individual component; however, the similarity found on the generational level (which I shall focus on in answer to the second question), emphasizes the contribution of social, organizational and ideological influences on the structuring of the experience of motherhood, blending with the personal aspect.
The diversity in the experience of motherhood weakens the claims of those who explain it as an innate instinct: Trivers (1975), Tiger and Shefer (1975), Wilson (1980), Lampert

(1994). These researchers adhere to a sociological approach, tending to explain motherhood as an instinct, generating in every woman the natural desire to give birth to children and the knowledge how to bring them up, without any particular instruction. This is not supported by the respondents in this study: While it appears that they all wish to be mothers, some of them embark on motherhood with a lack of knowledge and self-confidence, and they are in need of help from the nurse or from their mother. We shall not be able to examine whether their desire for motherhood springs from a genetic source or from imitation and internalization of social norms. It appears, however, that the intra-generational similarity in the configuration of motherhood reinforces the social approach, emphasizing the effect of ideological and organizational aspects, rather than of the biological genetic ones.

***2. What are the generational characteristics of the experience of motherhood among the first, second and third generation of mothers?***

In defining generations I relied on Rosner, Ben-David, Avnat, Cohen and Levitan (1978), who propose a pre-determined starting point in the definition of a generation, but I also added the definition of age, resulting in the following: The first generation are the members who founded the kibbutz or joined it from outside, aged 75 - 120… Their children are the second generation, aged 45 - 60, and the children of the second generation are the third generation, aged 27 – 40. Rosner and his associates (1978), following Manheim (1952), reinforce this type of definition of generations by stating that it takes into consideration not only the psychological traits of a certain age group and how it is expected to function, but also the historical experience of that generation. I believe that the definition of a generation anchored in both a specific starting point and a certain age group, facilitates the study of both aspects: the personal physiological and psychological one related to age, and the sociological one related to a particular period.

Salient generational characteristics were found, determining the generational configuration of the motherhood experience. This finding emphasizes the ideological, social and organizational aspects of the period during which that generation lived.
The ideological-kibbutz axis ranges from collectivism to individualism.
The motherhood-gender axis ranges from silence to insistent verbalization.
The graphic representation of these two axes produced the following schema:

| *Collectivism* | | *Individualism* |
|---|---|---|
| **First generation Ideological-silent mother** | **Second generation Conformist-suffering-vocal** | **Third generation Individualistic-vocal** |
| *Silence* | | *Verbalization* |

Following upon Dar (1998), I wish to base the discussion on an 'ideal prototype' of mother in each generation; not a perfect type, but one that is typical of that generation (Weber, 1949).

From the data and the generational characteristics gathered, and considering the meeting points between the two axes (see above diagram), I found three prototypes related to the three generations: The first generation mother is **'the ideological-silent mother'**, the second generation mother is **'the conformist-suffering-vocal mother'** and the third generation mother is **'the individualistic-vocal mother'.** I shall now present the characteristics of the three prototypes:

**The first generation mother - 'the ideological-silent mother':**

Her motherhood experience is deeply affected by her identification with kibbutz ideology, while her personal experience of motherhood is stifled.

*Ideology and kibbutz:*
The kibbutz ideology, which placed the public sphere in the center and limited the private sphere (Rosaldo, 1974; Herzog, 1994), was dominant in the structuring of the motherhood experience. This experience occurred against the background of a strong belief and profound identification with collective and egalitarian ideology. For the sake of this ideology, the mothers were ready to give up the close relationship with their own children and looking after them. Their private voice was silent. Their life focused on the community; the individual forfeited the satisfaction of her personal needs for the sake of the lofty goals of building the country, establishing a kibbutz and educating 'a new generation'.

Frania said: "The community was the main thing, the individual was just a speck. First of all you must give to the community… Not to do what you were told, to refuse – that didn't exist. You did it, even if you didn't want to… Public opinion was very important." – "On immigrating, when we were setting up the kibbutz, I was in my first months of pregnancy. It never occurred to me not to join the group on its arduous enterprise. It was totally unthinkable; I lost the baby, but it wasn't important. That's what we learnt in the Movement - the needs of the individual did not exist and if they did, they were repressed."

*Communal education:*
As a direct outcome of the collective ideology, the children were brought up communally, including communal sleeping arrangements. The children's house was the focus of the children's lives. The mothers were silent and did not interfere with what went on there. The nursery and the babies' nurse were in the forefront of the mothers' minds. The nurse decided on what happened. It was usually a rigid regime, the feeding times were to be strictly kept and the time spent with the children was limited. Only breast-feeding mothers were allowed into the nursery during the working day. Breast-feeding and mother's milk were considered most important. For a short period there was collective breast-feeding, with mothers feeding not only their own children.

*Identity as a mother and as a woman:*
For the first generation, motherhood was mostly intertwined with commitment to the nation, the Movement and their kibbutz (Poznanski & Shchori, 1944; Tzur, Zvulun &

Porat, 1981; Leshem, 1991). The collective tasks were more important than the mothers' personal care for their children. 'Collective motherhood' (working with children at all ages within communal education) was one of those tasks of primary importance. They combined work, various functions and commitment to national goals with motherhood, and motherhood became secondary.

The respondents of the first generation speak about the initial period of their motherhood with a sense of pride in the tasks they fulfilled in the community, but also with a certain note of self-criticism of their role as mothers, trying to justify their behavior in various ways, explaining their behavior as mothers in the light of the scale of values and the reality during the first years of the kibbutz. The dominant aspect of their motherhood is the collective one, or that of the 'institution of motherhood', (Rich, 1989). Rich distinguishes between the 'institution of motherhood' and the 'experience of motherhood', while the latter refers to the social gender role mothers are meant to play, rather than to the mother's natural bond with her children. These mothers began their motherhood experience at a time when having children was, at the very beginning, forbidden or limited in many kibbutzim - for weighty economic reasons.

The following statements express their feelings on the above points: "We were not very dedicated parents", "we were insensitive, we lacked a real relationship", "the children were not always my priority, some things were more important to me", "it (the children) were not important enough", "I didn't feel I wasn't giving him (her only son) enough love, that I was depriving him of it", "I never felt that I was being deprived of some of my motherhood experience", "mothers in the former kibbutz had a very hard time", "motherhood is something I missed out on", "I had a happy motherhood".

Liza went out to work in one of the transit camps set up for incoming Holocaust survivors. She worked from morning to night and only came home at the end of the week. She left a six months' old baby in the nursery: "When I saw the babies in the transit camp, sick and dying in the arms of the nurses, I felt I had to do my best to save them."

Keila went to pick grapes in Zihron Yaakov for two and a half months and left her seven months old daughter, stopping her breastfeeding for the sake of the national goal of 'Hebrew work' (replacing Arab workers). During the War of independence Klara sent her three little children to safety in a convoy, while she stayed in the kibbutz to defend it.

Today they speak about themselves with a note of criticism:
Lisa: "Motherhood – I missed out on that… We were not very dedicated parents… We were insensitive; we didn't create a real relationship… I devote myself to my grandchildren more than I did to my children… The children were not always my priority, other things were important, the children weren't important enough. I wasn't such a warm mother; it's the way I am, not just the conditions; maybe it's because I am ambitious."
Klara: "I didn't have enough time for Alit, my firstborn daughter… When I think back I feel bad that I didn't give her more… I was busy and I didn't give her enough. I am

envious of my granddaughter's experience of motherhood. In the old kibbutz, mothers had a very hard time. I was socially active, but it wasn't good for the child nor for me."
Hannah: "I never felt that I missed out on motherhood. I didn't realize that I wasn't giving the children enough love. I may have also rationalized it, thinking I was giving them more in less time. Today I wouldn't do what I did then." (She went on a mission abroad for a year and a half without her family, when her only son was eleven years old.)
Tzipora: "I gave up most of what is called motherhood… My belief was very strong… I owe a debt to all my children."
Frania: "We neglected our children very much. Who thought about the child?"
Keila tells that she used to cry at night: "I suffered a lot as a mother… I suffered in silence."
Klara: "I cried to my husband and lost the baby."

*The characteristics of the first generation mothers as women and as mothers:*
They appear to have been tough, courageous, self-confident, independent, ambitious, ready to help others – and these traits impinged on their motherhood at that time. Today their motherhood is endowed with greater gentleness. Their identity as mothers appears to speak in two voices – the voice that was silent and that which spoke. The latter was their public voice, that of the 'institution of motherhood'. It spoke of resilience, courage, ambition, helping others – all for the sake of the collective's goals. This is the voice of the overt message, expressing the ideology. The voice that was silent was the personal one, that which seeks to give, to hug, to forgo for the sake of the children. This voice expresses the experience of motherhood more than 'the institution of motherhood', as conceptualized by Rich (1989).

*Professional identity:*
While we may speak of professional identity with regard to the second and third generation, it is more appropriate to mention work and functions in relation to the first. For all of them, their work and functions have priority over motherhood, in line with the ideology maintaining that the community has precedence over the individual. The work belonged to the public sphere and motherhood to the private one. Unlike the conflict perceived among women between the functions of motherhood and work (Yisraeli, 1982; Malah-Pines, 1989), for the first-generation respondents work came before the family, and even if a certain conflict between the two did exist, the ideology prevailed.

Most of the respondents worked within the kibbutz precincts, two of them outside. The public had the power to compel the individual to do a specific job or to fulfill a specific function. Decisions by the general assembly of kibbutz members about a workplace or function were intended to convince the individual and sometimes to compel her/him.

Seven of the respondents worked throughout their lives mainly as *metaplot* or teachers. Four of them specialized in specific fields: as baby nurse for 40 years, as kindergarten teacher, as school teacher and educator in the children's society, and Tzipora was a teacher, educator and pedagogic coordinator at the regional educational institution.

Liza was trained as a hospital nurse and eventually fulfilled senior functions in the hospital. Hannah fulfilled important social functions in the kibbutz, the Movement and the party.

They did service jobs such as in the clothes store, the kitchen, also running it – they worked wherever they were needed. Only one of them worked in 'productive work', the chicken-house, and she did so for a long time. This situation was totally different from the pioneers' dream that women would do productive work. The respondents' words do not reflect objections to the division of labor according to gender, except for Frenia, who deplored the fact that women were exploited on kibbutz much more than men. Their lack of recrimination may be due to their advanced age, what happened in the past today no longer arouses anger. Moreover, the pioneering dream that women would work in production and agriculture may have been more appropriate for young women not yet mothers, and when they became mothers the work in childcare physically close to their children suited them better. All of them fulfilled social functions – not in the business sector. A half of them received formal training (in education and nursing), as befit their places of work.

*Family identity:*
They refer little to the family and the couple relationship; kibbutz ideology blurred the family components of their lives. They gave birth to two or three children on average. It was mainly the mothers, not the fathers, who felt responsible for bringing up the children. The fathers participated little; they were mostly preoccupied with kibbutz or national tasks.

Lisa: "To hug, to touch in public was forbidden. We didn't go to eat together. We didn't sit together during kibbutz assemblies… Today I think it is much nicer and pleasanter that you can show these things and behave naturally. We somehow stifled this; I think we did feel like kissing and walking arm in arm. When we were walking like that and someone approached, we disengaged."

The housing conditions were hard and space was very limited. During the first years of the kibbutz, two couples shared one room, or a couple shared the room with a single member, called 'primus'. The respondents mentioned how hard it was to have someone else in the room, and described the solutions they improvised to have a little privacy.
Lisa: "How hard conditions were, I mean two families in one room; it was terrible for us! When it was my turn to live like that, we would look for some hole or some tent to move to, not to have to live with a family – the need for privacy was paramount. It was impossible to rebel – there was absolutely no possibility. The conditions dictated that every two months you would move in with another couple – it was your turn. It was crazy. If there are some things I am ashamed of, it's things like this. I just can't understand how it was possible to get into such a situation."
Klara: "We didn't want to live together with another family, so we built ourselves a room with bundles of straw. Goats and mice joined us, but we lived alone" (she says this emphatically).

**The second-generation mother – the conformist-suffering-vocal mother**

The second-generation mother is compliant, conforms to the ideological messages, acting accordingly, but is angry, cries out and revolts emotionally against them.

*Ideology and kibbutz:*
The second-generation mothers complied with kibbutz ideology, while rebelling angrily against it. They remained on kibbutz, most of them did not take a year's leave or go out on some mission. Some of them stifled their anger against the ideology that, in their opinion, made them comply and adopt educational theories, detrimental to their children. Almost all of them seek ways to get closer to their children and to shatter the ideology, distancing the children from their parents.

*Communal education:*
The children were brought up communally, including the sleeping arrangements, but in the 1990s they moved to their parents' homes. The parents' roles were expanded and those of the children's houses became more limited. They remember communal sleeping as a pleasant experience as children, nevertheless most of them are in favor of the children sleeping with their parents, and they even led 'the revolution', demanding the change.

In the interview they relate to the various stages in their children's lives: the nursery, the kindergarten, primary and secondary school age. This reflects greater parental involvement in the children's lives at these ages, unlike among the first-generation mothers. They speak about the nursery and the babies' nurse in great detail and with utmost agitation. By then the nursery doors had been opened to them (but not yet to the fathers), and the arrangements had become more open and flexible, but still well ordered. The babies' nurse was the dominant figure in determining how to proceed in the treatment of the babies and they generally supported the mothers; however, sometimes conflicts arose between them and the mothers.

*Identity as mothers and as women:*
Their identity as mothers was subordinate to the 'institution of motherhood' rather than to the motherhood experience (according to the distinction made by Rich, 1989; these concepts will later be explained more fully). They emphasize commitment, compliance, anger, perfectionism, not showing affection, defending and hiding the truth from their children. Few voices speak of the authentic experience, a mother's fondness and hugging.

Their identity as women reflects two conflicting aspects: on the one hand lack of self-confidence and a need for social approval, on the other hand inner strength. Sensitiveness and emotionalism, formerly considered a weakness, they now redefine as hallmarks of strength.

They gave birth to three or four children, the average birthrate being higher than that of the first generation (with two to three children). They made an effort to enlarge their family, sometimes by fertility treatment or adoption. At least two of them declare they

wanted at least six children. Orna has four children and says: ”I actually wanted six children, but my partner was adamant.” They breastfed for a long time and liked it very much. They were greatly encouraged to do so by the nurses.

These data about their families and the struggles of the second-generation mothers, resulting in the children sleeping at home and the expansion of parental roles, are typical of the second generation.

*The ‘public voice’ or that of the ‘institution of motherhood’:*
The second generation’s identity as mothers was mainly subordinate to the ‘institution of motherhood’ rather than to the motherhood experience (Rich, 1989); they felt motherhood as a social role, involving physical care for their children, their nourishment and hygiene. Motherhood as an institution calls for commitment and responsibility, but is not an experience, involving play and creativity. Therefore, according to Rich (ibid.), mothers of this type forgo their spontaneous intuitive reactions and educate according to male values. Mothers of the ‘motherhood as institution’ type serve the man’s need for talented children, successful and ‘satisfactory’, at the expense of expressions of their physical-sensuous femininity. The ‘anger and fury’ give vent to their silence and compliance, the ‘anxiety and pain’, felt while they comply in silence.

It is not surprising that the second-generation mothers mention the difficulty they have in physical contact with their own children, who spent most of the time during their early years in the children’s houses and were looked after by *metaplot*, who adhered to strict principles, mainly paying attention to physical care such as nourishment and hygiene, and rarely to emotional aspects, the children not enjoying much physical contact, or a warm relationship with their mothers. What they did not receive they find difficult to give. They realize they had too little contact with their own mothers and speak about it with great regret. One can discern a thirst for physical contact, the need for a change. Some of them are able to change, for others it is too late. Yael, Dvora and Avigail speak about a complying, silent motherhood:
“They gagged us, we didn’t open our mouths…”
Dvora: “We didn’t know what questions to ask… We didn’t ask and didn’t object.”
Avigail: “Our generation accepted things handed down by the founders without questioning them.”
Yael: “I could never pick up a book when the children were at home, I knew it was forbidden. I had to devote myself to them all the time… not to be cross when they were at home, not to be angry, to stifle my anger…”
Their identity as mothers reflected a motherhood imbued with anxiety and suffering.
Yael: “When the children were born I felt I mustn’t worry about anything else…I devoted lots of energy to them through my anxiety and pain. When I didn’t know where they were, I went crazy with anxiety.”
Avigail adds: “I was a very anxious mother…For instance, when my daughter went to Carmiel and I called her friend and he told me she hadn’t contacted him yet, I was capable of walking about quite dazed, trembling all over, my mouth would be dry, I might get diarrhea…” Avigail brought up her daughters to respect her anxiety and take it into consideration.

There were others who spoke about warmth and hugging, giving a great deal of independence, touching too little, being possessive: "I feel they are mine, mine, mine." We must remember that they grew up in a society where the prevailing concept was 'ours'; 'mine' was rarely used.

*The private voice, or the experience of motherhood:*
The experience of motherhood as a personal, private one, is marked by mutuality, the mother's needs meeting those of the child, in play and pleasure shared by both.
Orna and Naomi perceive motherhood as the focal point of their world: "My need for self-fulfillment as a mother was very strong… I thought I must not miss out on it, it is something tremendous, huge, not suitable for everyone; for me it was wonderful and it isn't over; now it's a little different, but it's not over yet."
And Orna: "Suddenly, after the birth of my first daughter (at the age of 24), suddenly, suddenly (she shouts) everything was turned upside down, as though by a knife, everything I thought was right before I gave birth was overturned for me, it now seemed wrong. From siding with communal sleeping for the children I now became a leader in fighting for home sleeping arrangements… I wanted to have the children with me, I wanted to bring them up… The children were all my world… To this day they are the center of my world (she laughs to herself). The children are at the center."
Naomi: "…I tend to think that it's impossible to be the kind of mother I want to be, if other things are important to me, at least that's what I say to myself… I can say that the children were always the most important thing for me, but I can's say they were at the center of my life."

*Salient characteristics of their identity as women and as mothers:*
They displayed a lack of self-confidence and a constant need for social approval "that they were all right".
Orna: Why is it that, even though I've succeeded in various ways, I am never sure that I'll succeed in the next thing I undertake. Why does one never feel worth anything until other people tell you?"
Yael: "I am always trying to please others, I don't want anyone to be angry with me… It's deeply imprinted on my mind that if I don't obey the rules, people will not love me – and that means death. I am in constant need of approval from kibbutz society; I lack the inner certitude that I am worth anything… Whoever observes the rules of the society is accepted by it…"
Judit tells about herself that she was 'a good girl' who tried to please everyone: "My trademark was - pleasing everyone."

*Development and change in motherhood: transition from the 'institution of motherhood' to the 'experience of motherhood':*
A large number of the respondents speak about the processes of change they have undergone as women and as mothers in the course of their lives. The most salient change is that they are moving from 'motherhood as an institution' to the experience of motherhood. They used to listen mainly to the 'public voice' and now they tend to listen to their private voice. The changes they describe relate to the transition from a more

'spiritual' mother to a more physical one, a mother that touches and hugs, from being 'enlisted' to being 'authentic', from a mother who shows the children how to do things to one who does things together with them, and also from a more patient and restrained one to a more irritable – and authentic one. Naomi explains: "I was just me, that's all. I had no strong ambitions."

The respondents tell about their identity as women in two conflicting voices: that of lack of self-confidence and constant need for social approval, and the other, revealing feminine power. The voice of feminine power was heard at a later stage of the interview, as though they wished to say – I was there at the beginning, lacking in self-confidence and all that stemmed from it, anger, concealment, the strategy of 'the good girl' wanting to please everyone and so on; but now I have discovered another voice within me, that of feminine power. A lack of self-confidence, seeking social approval, is clearly expressed in the following words: "great difficulty in saying - no"; "wanting to please, afraid to make people angry"; "a great fear of anger"; "I don't push myself into anything, I don't dare demand anything, whatever I want I mustn't ask for"; "I don't believe in myself."

The other voice reveals 'feminine power', in the following words: "I know that I am good in the professional sphere"; "I also see my submissiveness ('the good girl') in a positive light, following the beaten path, not disrupting it"; "I have a different kind of power"; "today I am able to say that I have strengths; all my life I thought it was weakness, I thought that sensitivity and being emotional are signs of weakness"; "it took me many years to realize that I have strength of character"; "what I have achieved on my own shows that I am strong"; "my instincts are very wise"; "my status in the kibbutz is good"; "suddenly I felt rich and big, that I had done it" (told her husband that she was leaving home).

*Professional identity and studies:*
They are in a state of constant tension between their work and motherhood, and their preference changes in the course of their lives. Today, when the children have grown up, they invest more in their work.

All of them completed secondary school, some of them also academic studies for the first and second degree. They combined their studies with motherhood, when the children were still small. In their first career all of them worked in the field of education. Most of them are now developing their second career. All the functions they fulfilled were in the educational or the social sphere, none on the business side.

Yael decided to give up her academic studies when she met her partner "…I was already 28… I very much wanted a family. I had no idea what it means to be a good wife; I thought that a good wife lets her husband develop… Actually my husband never asked me to stop studying."

Mira is the only one of the respondents working in industry: "At the plant I am the export department, I love my work very much, I am there from five in the morning, at four I dash to the children… I am so addicted to my work."

Avigail: “I don’t feel any tension between my career and motherhood. Motherhood comes naturally to me, I didn’t invest any effort in it. I am a mother, I call myself a mother, my husband calls me ‘mother’; mother that’s me, I am mother. In my work as archivist I invest much more thought than in motherhood, so it’s more important… I must have meaningful work.”

All the respondents confront the issues, well known to women, of dual functions and a constant tension between them: motherhood together with work and social functions on kibbutz. In their attitude to this problem they tend to take a moderate stance. It appears that most of them have attained a certain balance between investment in motherhood and in work. This may be due to the fact that their children have grown up, and their motherhood is less intensive at the time of the interview. Some of them draw clear lines between work, functions and motherhood.

*Family identity:*
The family is important to them, their motherhood role appears more important than that of spouse. They gave birth to three or four children. They got married at the age of 23 on average. The responsibility for the upbringing of the children was the mothers’ rather than the fathers’.

In the second generation the family fulfilled more roles than in the first generation. The first children of the second-generation mothers slept in the children’s houses, the last ones slept at home. The apartments were enlarged from about 40-50 $mm^2$ to 65-75 $mm^2$, with three rooms and usually two toilets. The transition led to more meals being eaten at home, and some of the aspects the children’s houses had been responsible for, such as nourishment, clothing, health, and hygiene, became the parents’ responsibility.

Unlike first-generation mothers, they speak more about the fathers and their role in the children’s upbringing. The main responsibility was the mothers’. They were the ones who initiated family activities. About a third of the fathers are described as distant, introverted and difficult to talk to, they don’t give presents to their wives on their birthdays. Some of them are described as true partners, devoted to their children’s upbringing. All the families except one have lived on kibbutz all the years since they completed their army service to this day; they never took a year’s leave, nor fulfilled a mission outside the kibbutz, in Israel or abroad. These data suggest stability and permanence of the second generation, when compared to the first generation, considering that four families of that generation went on missions abroad, and also when compared to the third generation, since all of its respondents had taken a year’s leave or more outside the kibbutz at some stage.

Most of them have an extended family in their kibbutz. They mention it less than the third-generation mothers, maybe because at that time the extended family, like the nuclear one, fulfilled fewer roles than at the time of the third-generation mothers.

**The third-generation mother – 'the individualistic-vocal mother':**
The third-generation mother is individualistic and expresses her needs as a woman and as a mother directly and openly.

*Ideology and kibbutz:*
Their relationship to the kibbutz is based on convenience, and it is their home and they love the place. Ideology is no longer involved. Most of them lived at least one year outside the kibbutz within the framework of a year's leave, in order to experience a different way of life.
Neta: "There is not much ideology left, but we feel it is our home... It's a matter of roots, of a convenient way of life… nature, quiet, fresh air, lawns, freedom for the children… their education - both of us feel good here."
Rut returned to the kibbutz after spending two years in the city, where she gave birth to her first child. It appears that she returned to the kibbutz as a matter of choice, not because she had to: "We are no longer in a dilemma, we are past that stage. At the same time, as with all the young people, everything is open to us… Of course, things can always change, if we don't like the developments here… but at the moment we feel fine here."

Another very important aspect in the eyes of the third generation are their friends in the kibbutz. It appears that for them, their group of friends replaces in a practical way the role the ideology played in the case of the first generation.

*Communal education:*
Communal education combined with the children sleeping at home is for them a forceful argument in favor of remaining in the kibbutz.
Lily said: "After trudging around so many city parks, I can't tell you how much I appreciate what the children get on kibbutz. They learn to love nature, they acquire habits of cleanliness, tolerant attitudes… The fact that in every kindergarten there are four *metaplot* – that you can't find outside." And Neta said: "I am very satisfied with the children's education here… they are somehow more protected." Pnina mentioned "the fact that I know who is looking after my child, that they can call me at any moment and I can be there in one minute…"

Most of them have positive memories of communal sleeping during their childhood. It is interesting that, nevertheless, they reject it as mothers. The children's upbringing is firmly anchored in the family, unlike in the first and the second generations, who considered the children's house as the focal point. They see the nursery as a pleasant place and the nurse is no longer as dominant as she used to be. The arrangements are made mainly to suit the mothers. Maternity leave extends to six months and sometimes longer. There is no predetermined framework regarding returning to work after maternity leave.
Lior: "I remember that when I finished maternity leave, the person responsible for education said to me – 'it's not terrible if you extend your leave, if you feel you need it'… The framework is very supportive, I don't think I could enjoy motherhood quite so much in another place."

Lily: “I have such positive memories of Hadasa (the babies’ nurse), I am grateful to her, I take off my hat to her. At a time when I didn’t know how to bathe my child and dress it, she saved me.”
However, Ofra has bad memories of many conflicts with the babies’ nurse.

*Identity as a mother and as a woman:*
As mothers, they express a great deal of emotional involvement and reflect motherhood as an experience rather than as an institution. They rely to a large extent on their intuition. Motherhood has given them a feeling of success, of power, of great joy, and they rarely mention commitment, or what they ‘should’ do. They breastfeed for a short time, up to three months; no one urges them to breastfeed.
*Salient expressions:* “It’s the most wonderful and delightful thing that’s ever happened to me”, “it’s the only thing in the world that’s irreversible – whether you yourself give birth, or not”, “you aren’t a mother if your child doesn’t have grievances against you”, “children is something that makes you very happy and sometimes it’s hard”, “I feel that they give me great pleasure”, “I want to be different from the mother I had”.
Shifra: “That’s my life’s masterpiece.” Orah: “…The children are the one thing that saves me when I am depressed.”
Again Shifra: “She brings light into my life, she fills my whole being. I need her no less than she needs me.”
Eden: “I feel that I am learning from them all the time… I’ve learnt a lot about myself… I’ve learnt that the most important thing is a mother’s intuition… I soon learnt that I have to go along with what I feel.”

Motherhood helps them view themselves as in a mirror, which enables them to grow and change. It is the change from a young girl to an adult mother, the transition from concentrating on herself to focusing totally on the baby, as Shifra indicated. The change is felt in the way she accepts others. Ofra feels great anxiety for her children – what would happen to them without her; she plans for a concrete solution - who would replace her. Orit describes the stages of her development from a naïve mother to a mature one, and thinks about her old age, in view of her care for her child with special needs. Eden emphasizes the amount of self-confidence she has acquired through her experience as a mother, and her ability to reflect on it. Pnina is the eldest among the third-generation mothers. When I interviewed her she was 40, and she emphasized that motherhood is a ‘total’ experience. She gave birth to her first child at the age of 36, as a matter of choice. There appears to be a certain relationship between the apprehension she conveys in speaking of totality, and the fact that she postponed motherhood to that stage in her life.

*Professional identity:*
Motherhood defines the limits of their career. They combine motherhood with a career, motherhood being the priority.

Most of them continued their studies beyond secondary school. They are qualified kindergarten teachers, nurses, cooks, cosmeticians, they studied the Alexander method and so on. Most of them have traditional feminine occupations.

*Family identity:*
The family and the couple relationship are the most important aspects of their lives, the family both as a partnership and as parenting. Every family has two or three children on average and the mothers intend to have more. They were married, on average, at the age of 24.4, older than the second-generation mothers, who married at 23. (We have no data about the first-generation mothers.) Their average age at the birth of their first child was 25.9 years, higher than that of the second generation of mothers, which was about 24. The mothers assume most of the responsibility for the home. The fathers are more involved in bringing up the children than in the previous generations. They all have extended families in the kibbutz. Most of them stress its effect on their motherhood and on their attitude to their own family.

*In conclusion:*
When considering the generational characteristics of motherhood, the question arises, in the wake of Chodorow (1978), whether motherhood on kibbutz, is perceived by the different generations as 'reproduction' or as 'production'. If motherhood is reproduction, we have in mind genetic elements and a biological destiny. However, if motherhood is production (creation), it means that the woman and society play an important role. The variance in the perception of motherhood between the generations and within them suggests that motherhood on kibbutz is more akin to production rather than to reproduction, production anchored in and structured by ideological, social and individual perceptions.

***3. What are the characteristics of the experience of motherhood across the generations – if any?***

There are certain characteristics to be found across the three generations.

*Ideology and kibbutz:*
Throughout the three generations there is a certain affinity with kibbutz ideology. The mothers wish to preserve the kibbutz.

*Identity as mothers and as women:*
Motherhood is the main component of their personal identity. In the first generation, personal identity was converted into collective identity, collective identity being the focal point of their lives.

Responsibility for the children and for the home rests mainly on the mothers, in all three generations. All the researchers dealing with motherhood, whether outside the kibbutz (Firestone, 1970; Oakly, 1974; Mitchel, 1974; Ruddick, 1991; Rich, 1989 and others), or within it (Tiger & Shefer, 1975; Adar & Orchan, 1991; Adar, 1996; Palgi, 1996, and others) point out that the responsibility for the children and the home is mainly assumed by the mothers. These findings, regarding various social frameworks and during different historical periods, suggest that there is something profound, maybe even genetic, affecting this aspect of motherhood. We cannot ascertain the relative contributions of

social norms and of genetics elements to this phenomenon, certainly not while gender-related messages structure the sexual roles.

*Professional identity:*
In all three generations, the mothers combine motherhood, social functions and work. They all completed secondary school studies. They study, work and fulfill functions mainly in spheres traditionally considered feminine. However, Adar (1996) presents data showing that among the young generation of mothers there has been a rise in the number of those who have taken up the study of engineering. All the women featuring in this study focused on the sphere of the humanities and the helping professions. The same is true with regard to their work. The division of work according to gender was particularly strict on kibbutz in the past (Tiger & Shefer, 1975) and remained so also according to this study and that by Adar (1996). She points out a growing polarization in the public-political sphere: Education and health maintenance committees are chaired by women, while the economic and financial spheres are managed by men, and appear to be closed to women. The active mothers among the respondents all deal with areas defined as 'feminine'.

*Family identity:*
All the respondents emphasize the importance they ascribe to the family. Their families are remarkably stable. Among them there are two cases of divorce and second marriage. According to Talmon-Graber, Orchan and Adar (1990) and Adar (1996), family life is considered important. In the first generation, when the roles of the nuclear family were limited, the roles of the extended family were emphasized when the first-generation mothers became grandmothers.

**The conclusions drawn from this study**

The findings derived from this study cannot be generalized, but may be presumed to represent a reliable cross-section of this particular group of women. An attempt will now be made to examine what can be learnt from them about the theories presented in the theoretical part of the study.

1. Motherhood takes central place in their identity as women.

2. The sociological theory: The study does not provide data enabling us to corroborate or reject the sociological theory. Tiger and Shefer (1975), representing this approach in kibbutz research, assume that the kibbutz gave men and women equal opportunities in the sphere of work, and that women preferred to concern themselves with the family and with motherhood. In my opinion, their basic assumption is unwarranted: From the start, work became gender-specific, women receiving/taking responsibility for education and service jobs (Poznanski and Shori, 1949; Basevich, 1981; Tzur, Zvulun & Porat, 1981; Fogel-Bizhaoy, 1991), and men taking/receiving responsibility for making a living. In this context I wish to mention two possible explanations: one, that the women realized that service jobs were considered inferior to work in production, and therefore preferred private motherhood to collective motherhood; this explanation is in line with Ben

Rafael's (1996) perception of the increasing role of the family. The second explanation is that the women could not and did not want to continue to give up their private motherhood, as they were called upon to do in the first generation, and they did everything possible to regain charge of their own children. The second explanation may be seen as more biological, but can also be considered sociological, showing that women act according to accepted norms and gender-oriented patterns of socialization. It appears that as long as gender-oriented patterns define the variance expected between the two sexes, we shall not be able to reveal to what extent women and men are in fact different, and in particular the level of women's capabilities in different spheres of life, such as with regard to their professional identity. Nor can we ascertain male capabilities in the parental sphere.

3. The approach maintaining that the strengthening of the family came as a reaction to discrimination against women: According to Ben Rafael and Witman (1986), the women reverted to the family domain as a reaction to the discrimination against them in the sphere of work and the economic and political activity in the kibbutz. That is why they turned to the strategy 'back to the family', as a potential focus of power. This suggests that reverting their attention to the family was the only alternative to social activity, open to them. However, I tend to agree with Zamir (1998) that the women returned to focus on the family (they did not 'retreat', as the researchers Rosner and Palgi, 1976, define it), because they objected to the comprehensive communal education, which distanced them from caring for their own children. They "fought to preserve the family as a basic, natural and primary need" (Zamir, ibid: 272). Plotnik (1992), who emphasized 'child deprivation' from which the mothers suffered when the children slept communally, reinforces the opinion of those who maintain that restored emphasis on the family was due to a profound need to counteract these deprivations.

In my opinion, Ben Rafael and Witman's assessment (1986) that the return to the family was a strategy intended to strengthen the women's status on kibbutz, is not acceptable. If it were true, we would see a subsequent rise in their status and power in society, which did not happen, as they themselves say. When they were asked, which were the main sources of the woman's central place in kibbutz society, 76% mentioned work as the most important one, and 0.5% gave the number of children (Adar, 1996).

While the women of the first generation believed they had to identify with the men in their work, leading them to give up caring for their own children, in the second and third generation they succeeded in reintegrating childcare within the family, for their own sake and that of their partners. Blank (1995) and Dar (1994) point out that there is evidence that women are today satisfied with the centrality of the family, and they are beginning to show signs of a desire to enter into business economic entrepreneurship; nevertheless Blank (ibid) admits that there are no clear signs that they are entering the public and political sphere. We may presume that the strengthening of the family and the sharing of responsibility for the family by both partners will provide opportunities for the women to plunge with greater confidence into public-political and economic activity.

Third-generation mothers seek in the family not only the experience of motherhood, but

also that of partnership. It is likely that the peace of mind they have regained, the firmer partnership and the strengthening of their self-confidence through a closer relationship with their children, will enable them to fulfill additional aspirations.

Later Ben Rafael (1996) maintains that the women's return to the family comes as a reaction to the male perception of equality in the first years of the kibbutz. Women, who found it difficult to identify with the male idea of equality, seek, through strengthening the family, a more feminine ideal. I consider this explanation as an important addition, relating to unconscious processes. We may presume that women, who dreamt the kibbutz dream and wanted to play a central role in its realization and faced opposition by the men to a full partnership (Tzur, Zevulun & Porat, 1981), sought a way of fulfilling their dream, more suitable to them, by 'bypassing' that of the men. Gilligan's contribution (1982) enables us to view the different needs of women and men with greater sensitiveness, more in line with the values underlying the kibbutz ideal. Gilligan speaks of two different ethical models for the two genders, the men being closer to the hierarchical, competitive model, based on personal achievement, and the women having greater affinity with the model typified by warm relations and empathy. In their struggle for the strengthening of the family, the kibbutz members, women and men, sought the other feminine voice, described by Gilligan, while the first generation was unable to identify its importance and necessity.

4. Relating to feminist theories, it appears that the findings of this study are closer to liberal feminist approaches, such as those of Direnstein (1976), Chodorw (1978), O'Brian (1981), Langer (1986) and Rich (1989) than to the radical feminist ones, such as that of De Beauvoir (1949). In line with the liberal feminist approach, women on kibbutz wish to be mothers. Motherhood is important to them and central to their lives. (In the first generation, private motherhood was converted to collective motherhood.) They do approach motherhood from the point of view of power relations between men and women, but do not deny motherhood, certainly not with the intention of abolishing it. We may also say that women kibbutz members have almost no feminist consciousness, certainly not on a declarative level, and they do not identify with feminist thought. Only a few of the respondents (one from the first generation and one from the third) spoke a little about their feelings as women in a society giving preference to men, revealing seeds of feminist consciousness.

5. I made extensive use of Rich's theory (1989), distinguishing between the 'institution of motherhood' and the 'experience of motherhood'. This distinction enabled me to analyze the change in the experience of motherhood across the generations, while the salient finding with regard to the first generation was motherhood resembling the 'institution of motherhood', in the sense of commitment and of social principles according to which mothers should behave, a transition from this type of motherhood to motherhood as an experience in the second generation, and the full exploitation of motherhood in the third generation. Rich maintains that these principles are male ones, intended to preserve the status quo of the inferior position of women; it appears that women on kibbutz were not free of these unconscious prejudices.

6. The strengthening of 'feminine' traits among boys and 'male' traits among girls (the theory of Dinnerstein, 1976 and of Chodorow, 1978). An interesting change occurred in the third generation with regard to the fathers' parenting and attitude to the family – more of them now play a greater parental role. There are a few studies tending to relate this phenomenon to the change in the family sleeping arrangements (Sagi et al, 1985, Zamir, 1990), Plotnik, 1992).

The findings of this study appear to support the theory of Dinnerstein (1976) and of Chodorow (1978), maintaining that there has been a strengthening of feminine traits of attachment in relationships among boys and of male traits of independence and setting limits among girls. This can occur when fathers play a more active parental role as soon as the child is born. The fathers' participation will enable the mothers to undertake activities outside the family, and identification of the sons and daughters with their fathers and mothers, now sharing in parenting, will present a possible model to subsequent generations. It will be interesting to follow the developments in this sphere among the fourth generation.

7. Mother – daughter relationship: The findings of this study are in line with the theory, developed on this topic. It points to a profound inner conflict between daughters and mothers related to processes of individuation, of achieving autonomy and independence as opposed to strong ties and dependence (Friday, 1980; Rich, 1989; Friedman, 1996; Shaplan- Katzav, 1997; Deutch, 1944; Chodorow, 1974, 1978; Mahler, 1975; Flax, 1981; Hartman-Halbertal, 1996).

The above researchers also point out that the relationship between mother and daughter becomes closer when the daughter becomes pregnant and gives birth, and when the mother reaches old age. However, the closer relationship between them in the wake of the daughters' childbearing also arouses anger and unresolved conflicts from the past, as mentioned by Leshem (1991) in the kibbutz context, and by Friedman (1996) in other contexts.

Almost all the respondents of the second and third generations tell about closer relations with their mothers after giving birth. However, the two generations differ: second-generation mothers express stronger negative reactions to their mothers, with greater intensity when compared to the reactions by the third generation. Even though this reaction is related to psychological processes of individuation and the youthful need for separation, the greater moderation displayed by the third-generation mothers suggests that the reaction is not conditioned merely by psychological needs; it is also built up as a result of ideological and organizational changes occurring from one generation to the next.

It appears that the difference in the level of this reaction can be explained by the ideological and organizational changes. Bettelheim (1957) and Zamir (1986) suggested that second-generation mothers reverted to motherhood in revolt as daughters against the deprivation of motherhood in the first generation. It may be said tentatively that the difference between the generations in the mother-daughter relationship reinforces the

approach that perceives motherhood as a meeting between the private and social domains, rather than a biological instinct. Surely, if motherhood were an instinct, there would be greater similarity between the generations.

Nevertheless, further research is needed, focusing on mother-daughter relationship on kibbutz. In my opinion, it is to be expected that on kibbutz, where the education system offers additional figures for identification besides the parents (educators, *metaplot*, women members met at work and on other occasions), there are greater prospects for individuation processes different from those outside the kibbutz. Moreover, when mothers and daughters that are mothers, are members of the same kibbutz, a particularly close relationship is created physically, actually having a distancing effect. A more in-depth examination of this complex issue will contribute additional insights, exploiting the uniqueness of the kibbutz framework while it still exists, maybe not for long.

**The contribution of the study**

a) Contribution to the subject under study:
The study gives a voice to kibbutz mothers on the topic of motherhood, a central component of their lives and of the life of the whole community - a subject not researched so far, to the best of my knowledge. While giving expression to the respondents' personal feelings, the study also provides potential for a change of the situation by its redefinition.

Focusing on a subject so vital to society enables us to acquire a better understanding of the world of mothers in society in general, and in kibbutzim in particular. The study deepens our understanding of the relationship between bearing children and forging a female identity, and within the context of a cooperative society, which structures and plans its social and educational way of life.

The study enables us to examine the social and subjective structure of the motherhood experience within the context of social arrangements in human societies in general and in kibbutz society in particular. The results of this study may assist policy designers and those dealing with change processes on kibbutz and in other societies.

b) Contribution in displaying a specific point of view: Giving a voice to the mothers themselves means granting them a presence and a place, in the metaphorical sense of the concept 'voice' (Gilligan, 1982). The dialog with the mother's voice facilitates the exposure of the subjective uniqueness of women – mothers as a social group - and thus it may also strengthen their status.

c) Contribution to teacher education: Since the dilemmas between motherhood identity and professional identity are universal in modern societies, the discussion of these findings and of their implications with student teachers (and other novice professionals) may increase their awareness and understanding of this crucial dimension in their lives, and also increasingly in the lives of men.

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# The Kibbutz movement and its relationship to the Israeli Government: From its Centre to its Periphery

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## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the changes, which influenced the kibbutzim and their movements.

The kibbutz movements in Israel are comprised of kibbutzim and their apex organizations. The kibbutzim and their movements are in the social and political center, according to Shils (1975) sociological theory about the structure of a society (1975). Shils argued in his theory that every society is composed of a centre, where the elite, its culture and the institutions for implementation are "located", and a periphery where the citizens are located. There is a relationship between the centre and the periphery, namely – the centre supplies the leadership, the mode of action and the dominant culture, and the periphery create the means for implementation (Shils, 1975: 3-16). Since the foundation of modern Israel at the beginning of the construction of the State of Israel, the kibbutzim were a part of the centre.

In Israel today there are 276 kibutzim. These are organized into three kibbutz movements. The major movement – The United Kibbutz movement represents 258 kibbutzim; the Religious Kibbutz movement services 16 kibbutzim; and there are 2 religious kibbutzim, which are connected to an extreme religious political party and movement called Agudat Israel.

The development of kibbutzim into kibbutz movements is the result of historical and sociological developments. The organization of the kibbutz through these movements resulted from their growth and the development in Israeli society and within the kibbutz itself. The questions to be explored are:

a. What were the dynamics leading the kibbutzim to organizing themselves into movements?
b. What were and are the relations of the movements to the political parties during these different periods?
c. What are the relations of the kibbutz movements with government and state agencies?
d. What are the changes in the kibbutz movements, which parallel the changes of the kibbutz?

These questions shall give an answer to the fact that the kibbutz movement, mainly the secular ones were active in national politics through the political national parties and were a part of the national leadership until recently.

The Israeli society and the kibbutz movement went through three stages from their very beginning:
Stage one: Pre-state;
Stage two: Building the state;
Stage three: Building the society.
Stages 1 and 2 exist because the political power was in the hands of the Labor movement and the elite were the Jews who immigrated to Israel from central Europe. Stage 3, which began around the 1990's was influenced by Israeli-born Jews, many of whom, or their parents, were immigrants from Muslim countries and immigrants from the former Soviet Union. This created a completely different elite with individualistic attitudes, and this dynamic changed the culture, the attitudes and norms of the state and its elite. In the first two stages the norms were more socialistic. In the third stage they represent an individualistic and capitalistic emphasis.
The article will attempt to answer the questions raised earlier.

**The Organization of the kibbutzim into movements and political parties**

The origin of the kibbutzim and their development began in political parties. The leaders were influenced by the socialist movements, mainly in Russia but they were also Zionists. These young and energetic people created the kibbutz idea and the kibbutz movements. They also became the party leaders. The result was that many party leaders were also kibbutz leaders. In the pre-state stage – the political party and the kibbutz movement were a vehicle that substituted for government agencies. So at the end of the first stage, the kibbutz movements were a part of the political party that dealt with the kibbutz problems.

Yishai (2003:71-77) argued that at the first stage the Jewish society was in effect a civil society and all its institutions were voluntary institutions. As the kibbutz leaders were a part of the Jewish leadership in Israel they had a great influence on the decision-makers, as they were a part of them. Yeshai described the differences between the stages according to her thinking: The first stage was the pre-state i.e. a voluntary civil society. The second stage was the 'State' stage where in the state was formed, and the third stage was a new Israeli society and state (Yishai pp.71-101). In the third stage the presentation of the kibbutzim and their influence declined sharply. One can argue that in fact the kibbutz leadership has little influence in the parties of which they are members of because they lost their authority and they represent the kibbutzim that not are needed anymore in the process of the development of the state.

**The changes in the kibbutz**

Parallel to the cultural and political changes in Israeli society there was also a change in the kibbutzim parallel to the changes in the Israeli society. The Israeli society as a whole and the kibbutzim as apart of Israeli society went through significant changes which where expressed by the emergence of a new elite and culture according to Shils' theory cited earlier. The changes can be formulated as emanating from a collectivistic ideology and culture to an individualistic one. Exhibit 1 demonstrates these changes:

I define the social contract based on foundation of the whole society as 'Contract Social', which means that it is a contract that stems from the whole society as the base of authority. The second pattern is an agreement between egoistic individuals who agree among themselves about what they are ready to agree to.

Exhibit 1 – The changes in the contract between the kibbutz and its members

| **Contract Social agreement** | **Contract relations agreement** |
|---|---|
| There is a "social agreement" accepted by all participants of the group for themselves | The authority stems from the agreement of the individuals |
| The authority stems from the society as a whole | Its coming into effect stems from this agreement the participant agreed upon |
| In these relations all aspects of life are included | The contract is according to detailed regulations |
| There are no regulations because all aspects of life are included | There are no regulations beyond what has been agreed upon |
| | There is no authority on the individual beyond the agreed contract |

Source: Rosolio and Rosner, 2003: 202-203 (Hebrew)

On the basis of changes described in the exhibit it is possible to define the history of the kibbutz through it changes:

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1. The communal kibbutz – the kibbutz functioned as a total commune
2. The institutional kibbutz – its life was run in a beaucratic way
3. The industrial kibbutz – The kibbutz adopts the way of life of its environment
4. The new kibbutz – the kibbutz adopts the private way of life.

The kibbutz could adopt the first three patterns of life because it was handled like a cooperative where the society had much in common. This was not the case with the fourth pattern where the individualistic pattern took over as the result of the changes introduced in Western society of which Israeli society is a part. Of course it had an influence on the relation of the kibbutz and its members in the fourth stage (Rosolio and Rosner, 2003: 199-202).

**The region as a power center vis-à-vis the movements**

During the second stage, two counter powers developed in the movement: The regional municipalities and regional enterprises.

The regional municipalities provided services that the kibbutz had previously received directly from the government through the movement. For example: the kibbutz received education services from the government through the movement at the first stage. From the second stage on more and more education services were transferred to the kibbutz

through the municipalities. The end of the process: in the third stage the educational system of the kibbutz was transferred to regional schools managed by the municipalities. A parallel process took place in the relationship between the regional economic enterprises (Weiz, 1993; Rosolio, 1975).

**The changes in the movements along the different periods**

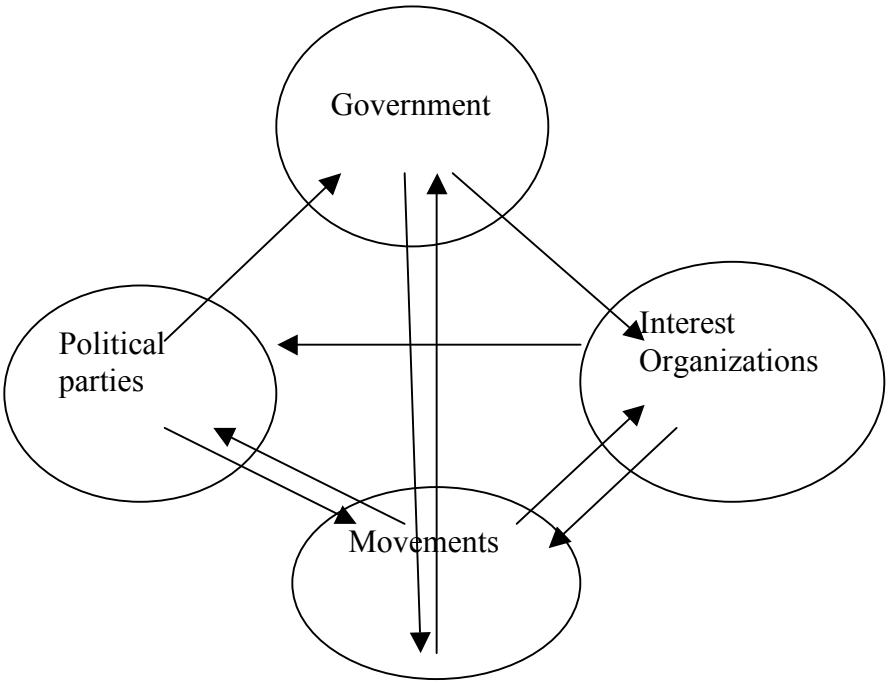
The kibbutz movements, and mainly those which were represented in the secular movements went through a process of change following the changes in the different stages. In stage I and II the movements were the authority that guided its leadership in the political parties, in the Jewish agency, and later on in the government.

At the same time, the movements were responsible for what was happening in the kibbutzim - for their development in all areas, demographic development, economic and social development etc. In fact the movement played a role in the political arena and in the settlement functional arena.

In the first two stages the government cooperated and assisted the kibbutzim through the movement to survive and to develop. One of the results was that, in fact, the movement was totally responsible for the well being of the kibbutz. The government cooperated with the movement through resources allocation and legislation. One of the results of this pattern was that in fact most of the kibbutzim carried a deficit that was recovered from time to time through the help of the government agencies (Rosolio D. 1999). At the same time the kibbutzim took part in national enterprises to implement the plans of the government.

The following exhibit will present the relations of the kibbutz movements with the parties in which they were members, with the government, which was a labor government until 1977 and as organized interest groups.

Exhibit 2 – The relationships between the Kibbutz movements, Government, Political parties and interest groups




The arrows show the direction of influence between the different participants in the political game.

The exhibit presents the relationship of government and institutions and their connection with the kibbutz movements. As will be described later, this is not the pattern today, because the kibbutz movements no longer have a claim to equal power with other power centres in the power game.

**The kibbutz crisis in the late eighties and nineties of the twentieth century**

At the end of the eighties the kibbutzim faced a severe economic crisis. The difference between this crisis and other former crises was that the government and therefore the banks did not treat the kibbutzim differently from its other clients, as it had before. At the first stages of the crisis the funds of the movements and their reserves tried to help, but they did not have enough funds or means to do it. Therefore the following data illustrate the impact of the crisis, as shown in exhibit 3.

Exhibit 3 – The growth of the debts of the kibbutzim and a movement between the years 1983 – 1988. Prices of June 1989

| | Total sum (million NIS) | % |
|---|---|---|
| The growth of debts in the regional and movement activity | 830 NIS | 32 |
| The growth of debts in the kibbutzim | 1770 NIS | 68 |

Source: Rosolio, 1999: 144

The exhibit presents the enormous debts of the movement and the kibbutzim. But it can be seen that the growth of debts of the kibbutzim was much greater (let alone the religious one). The government, the banks and the movements created a committee to try to solve the problem. The sums were too large. But the main problem was that many kibbutzim did not earn enough money thus they could not recover. The kibbutzim were accustomed to receive help mainly from the government to solve the problem. But, the right-wing government was not ready to solve the problem differently from its regular method of recovering businesses (Rosolio, 1999: 147-161). As a result of it the kibbutzim found ways to negotiate with the banks, without the help of the movement in order to resolve their debts.

**The relations of the kibbutz movements with the government**

The relations between the government and the kibbutz movement were a result of the general attitudes in Israeli society, or, in other words, they were influenced by the nature of the social and political centre according to Shils' theory. As I described the changes earlier, it is possible to define the relation in connection with the stages cited earlier.

In the first and second stages, as there was a crisis situation, the government created the vehicle to cope with the problem and to solve it. For example: in the early sixties in the 20th century, many new kibbutzim, which were settled after the war of independence, were in a bad economic condition. In this case, the government created a committee. Its chairman was the governor of the Bank of Israel and its members were officers from the relevant ministries. The committee formulated a plan, which was implemented through the officers. The movement officers participated in these committees and the funds were transferred to the kibbutzim through the movements' funds (Rosolio: 115-118). This example was typical of the relations between the movement and the government.

This was also the case in the second stage. In the third stage the kibbutz was treated directly through the recovery committee of the banks and the government. In the fourth stage, every kibbutz negotiated with the bank individually, according to its abilities and means. This means that the stronger kibbutzim, and those which have land and other assets, could survive, and those which did not, experience bankruptcy.

The movement today has no standing in the aid activities of the government. In fact there is an effort by the minister of agriculture to remove from the movement and the settlers the possibility of influencing the policy and aid of the government and its agencies. This

of course defines the standing of the kibbutzim vis-à-vis the banks, which are now private. A report in the weekly paper of the united kibbutz movement describes the activities of the movement. We learn from this report that the movement has lost its power and is trying to preserve what has remained from it. The problem is, that the movement lost power also in the kibbutzim themselves

**Discussion**

As was developed in the earlier part of this paper, the movement was an integral part of the kibbutz phenomenon. It started, (as we refer to it earlier) as a tool in a civil society that had no other tools. The leadership of the coming state, and later on the state itself needed the movement as a tool to mobilize the kibbutzim to implement the policies of the new state. But at the same time there developed a stage where the kibbutz as a mobilized 'pioneer' was not needed anymore. We could see the process of change that occurred in the different stages, from state functions through border settling and industry building to private interest economy.

The development changed from a collectivistic approach to a private approach that was accustomed to get state aid because the party leadership was interwoven with the kibbutz leadership. The result of it was, that mainly in the fourth stage, the kibbutzim explored ways to find resources for their needs without cooperating with the other kibbutzim and the movement. One can draw a line in which in one pole there is the mobilized commune and in the other pole are the local interests of the kibbutz. In the fourth stage of the scale there are powerful individuals in the kibbutz, as we will be demonstrating in Exhibit 4.

Exhibit 4 – The course of development of the kibbutz.

| Stage I | stage II | stage III | stage IV |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mobilzed Commune | Bureaucratic commune or Cooperative | Power centres and leaders of the kibbutz | Individualistic approach |

These stages demonstrate the loss of power of the movements. If in the first stage, the movement had the power to decide everything in the internal life of the commune, in the fourth stage the movement was only a mediator and interested delegate of the individuals to the agencies (Rosolio, 1993: 35-56).

The question being addressed in the foregoing paper is: What has happened to the traditional and classical kibbutz?

As a result of radical and drastic developments, a new kind of 'commune' or community has emerged with differences in mutual aid, and reciprocal responsibility to members.

What is developing from the concept of the 'classic' kibbutz? This author believes that there will develop different kinds of communities where the relationship between mutual

aid and responsibility to its members will be different, i.e. there will be different types of communities which stem from the traditional kibbutz.

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# Identity politics within and around the kibbutz

## Menachem Topel

In this presentation I will try to illustrate the facts that affect the changes in the conceptual definition of kibbutz and kibbutz life in practice:

As many of you may know, the period at the end of the 1970s saw the acceleration of an earlier gradual process characterized by a decline in the status of the kibbutzim. In 1977, right wing parties were elected to form the government. The period that began before the establishment of the state in which parties associated with the kibbutz movements were continuously in power, came to an end.

This occurred during a period in which a large and increasing number of kibbutz-born young people chose different paths in life without choosing to join the kibbutz.

Later on, in the mid 1980s, despite a general feeling that the kibbutzim were flourishing due to the merger of two of the three largest kibbutz movements, a very severe financial and economic crisis erupted. This affected most of the kibbutzim as well as national and local umbrella organizations.

The aftermath is familiar to all of us; a far-reaching crisis that led to the de-legitimization of traditional kibbutz principles and the challenging of previously accepted conventions, movement leadership, and the status of the kibbutz in Israeli society.

All efforts of the movement establishment 'to close ranks' regarding the conventional kibbutz model or at least to unite all the kibbutzim in a joint agreement, or to establish boundaries and agreements on the limits of change, failed due to lack of backing in the individual kibbutzim. Even threats of splits or applying legal measures – threats that were frequently heard in the kibbutzim – did not slow down the process significantly.

The gap in opinions and approaches about the need, the logic or even the point in maintaining or changing principles and frameworks of this lifestyle became wider and more profound. The individual kibbutzim began to reconsider the very institutions of the kibbutz movement. However, these were not the only factors taken into account. Other parties were involved, in addition to the kibbutz members themselves. These included local councils, governmental bodies, banks and financial and administrative experts. Most of the kibbutzim and the kibbutz members approached the subject of change purely from the perspective of their own needs and considerations.

On the one hand, some kibbutzim rallied around a type of 'social movement' in an attempt to retain the principles of the kibbutz. This movement adopted varied configurations in an attempt to gather support, but did not succeed in slowing down the process or changing its course.

The striking diversity is not only in the approaches that characterizes the individual kibbutz or kibbutz members, but is also a function of the specific circumstances of each kibbutz in terms of its future possibilities, economic and institutional coercions. It is not surprising that as a result of the diversity of approaches and circumstances, different models for kibbutzim have developed along the way.

The difference in models and approaches ushered in a struggle concerning the very identity of the kibbutz. The questions that emerged were: What can now be defined as a kibbutz? Are there established boundaries? Who is authorized to determine new arrangements and who is supposed to or obliged to determine the boundaries? These were all questions without answers. What was clear was that the answers would have far-reaching consequences on the day-to-day life of kibbutz members and were not just academic definitions. This not only concerned changes in arrangements for the individual kibbutz members, but also affected legal interpretations that have an impact on the rights and obligations of the kibbutz and its members regarding assets, property, taxation, governmental services, etc.

In this new situation, issues were brought before the courts, regarding the rights of the kibbutzim and the relationship between the kibbutz and the state, its members or other interested parties. Under these circumstances, governmental bodies claimed that they could not longer relate to the kibbutzim as a homogeneous group – according to the 'old' standards – while in reality they had no alternative mechanisms.

There are those who perceive this differently. They claim that the government saw an opportunity to intrude in the kibbutzim's moment of weakness in order to gain kibbutz assets as well as diminish the rights of the kibbutzim. Conversely, others viewed government intervention as a chance to reach consensus between the different streams in the kibbutz movement about critical issues such as defining their identity, a consensus that had seemed unreachable in internal discussions.

Against this backdrop, the government appointed a public commission for kibbutz matters. The commission was assembled by the Ministry of Justice in coordination with the heads of the kibbutz movements and with the 'Collective Stream', an organization representing a small group of kibbutzim that wanted to retain the traditional kibbutz framework. Professor Ben Raphael, a sociologist specializing in kibbutzim was appointed to chair the commission. Members included three professors from various universities and experts on taxation, economics and planning. In addition, the heads of the three kibbutz movements were included in the commission as well as two representatives of the collective stream, a representative of one particular kibbutz that had already taken radical steps and two public figures – non-kibbutz members closely affiliated with the kibbutz system.

The commission worked a full year. Many of the internal kibbutz movement disputes as well as disputes between the movement and the government surfaced in the commission. The conclusions of the commission were based on compromises authorized by the many streams in the commission and, in fact, by all its members.

The end result was the recognition of two sub-definitions for the concept of a kibbutz, and an additional one. The two definitions are:
A. A collective kibbutz: Maintains the current legal definition.
B. A renewed kibbutz: In addition to abiding by the existing definition, the renewed kibbutz can: allow its members to own private property, provide differential wages, grant ownership of their homes to members – including the right to bequeath houses through inheritance – allow non-kibbutz members to own homes on the kibbutz, as well as to build new neighbourhoods for them and to allocate shares of the kibbutz assets (for example factories) to kibbutz members.

The renewed kibbutz option also entails a number of commitments, namely: maintaining a meaningful system of mutual responsibility, collective owning of more that half of the assets of the common enterprises, a majority of at least 51% kibbutz members in the population of the community, as well as the right to screen potential members or residents, an agreed upon mechanism for solving disputes, etc.

C. Another type of kibbutz to receive recognition in the commission's summary is the urban kibbutz, a phenomenon that has existed for some 20 years without any institutionalized form of recognition or any legal rights. Today the urban kibbutzim – five in number – enjoy support and recognition from both kibbutz movements and other wider circles connected to their well-appreciated activities in development towns and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. I will not elaborate on the topic of urban communes or educational communes in kibbutzim, which were established by youth movements connected with the kibbutz movement and by kibbutz-born young people. Other researchers have covered this subject in a different session.

The commission's recommendations were adopted by the kibbutz movement and were accepted word for word by the government, which is currently working towards providing them with practical interpretations in the law.

A conceptual change of the kibbutz has now been created:
A. A single concept of the kibbutz has become two or three concepts.

B. The definition of a renewed kibbutz nowadays is very wide. Of course, there are those who claim that is not wide enough while others feel that it is too wide.

C. It's worth noting that a change evolved in the composition of participants in the debate about the kibbutz identity, and which perhaps can be coined the struggle for identity. In the past – and throughout the kibbutz history– only a small political elite participated in this debate. Although in reality, decisions were made within the boundaries and constraints determined by the national establishment, these were always open to and mindful of the intervention of the kibbutz elite. Nowadays, determining what really happens on the kibbutz is more in the hands of the local community, in other words, with the involvement of local people. However, both locally and on a national level– as we can deduce from the description at hand – there is greater involvement on the part of

other elites, for example the bureaucracy, the academic world or what I would define as the technocratic world, which represents groups from the government, banks or corporations.

If these are the conceptual changes, what are the changes that we see in the field?

Although the decisions that we discussed above divide the traditional kibbutzim into two groups, nevertheless we can view the kibbutz model today as a continuum between two poles:

A. On one side is the 'collective stream', the organization that wishes to retain the traditional frameworks of the kibbutz. It operates consciously towards this goal as well as the struggle for the kibbutz identity through organizational, educational and economic means. This organized body is compromised of 30 kibbutzim – 11% of the kibbutz movement.

B. There are a large number of kibbutzim that meet the criteria of a collective kibbutz structure because they haven't (yet) undergone those changes that would otherwise classify them among the renewed type of kibbutzim. On the other hand, they do not have the ideological commitments that characterize the collective stream.

C. We can also identify a rather large group of kibbutzim that are still considered a collective although they have deviated from the original conventions by implementing privatization to the extent that the food budget is privatized or they have partially linked the members' work to wages (monetary recompense for additional or special work). Some have decided to allow members to own their houses or to bestow its members with entitlements in factories or other common assets.

D. We can see dozens of different kibbutzim that have implemented similar changes, although they have added differential components (usually in the scope of 30-40%) to the household budget. The differential component is based partly on seniority and for the most part on the member's position at work or outside wages. This is known as the 'integrated' kibbutz model because these kibbutzim did not adopt the differential model in its entirety.

E. Finally, around 40% of the kibbutzim meet the definition of "differential kibbutz". This term essentially means that each member receives a differential salary based on market wages whether he/she works on the kibbutz or outside. The kibbutz provides each member with his/her wages after deducting an internal tax, which is deposited in the communal account and serves as a safety net for all. The purpose of this fund is to subsidize those members who do not reach the agreed-upon minimum salary. This category also encompasses many variations.

F. In addition, but not overlapping the continuum of the models I have presented, organizational changes are occurring in the area of economics and industry. Many kibbutzim, in need of development, have transferred part of their control of factories to

outside market bodies or issued shares on the stock market or entered partnerships, including partnerships placing them in a league with international and global corporations.

G. Additional differences that can be discerned among kibbutzim are in the organizational structure of the social system and specifically the economic system. This includes the extent to which the boundaries between the kibbutz and the surrounding society have been lowered. However, this is not the appropriate time to expand upon this.

In light of these facts and as we witness the renewed version of kibbutz coming closer and closer to the lifestyle of Western society, the question at hand is: Does the renewed kibbutz still have universal significance or does it simply represent a certain version – and not necessarily an interesting one – of the current capitalistic society?

When answering this question, we should examine the reason for the diversity in models that developed and their conceptual ramifications. We then come to the conclusion that the diversity is a result of a collective decision in each and every kibbutz.

From this perspective there is still the confrontation with the same identity issues defined by Ben Raphael as the hallmarks of a kibbutz identity – far before the crisis: the weight of the individual vis-à-vis the collective on the community level, the conflict of equality vis-à-vis economic progress, and the lobbying for kibbutz sectarian interests vis-à-vis fulfilling tasks in Israeli society. The actual struggle with these issues, the diverse solutions and the process and expanded involvement in the identity struggle at this time are all subjects of universal interest and are certainly important for communes wherever they may exist.

## 1.2 Community economics

# Community, money and the coherence of community – the stamp scrip scheme of Charles Zylstra

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## Abstract

Does money play any role in communal societies? In general, the use of "unrighteous mammon" has been limited to communities' transactions with the outside world. But money's potential to build community can be illustrated by the use of scrip money in the 1930's. As people hoarded money, economic transactions ground to a halt. In the northwest corner of Iowa, one man, Charles J. Zylstra came up with a solution. This paper examines the history, successes and failures of the Zylstra Stamp Scrip scheme, an idea that swept across the US in late 1932 and early 1933. Although the motivation of the scheme was primarily to provide a means of exchange and to put people back to work, the role of community in its development turned out to be very important.

## Introduction

"The love of money is a root of all kinds of evil", the apostle Paul writes to Timothy. "People who want to get rich fall into temptation and a trap and into many foolish and harmful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction…. Some people, eager for money, have wandered from the faith and pierced themselves with many griefs." (1 Timothy 6:9-10 New International Version.) The corrupting influence of money is well documented, and many Utopian societies have sought to avoid its evil effects by eschewing its use. The first Utopia, the Garden of Eden, was free of money; shouldn't later Utopias be similarly untarnished.

But note that Paul is talking of the *love* of money, not money *per se.* Money, as a means of co-coordinating economic decisions, can be a means to greater efficiency, directing resources to wherever they are most highly valued, and freeing up time and energy for other projects. To make time for the writing of this paper, I've given up the opportunity of doing another of other things, including the raking up of last year's leaves from my lawn. Students, who enjoy the prospect of a few hours' work in the open air as a break from studying, agreed to rake up the leaves, in exchange for payment. This transaction left both me and the students better off. But without some means of payment, this type of transaction would have been very much harder to organize.

Money fulfils a number of different functions. The primary (and historically first) function of the bits of metal and pieces of paper we use each day is as a means of making transactions. In fact, one definition of money is that money is anything generally acceptable as a means of exchange. If people use buttons or rocks (as on the Micronesian island of Yap) those items are money. During the 19$^{th}$ century, most currencies were backed by gold – if you lost faith in your country's currency, you could exchange it for gold, which has enjoyed widespread acceptability from ancient times. During the 20$^{th}$

century, the ability to convert currency into gold was slowly reduced. Although British banknotes still bear the legend "I promise to pay the bearer on demand the sum of £x", you can now obtain only a new note in exchange for the old one, rather than a fixed weight of gold.

Money today ultimately depends on trust. In countries where people do not trust that the local currency will maintain its value, currency substitution, or polarization, takes place: people choose to use a currency that they trust more. It is ironic that the residents of the Socialist former Eastern bloc countries preferred dollars to their rubles, zlotys and forints – an early indication, perhaps, of the unsustainability of enforced doctrinaire Socialism. Mafia bosses and those in charge of keeping the foreign exchange reserves of Central Banks also generally prefer dollars (although competition from the Euro is likely).

Government-issued money, often deemed to be "legal tender – good for all debts, public and private", as is inscribed on the US currency, has the considerable advantage of allowing trade between individuals remote from each other, and between whom no relationship exists. But because of these advantages it has the drawback of depersonalizing transactions. Because I can trade with people remote from me, I can avoid meaningful contact with my local community; now even make transactions without knowing anything about the person I'm transacting with – I paid my registration for this conference over the internet, with only the vaguest of notions about where the money was going. I do not even have to meet the people I'm dealing with: we both trust that the transaction will be processed by the credit card company, and that the money we give and receive will be accepted by others.

Obviously, one does not *have* to use money, much less the currency produced by the Government, within an intentional community. But if members of a community are diffused geographically, co-ordination between members of the community is difficult. Here, the value of a generally-accepted medium becomes apparent. Many local currency schemes, such as the Local Economy Trading Systems (LETS) pioneered by Michael Linton (1994) have high costs associated with them. Membership lists detailing who is involved, what goods and services they offer, and their locations, have to be published and updated regularly. These costs are either the result of long hours of volunteer labor (paid for in LETS currency) or have to be recouped by a "tax" on LETS transactions. Taxes, though, raise the effect price or cost of trading, and so discourage trade. As government-produced money is accepted by virtually everybody, these costs are considerably reduced, and more transactions (and so more economic activity) take place. Of course, not all of these transactions seem to add value – the vast growth in types and forms of financial instruments over the past three decades are not necessarily to the benefit of all – but at least some do!

Is it possible to get the benefits of money's ability to stimulate useful economic activity without on the one hand the depersonalizing effects of government currency and on the other the high transactions costs (which discourage economic activity) on the other? Hybrid scrip schemes may be the answer. LETS schemes in general operate independently of the formal monetary system, and so are not generally acceptable as a

medium of exchange to people outside the LETS group, whereas a money-substitute that could be converted fairly easily into cash is likely to be more widely accepted.

**Can money build community?**

> *Millions of people will probably never forget the experience they had during the period when all the banks were closed. Many amusing instances occurred. A millionaire was no better off than a poor, honest man. It was practically impossible to cash checks so people had to struggle along on what funds they had on hand. If these funds were low one had to rely on the generosity of the grocery man, etc., to extend credit.*
>
> *Credit was the one thing that was easy to acquire during this period. Before the banks closed people were hoarding money and there was a great deal of pessimism in regard to the outcome of the depression. The bank holiday put everyone in the same boat. Strange as it may seem the spirit of optimism, instead of pessimism, prevailed. Smiles took the place of frowns and while the situation was critical most everyone seemed willing to take it in good humor. A man's word was taken at its face value. Everyone seemed willing to extend credit to his neighbor as they had confidence in the honesty of man to pay his just debts* (Brown 1941, p. 108).

This contemporary description of life during the great Bank Holiday of March 1933, when cash locked up in bank accounts was effectively unavailable, demonstrate how people "made do", and, in so doing, came to know, respect and trust each other more. Local merchants were prepared to accept many of the types of circulating money substitutes, or scrip, that proliferated during the bank holiday. Some means of recording transactions was necessary, and scrip provided an easier method than just keeping a record of credit extended.

Scrip generally has the advantage of keeping purchasing power within a community – the scrip has no value outside the locality (or group) that uses it. It may also provide a means for advancing credit in circumstances where banks are unwilling to lend. A measure of trust is necessary – that the scrip will be redeemed, and that it will, in the interim, be accepted for things that the holders wish to buy. Many types appeared during 1932-3, from simple pieces of paper designed to function as a temporary means of exchange during the Bank Holiday of 1933, to more elaborate schemes that sought to revitalize local economies by providing relief for the unemployed.

Scrip predates the Great Depression. Early merchants often issued tokens to their customers to try to increase trade. Coal mines paid their workers with local money that was used only at the company store (thus giving tokens and scrip a bad reputation). The Civil War saw numerous scrip notes to make up for shortages of currency, as did the financial panic of 1907, where notes issued by bank clearing-house associations formed a significant form of emergency currency (Andrew, 1907).

But there is a particular type of scrip scheme that combined the virtues of wide acceptability with the benefits of community cohesion. Unlike most of the scrip mentioned above, this circulated many times before being redeemed, and did not require any input of legal tender to start. 'Stamped scrip', as it is called, was pioneered in Germany in the late 1920's and early 1930's, and came to the notice of people in America through the writings of Irving Fisher, the Yale monetary economist, and his assistant, Hans Cohrssen (Fisher 1932, pp. 226-230; Cohrssen 1932).

*The Hawarden Scrip scheme*

> *It can be seen that if the merchants fail to cooperate with the plan it becomes useless. In several places after being put into effect for a short period it was abandoned as the burden of placing stamps on the certificates fell on just a few people. Even after the stamps had been affixed it was difficult to keep them from pulling off so it was hard to tell whether the stamp had been placed on the certificate or not. The placing of stamps on the certificate was similar to a sales tax and this was probably the main feature which made the plan objectionable* (Brown, 1941, pp. 51-53).

Hawarden, a town of some 2,000 people, located in the west of Sioux County, Iowa, was briefly in the limelight in late 1932 as a result of the stamp scrip plan devised by Charles J Zylstra.

Zylstra's idea was for the City Council to issue its own money to be used as wages for the unemployed who were given jobs as a way of earning money to survive. He explained his plan in a number of newspaper articles, starting in the Le Mars *Globe Post* in July 1932 (Zylstra 1932, July 28). The same article appeared in other local newspapers (Zylstra 1932, September 1; December 8). He wrote,

> *I have talked about stamp-money for years, but until quite recently talked [about] it as a government project. By making it a cooperative proposition upon petition, I made it possible to start it immediately.* (C J Zylstra, letter to Irving Fisher, 31 December 1932.)

After extensive lobbying over the summer of 1932, he received the support of the majority of Hawarden's business owners, who pledged to accept the new currency, or scrip. A petition was circulated, worded as follows:

> *To the Honorable Mayor and City Council of Hawarden, Iowa:*
> *Realizing that unemployment seriously affects the Community and desirous of trying ways and means of relieving hardships and stagnant conditions, We the undersigned hereby petition the City council to promote local employment plans and use as a mode of payment for same, self-redeeming coupons good only in Hawarden, the user to affix a three cent redemption stamp to each, at the time of cashing same for merchandise or services.*
> *We also agree to use and accept these coupons in our own transactions* (Letter to Hawarden City Council, no date).

So that the city council could ultimately redeem the new money, each time the scrip was used, the person proffering it was required to affix a stamp (bought from the city); the funds raised from the sale of these stamps would pay for the operation of the scheme, and for the redemption of the scrip when the requisite number of stamps had been stuck on it.

The first issue of the scrip was in early October 1932. Workmen on relief projects were paid $1.60 for an eight-hour day, 60c in cash, and a $1 scrip certificate. The certificate had spaces on the back for 36 3c stamps; when all the spaces bore a stamp, the city council would give the bearer $1 for the certificate. The back of the scrip proclaimed:

> *BY USING THIS COUPON IN YOUR TRANSACTIONS YOU PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND AN EARLY RETURN TO PROSPERITY. YOUR 3 CENT STAMP MAKES THIS POSSIBLE*

Merchants displayed a notice in their businesses entitled "How to use Hawarden Trade Coupons", and exhorting users that

> *The 3 cent redemption stamp represents a 3% discount on that part of our transactions done with coupons. This coupon would not have been here except through the hands of an unemployed member of our community. All new business so created also directs 36 times this amount of business to be done in our city and 3% is therefore a reasonable amount spent for advertising.* ("Stamp Plan Encourages Home Trade," 1932)

The scrip was 'self-liquidating', in that the money raised from the sale of the stamps would raise $1.08 for the city - $1 to pay for the redemption of the scrip, and 8c to cover the issuing and printing expenses. Each time a transaction was made, a 3c stamp had to be put on the back of the scrip by the person using it to buy something. This was done in the presence of the seller, and the buyer initialed the stamp, to stop the scrip being passed on by the receiver without his adding an extra stamp. For the users of scrip, the stamps were the equivalent of a 3c sales tax.

A visit to Hawarden by Irving Fisher gave a great deal of publicity to the stamp scrip idea. Fisher had his own plan for stamped scrip: stamps were to be affixed to the certificate on fixed dates, rather than for each transaction (see "Says Stamp Money Need of Country," 1932, and "Stamped Scrip Act by Congress Urged by Fisher," 1932). Fisher's visit was reported widely around the country and letters requesting details of the Hawarden scheme came from many different places. Zylstra's plan featured in a number of books published in early 1933 For example, chapter one of Weishaar and Parrish (1933) is entitled "Hawarden leads the way," and Hawarden features prominently in Irving Fisher's book on scrip (Fisher 1933a). Fisher, though, often had to clarify how Zylstra's scheme differed from his own, and explain that he did not approve of all the details of the Hawarden plan. (See, for example, Fisher. 1933b.) Zylstra, realizing that his idea was valuable, had copyrighted the scrip materials.

Other Iowa towns followed Hawarden's lead. In November, Rock Rapids issued 50c scrip, requiring 54 1c stamps for redemption. Refining the Hawarden scheme by incorporating Fisher's dated scrip element, Rock Rapids' required that a stamp be affixed for every transaction, or every week, if it were not used. Newspaper accounts at the time tell a story of success in relieving the burden of unemployment. Madison and Elk Point in South Dakota also soon adopted Zylstra-type schemes. Within Iowa, towns such as Albia, Nevada, Eldora and Pella also introduced stamp scrip. Other towns considered the idea, and either rejected it (e.g. Merrill, on costs grounds – see "Council Turns Down Scrip Plan," 1933), or were so slow to start that the incentive to do so had largely disappeared (e.g. Luverne, MN, and Cherokee). Certain trade organizations (for example, the Sioux City meatpackers) lobbied against the idea in their own localities.

Zylstra realized that the stamped scrip scheme would be of benefit only as long as the community was behind it, and prepared to use it. He wrote a series of articles in the *Sioux Center News* in September 1932, arguing for the use of stamped scrip as a way of ameliorating the effects of the Depression. For the revival of economic activity, he argued

> *[…] it must be made possible for a larger number of people to consume each others' products or services; in other words, increase buying power of the masses.*

Unemployment was the root cause of the problem, as the unemployed lacked the buying power necessary to sustain local businesses. As the article headlined, "Can Idle Men Cure the Depression?" argued, what was needed was an expansion of credit, at a time when conventional granters of credit (banks) were unwilling to lend.

> *The plan to use self-retiring coupons – good in merchandise in the home locality – will provide this credit in such a way that the entire community will help to retire it in proportion to the amount of transactions.*

This was surely preferable to having to provide poor relief to support the vast, and growing, numbers of the unemployed (Zylstra, 1932, September 8).

But everyone would have to support the plan – all businesses would have to accept the scrip.

> […] *The plan is not guaranteed to work unless it has the wholehearted support of the community. If we approach it from a cold personal profit basis and insist on doing our business in the same old way, regardless of the consequences, [the scrip scheme] probably would fail to work* (Zylstra, 1932, September 8).

Community commitment was necessary to allow the scrip to circulate. If people were unwilling to accept it in their change, then the scheme would not work.

Zylstra himself also wrote an article in the Hawarden *Independent* exhorted the community to pull together:

> *The local merchants… deserve the hearty patronage of the entire community, including the farmers of this territory, as after all, increased prices for farm products can only come about through increased consumption of these products. By enabling more people to buy, through the use of coupons, the cumulative effect will be higher prices all along the line.*
>
> *If time should prove, that on account of lack of cooperation, this particular mode of relief will not function, it is hard to see what the future might bring. … Let us hope that after all we may all consider the alleviation of hardships to be a humane and commendable act, an act to which we can all give our whole-hearted support and our best efforts to make it succeed* (Zylstra 1932, October 13).

In fact, the problem in Hawarden was that the scrip tended to get 'stuck' and become concentrated in just a few hands, as C. C. Clifton of the *Des Moines Register* documented when he visited Hawarden in early December 1932.

> *Within a few minutes with the aid of a local map, $202 worth of the coupons – or two-thirds of the total in circulation – was located by your correspondent in the hands of nine men. A lumberman had $40, and a general storekeeper also had $40, qualifying as the largest holders of the medium. Boukans, the clothier, had $37 left after he sold me one. A coal dealer had $30; a grocer had $25; a druggist had $16; another druggist had $6; a filling station had $6, and a newspaper man had $4* (Clifton, 1932).

As he pointed out, the scrip certificates are not universally popular:

> *They are accepted on rent, for gasoline, groceries, meat, jewelry, newspaper advertising, and many other purchases, except butter from the Hillman creamery and at two chain stores. Farmers won't have anything to do with the coupons, A.R. Hillman, the creamery man, said. Their products command low prices, and they object to the stamp tax* (Clifton, 1932).

Thus most of the burden of paying for the scheme fell on sellers of basic necessities. Some of Hawarden's businesses, such as the barbers' shops, had never been presented with a piece of scrip even after the scheme had been in operation for over a month.

Two other groups bore the costs. The city itself received a lot of scrip in payment for light company bills (the local electric plant was owned by the municipality) and for taxes. These certificates could, of course, be re-issued, as payments to those still on make-work projects. Fred Gofke, the City Clerk, told Clifton that about half the issue came back to the city in payment for light bills in early November. The scrip had a stamp attached, and then was re-issued in the pay packets of city workers, and of the workers on the relief program.

And then there were the souvenir-hunters. Many people visiting Hawarden in those days were prepared to take away an example of the scrip to show to their communities (or their grandchildren). As these certificates were never redeemed, the stamps on them represented pure profit to the city council.

The Hawarden scheme was successful in achieving its aims. Unemployment was less in Hawarden in the winter of 1932-33 than the previous year, and less than in many neighboring communities. The city council ultimately was able to redeem all of the outstanding scrip tendered to it out of the revenues gained from stamp sales. It was estimated that the scheme had produced some $12,000 of new business ("Real Money makes Iowa forget Scrip," 1934).

Zylstra was elected to the Iowa legislature in the Democratic landslide of November 1932 and introduced a bill to allow counties to introduce stamp scrip schemes. This was eventually signed into law and, in all, six counties introduced stamp scrip. Sioux County didn't – an editorial in the Hawarden *Independent* argued strongly and persuasively against it. The problem was that the burden of the scrip fell inequitably – the railroads, for instance, which refused to accept the scrip, were not shouldering their fair share of the cost of poor relief ("Rushing the Zylstra Bill", 1933).

Initially, it looked as if the Roosevelt administration, having declared a Bank Holiday, would endorse scrip as a way of answering the demands of the Depression; but a "clarification" of Roosevelt's position damped enthusiasm for the idea (see "No Objection to Scrip Issue," 1933). The New Deal instead used spending of legal tender (financed by borrowing) rather than scrip as the engine of recovery. Local scrip notes issued against bank deposits to provide liquidity during the Bank Holiday were quickly redeemed as banks reopened.

The six counties of Iowa that adopted scrip schemes after Zylstra's bill reached the statute book had all redeemed the scrip in issue by mid-1934. ("Iowa Counties to Issue Bonds to Redeem Scrip", 1934). Once Roosevelt had decided on using the credit-creating powers of the Federal Reserve to resolve the nation's financial crisis, scrip seemed to be a cumbersome way of meeting the problem. Irving Fisher tried to sell the new administration on the idea of scrip (he was working with the Oregon state authorities at the time), but he was unable to get the necessary federal government permissions to proceed. After that, Fisher lost interest in the whole idea (Cohrssen, 1989), turning instead to his "compensated dollar" idea (see Patinkin, 1993).

Writing in 1941, Brown comments that

> *After seeing the difficulties and troubles experienced by the committees which did issue 'stamp money' it is probably just as well that the [Federal scrip] bill [introduced 18th February, 1933] did not get any further than the Committee on Banking and Currency* (Brown, 1941 p. 58).

A country, even a county, is too large for the community-building aspects of scrip to work. Only in relatively small and isolated communities, did stamp scrip truly come into its own.

Indeed, even in small towns success was not guaranteed. Ironically, the Hawarden Stamp Scrip scheme succeeded more because of the attention drawn to it, than the intrinsic merits of the scheme. As the implications for various businesses became clearer, opposition began to grow. In a small community, the businesses that ended up footing most of the bill for the scheme could see the benefits in increased trade for both themselves and their neighbors – and, like everyone else, benefited from the work done by the men who would otherwise be unemployed. In larger towns, or counties, benefits were more diffused, and so harder to see.

Sometimes, modifications to Zylstra's blueprint could help. To prevent the scrip becoming 'stuck', Rock Rapids' scrip scheme combined the Zylstra requirement that a stamp be attached each time the scrip was used, with Fisher's idea that a stamp be added every seven days. This kept the scrip circulating around the town, and the scheme seems to have been a great success, even attracting some attention further away. Rock Rapids also used 50c coupons, rather than Hawarden's $1, thus making the scrip more useful for smaller purchases.

A similar 'compound' (time and transaction) stamp scrip was used in Mason City during the May 1933 – August 1934 period. An emission of $10,000 generated business of over $1 million, and the city council made a tiny profit (of $300) from the scheme Godschalk, 2001). Of all the Iowa schemes, that in Mason City was probably the best prepared. Lester Milligan, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce took great pains to contact people in towns where scrip was already circulating, before recommending its use there. Strong support from a local businessman (who preferred municipal self-help to the statist approach of the New Deal), plus using recycled scrip to pay teachers) kept the scheme from disaster.

**Conclusions**

The stamp scrip schemes of the 1930's have a mixed record. Some, like the innovative Hawarden scheme, were successful because of a kind of 'first mover' advantage: others, such as that of Rock Rapids, were successful in their own right. Zylstra's mistake, perhaps, was to want to expand his scheme too far, and to see scrip as a panacea. He was certainly an ambitious man – after serving two years in the Iowa legislature, he entered the race for state governor in 1934.

What is clear, I think, is that the success of a scrip scheme required the support of the community – that each person would bear a share of the costs of helping the unemployed. As such, a stamp scrip scheme built up community, as people realized that the idea deserved support, and that each person's support (in terms of willingness to use the scrip) was important for the success of the plan. The Hawarden *Independent* was against the expansion of the Hawarden scheme to Sioux County largely because the costs of poor

relief were placed upon the shoulders of only a relatively few business men, thereby unfairly concentrating the burden of poor relief in just a few hands. In addition, cities that used Zylstra's one-stamp-one-transaction version of the scrip found that the scrip tended to circulate slowly, or even become stuck in the hands of just a few traders. Zylstra, and all other proponents of scrip, were aware of the need for the community to function as such for the ultimate guarantee of success of the scheme. Where community was strong, scrip enhanced it; where it was weak, or the scheme was badly designed, the process did not work well.

The idea of using non-government monies, such as scrip, is not dead. The growth of LETS schemes, despite the high transactions costs they entail, shows that there is a role for local moneys. Indeed, Terry Manning has suggested that a LETS scheme might be used to complement a loan scheme to provide safe drinking water and community development (Manning, 2004).

Various local communities still operate scrip schemes, as way of trying to keep business within the community. In 2002, for example, Hawarden issued $20,000 of Christmas Scrip at a 15% discount. Participating retailers funded the issue; customers paid only $85 (in legal tender) for $100 in Christmas Scrip dollars It was sold on one day November 14th) only, and was valid from November 14, 2002 to January 31, 2003 at participating businesses. It was valid for one transaction only, and the cost of the 15% discount was borne by the traders themselves. As the amount issued was limited, the potential cost to each business was known in advance.

Although the benefit of this scrip to purchasers is less than just an across-the-board price reduction of 15% (as sales tax is levied on the price actually paid), it is more attractive to retailers as it means that the scrip will be used in the city, thereby keeping that amount of business within the town. Perhaps also, in this age of near-continuous sales and discounts, the psychological effect of getting $100 of merchandise for $85 (when the sticker price is still $100) is an important element in the success of the scheme. But schemes of these types affect only a few people in the community – the issuer, and the people who initially accept the scrip. The scrip is of a "one-use" type, which does not circulate.

Similarly, some intentional communities issue their own currencies. Dancing Rabbit has its DR hours (where an hour's work is taken as the unit of value), Damanhur has its credito, and Vedic City uses the Raam. These currencies, though, suffer from a lack of acceptability outside the community. Rarely will non-members of the community accept them. Therefore, to become a circulating medium of exchange, either they are made fully convertible into government money (like the Raam), giving little incentive to use them. Otherwise, they operate as LETS schemes, and cannot easily be converted into currency. Stamp scrip is a way of bridging the gap between government currency and private issue money. An intentional community could consider a similar approach to build links with the surrounding population.

It is only occasionally that something like a circulating medium results from single use scrip. Frank Tortoriello was able to finance the expansion of his delicatessen in Great

Barrington, Massachusetts, by selling scrip that could be redeemed in meals at the deli after the move had been completed (Gates, 1998 p.156). But holders of Mr. Tortoriello's deli scrip found that others in the town were prepared to accept it like cash. But this was an exception. More schemes of this type would help with local economic regeneration.

It is appropriate now to re-examine the successes and failure of stamp scrip currencies of the 1930's, to see how their operation helped pull small towns through the worst of the Great Depression. Increasing the bonds between the members of the community, pulling together to defeat the Depression, were valuable effects resulting from the issue of scrip. In any such study, the name of Charles J Zylstra will figure large.

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## 1.3 A world of communities

# The Abode of Love:
# 'Free love' in 19th century Somerset

## Chris Coates

In the quiet Somerset Village of Spaxton four miles from the busy little river port of Bridgewater during the second half of the 19th century lived the 'Holy Ghost' surrounded by his 'soul brides' and accompanied by a 'Devil child'. They lived at the Abode of Love, a collection of houses & cottages with its own chapel surrounded by a 12ft high wall and guarded by ferocious bloodhounds. Set up in 1846 the remarkably successful Agapemone is the prototype of the 20th century cult complete with sex scandals, accusations of brainwashing, dramatic rescues of members by their families, moral outrage from respectable society and virulent attacks in the popular press.

The 'Holy Ghost' and founding father of the community was a defrocked clergyman, the Reverend Henry Prince. Prince had stirred controversy from the start of his career in the church, organising a group of zealous students at St David's College called the Lampeter Brethren. Hearing voices in his head that he took to be the word of God he led this small devout band in attacking the college hierarchy, disrupting services and accusing them of submitting to "the insinuations of carnal desire..." Keen to see the back of this holier-than-thou troublemaker the church authorities packed Prince off to a quiet rural parish hoping that he would fade away into obscurity. The Reverend Prince had other ideas. From his pulpit in the village of Charlich, a mere stones-throw from Spaxton, he lambasted the local population of sinners sparking a mini-revival in the area with his charismatic preaching and instructions from the Holy Ghost. Prince's identification with the voice in his head grew and he came to believe that he was the embodiment of the Holy Ghost. During his time at Charlich his first wife Martha died. She was a wealthy older friend of his mothers who he had cynically married to finance his way through college. With indecent haste he married his rector's sister, another older woman with her own income. Riding high on the crest of a wave of revival with a full church and a clutch of wealthy patrons, his licence to preach was suddenly revoked by the Bishop of Bath and Wells amid rumours of "carnal insinuations" with the converted ladies of Charlich.

Prince decided to spread his wings. If Somerset didn't want him he would try elsewhere. Through a friend he set out his stall at Clare in Suffolk where, for the next two years, he proceeded to rouse the local population to a religious fervour. Eventually, the tolerant Bishop of Ely 'requested' that Prince take his services elsewhere - this was the final straw for Prince. If the blind, ignorant bigots in the Church of England didn't want him then he, "the visible manifestation of God on earth" certainly did not want them. Announcing to the faithful his separation from the Church he moved his preaching operations to the south coast resorts of Brighton and Weymouth. Here, amongst the elderly spinsters and young unmarried ladies of Victorian society, Prince found his true congregation. In a large house in Belfield Terrace, Weymouth he set up an embryonic Agapemone (Greek for Abode of Love). The idea of the Abode of Love was not Prince's. Similar experiments, inspired by the text of the Song of Solomon, had been conceived before and roundly condemned by the church as sinful and degenerate.

*"The Abode of Love did not mean, as it seemed to imply, unlimited sexual freedom. Love at Belfield Terrace and later at Spaxton was to be spiritual. In the course of time Prince constructed an elaborate system of Angels and Archangels, a celestial hierarchy promoting and demoting the faithful at will according to their favour and the cash at their disposal. For this was to be a commercial as well as a spiritual venture. Not even the Holy Ghost could build an earthly paradise on faith alone."*
C.Mander The Reverend Prince and his Abode of Love

**Sell everything for the Lord**

In a carefully orchestrated revivalist campaign, Prince and his little band of Agapemonites whipped the faithful up into a frenzy with talk of the day of judgement and the imminent arrival of the Lamb of God. Persuading rich and poor alike that "in the day of wrath all property would be dirt" a sell-everything-for-the-Lord programme swelled the group's bank balance. The revelation of the son of God took place at the assembly rooms in the Royal Hotel Weymouth where he turned out to be none other than the Rev Henry Prince himself. Only those who received Prince as the Son of God would be saved from Armageddon. It was estimated that 500 souls were saved that day - mainly aging spinsters and children - certainly enough to finance something on a grander scale that a rented house in Weymouth. Two hundred acres of land was purchased in the Spaxton Valley and plans drawn up for a new Abode. Whenever more finances were needed to keep the construction of paradise on schedule Prince exhorted his followers to sell a little more for the Lord, or simply demanded that "The Lord had need of fifty pounds, Amen," and finally hit upon marrying his followers to wealthy spinsters to secure the needed funds.

In the summer of 1846 Prince and his entourage moved to Spaxton - the new Abode of Love consisted of a great house with some eighteen bedrooms, sitting rooms, dining rooms and servants quarters. Spacious grounds were dotted with outhouses, stables, conservatories, gazebos and a series of garden cottages. And in one corner its own chapel furnished incongruously with easy chairs, settees and a billiard table alongside the hassocks and hymn boards. All surrounded by a high brick wall designed either to keep prying eyes out, or to keep the faithful in.

**Beloved Spaxton**

The best place to observe the comings and goings at the Abode of Love was the Lamb Inn, conveniently located next door to the main house - separated by12ft of brickwork of course - whose bar hosted many a journalist covering the numerous scandals that would surround the newly appointed son of God over the ensuing years. Hardly was the house-warming over when the first controversy broke. Prince had married three of his closest 'saints', companions from his Lampeter Brethren days, to the three Nottidge sisters each with an inheritance of £6000. The sisters were steamrollered into the spiritual unions, not allowed to contact their families and bundled with great haste off to Spaxton. Agnes the oldest, and most spirited of the three, was appalled by the whole set up especially when

she discovered that on top of it all she was expected to remain celibate. When Prince (now referred to by the faithful as 'Beloved') set his sights on the fourth and youngest Nottidge sister Louisa, and a further £6000, Agnes tried to write a letter of warning to her sister. On the discovery of her betrayal of the Beloved and the further discovery that she was pregnant and not by her 'husband' she was cast out as a fallen woman. Beloved now demanded the presence of Louisa at Spaxton and lodged her in one of the cottages in the grounds whilst he searched for a suitable spouse. Late one night the locals at the Lamb Inn heard the frantic screaming of young Louisa coming from within the great wall as she resisted the attempts by her two brothers to 'rescue' her. When they got outside they saw the young woman being bundled still screaming into a coach that disappeared into the night. The family liberators promptly turned captors having their sister declared insane and incarcerated in a lunatic asylum. On Prince's orders envoys were sent out to scour the country for the unfortunate woman. After 18 months of fruitless search, word reach Spaxton that Louisa had escaped from the asylum and was hiding in a London Hotel. As she waited on Paddington station with her escort from Spaxton she was picked up by asylum officials and locked up again. Prince made an immediate application to the Commissioners of Lunacy who declared Louisa to be sane - on her release she immediately transferred her inheritance to Prince's bank account and retired behind the walls at Spaxton for the rest of her life. Her inheritance was used to buy two bloodhounds to protect the faithful from further 'kidnappings'.

Despite the scandals there was no shortage of converts clamouring to pay to get into this Somerset paradise. Prince ruled in despotic style over a membership that varied between 60 and 200 over the first few years. Nobody was paid a penny for administering to his needs and whilst he lived in comfort surrounded by the most attractive women in the main house, the other 'saints' worked on the farm or in the gardens, living in the small cottages, husbands separate from wives.

*"Prince of course, enjoyed himself immensely. He ate well, drank well - he had left his total abstinence period far behind - and stocked his cellars with the best wines, Above all he exercised absolute authority over a large number of men and women who worshipped him as God. Life was pleasant, heavenly perhaps, and some of the women were most desirable."*
C.Mander The Reverend Prince and his Abode of Love.

**The great manifestation**

Tongues wagged not just in the bar at the Lamb, but all the way to the pages of the national newspapers after the most notorious of Prince's exploits and the one that would seal the Abode of Love's reputation. Quite what possessed Prince to carry out the bizarre ritual we can only guess at. Maybe carried away by his notion that he was the Son of God he believed in his own infallibility and simply assumed that he could do whatever he pleased. He would later publish convoluted theological justifications for his actions, which amounted to the rape of a young virgin in front of his gathered congregation. Described as both the 'Great Manifestation' and a 'divine purification'. Prince had devised an elaborate charade to enable him to carry out one of the obsessions of Victorian men,

the deflowering of a virgin. He demanded that a selection of suitable maidens be made available in the chapel for him to choose one to be 'favoured'. Then with due pomp and ceremony he chose 16-year-old Zoë Patterson and in front of the somewhat astonished, if meekly compliant, congregation he proceeded to rape his seemingly hypnotised victim to the accompanying sound of the chapel organ and the singing of hymns.

*'Thus the Holy Ghost took flesh in the presence of those whom he had called as flesh. He took this flesh absolutely in his sovereign will, and with the power and authority of God.'* The Testimony of Brother Prince.

The fall-out from this act would shake the community to its core. Whilst some of the 'saints' saw only good in Prince's action others had severe misgivings and started talking of leaving and what was worse taking their money with them. The situation was further compounded when it became apparent that Miss Paterson was pregnant despite Princes claim that his divine union would produce no offspring - he quickly changed his tack to claiming that this was the work of the devil and nothing to do with him; an argument that cut little ice with his disenchanted followers who now left by the score.

And what of Miss Patterson? Well she seemed to have been none the worse for her ordeal. Her 'child of Satan' was born and grew up in the community, a quiet shy girl called Eve, whilst Zoë took her place at 'Beloveds' right hand as the first Bride of the Lamb. There were other 'Brides' quite how many is hard to unravel from the so obviously embroidered bacchanalian stories that started life in the Lamb Inn and the cries of moral outrage from society at large that greeted Prince's pamphlets justifying his sacred sex life. A kind of siege mentality came over the community. Locked behind the high brick wall they refused admittance to all comers - a hand would shoot out through a trap to collect goods delivered by local tradesmen. This self-imposed isolation only fuelled the exaggeration of the stories about what went on behind the closed doors.

In 1867 William Hepworth Dixon, a writer and student of religious cults, managed to get permission to enter the Abode of Love and interview Prince. He published a measured account of the community in his book Spiritual Wives. Dixon records a picture of a thriving, if somewhat depleted, community with a middle-aged Prince at the centre surrounded by doting billiard-playing beauties. And it seems that things pretty much remained like that for the following 30 years.

**Heavenly bridegroom two**

The Reverend 'Beloved' Prince outlived many of his 'saints' giving credence to his claim that he was immortal and in 1896 aged 85 emerged from behind the walls of Spaxton to initiate the building of an ornate church in Clapton in North London complete with a 155ft tower of Portland stone, intricate oak hammer-beam roof and stained glass windows depicting the submission of womankind to man. The church was dedicated to the Ark of the Covenant and one of the first preachers appointed was the Reverend John Hugh Smyth-Pigott.

Prince's death in 1899 came as a devastating shock to the community. They were thrown into complete confusion and with no funeral plans for one who many seem to have genuinely believed to have been immortal they hurriedly buried him in the front garden in the middle of the night. Reeling from the shock some members packed their bags and left whilst others tried to contact their Beloved through spiritualist séances. On hearing the news that the bereaved sisters of the Abode of Love were in need of a new heavenly bridegroom a light lit up in the eyes of the Reverend Smyth-Piggot - said by some to be a divine light.

With the help of Douglas Hamilton, Prince's faithful retainer, Smyth-Piggot was enthroned as the new Saviour of Mankind at the Church of the Ark of the Covenant in September 1902 before a not entirely friendly crowd of 6000 who booed and jeered during the inauguration and who had to be pressed back by a group of mounted police to allow the new messiah to make his exit - once again the Abode of Love was in the headlines. Smyth-Piggot moved to Spaxton with his wife and slipped into Prince's shoes with consummate ease sparking a mini-revival in the cult's fortunes. Some 50 new young 'soul brides' were chosen, all vetted by Sister Eve Patterson the now grown 'Devil child' who had come to hold a senior position in the community.

Smyth-Piggot set about his new role with great zeal; he bought a motor car and telephone, added a laundry and new cottages, introduced new stock to the run down farm and most of all busied himself in his capacity as heavenly bridegroom. He was "If not a sexual maniac at least a man obsessed with sex in his daily life,"
Donald McCormick.Temple of Love.

Miss Ruth Anne Preece was chosen to be his Chief Soul Bride with whom he had three children named Glory, Power & Life. A campaign was started against the community resulting in the tarring and feathering of a man thought to be Smyth-Piggot and an undercover masseur being sent to dig the dirt. Catherine Smyth-Piggot the long suffering and scorned wife busied herself with charity in the area and was remembered with great affection by locals for years after.

Following Smyth-Piggott's death in 1927 membership declined rapidly and by 1929 only 33 women, 1 girl and 3 men were left and the community became a sort of liberal finishing school reportedly full of "disillusioned old women and frustrated and disappointed young women." As the old guard died, Sister Ruth became the leader and when she died aged 90 in 1956 the community closed and the property was finally sold off in 1958. It is now a series of private houses and flats and still somewhere under the front garden lie the remains of the two heavenly bridegrooms.

Further information about the Abode of Love can be found in:
The Reverend Prince and his Abode of Love.
By Charles Mander. EP Publishing 1976
And Temple of Love
By Donald McCormick Jarrolds. 1962

Or for Further Details see www.utopia-britannica.org.uk

# A selective and annotated bibliography: Sources [since 1970] on the Oneida Community (1848-1881)

Compiled by
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## Introduction

The purpose of this selective and annotated bibliography is to provide interested persons with some sense of the scholarship on the Oneida Community (OC) since 1970. In addition, the last page offers some suggestions for topics that researchers might like to explore further. In no way is this bibliography intended to be exhaustive. To some extent, it reflects the preferences and interests of the author, Marlyn Klee.

Because of the availability of on-line catalogs, only the dates (not publishers, places of publication, etc.) are given for most sources. That should be adequate information in order to begin research.

Good published OC bibliographies reflecting sources before about 1970 can be found in Klaw (1993), Kern (1981) and Foster (1991).

For anyone contemplating serious research on the OC, there is both good news and bad news. First, let's get the bad news out of the way: many OC records were deliberately destroyed, sometime after 1941, by descendants and officers of Oneida, Ltd. They burned the documents because they feared that, if the materials were ever released to the public, the records of OC sexual combinations, the eugenic breeding (a/k/a "stirpiculture") deliberations, probably some personal diaries, etc., could harm the reputation of the corporation, and perhaps cause embarrassment to the descendants. One cannot know what all was destroyed, but probably quite a bit. One account says that it took three days to burn everything. Meticulously and voluminously kept by the OC, and subsequently guarded by a stirpicult child, George Wallingford Noyes (1870-1941), these materials are gone.

The good news is that many personal papers, letters, and diaries survived "The Burning" because they were still held by private individuals, many of whose descendants have recently (1993) donated them to the Oneida Community Collection, Department of Special Collections, Syracuse University Library. The availability of 58 boxes of materials opened a new chapter in OC research in 1993.

Finally, the author knows from personal conversations with living descendants that some materials are still in private hands. Let us hope that these may eventually find their way to the Syracuse University Library as well.

# I. Manuscript Collections

## A. Oneida Community Collection, Special Collections Department, Syracuse University Library.

This collection contains letters, essays and notes, testimonials, advertisements, miscellaneous materials and many photographs — all originally owned by OC members and handed down in their families. With the opening, in 1993, of this collection, donated by various OC descendants, many new sources became available to scholars.

URL: http://libwww.syr.edu/digital/collection/oneida/photos/ocphotos.htm
E-mail: scrc@syr.edu [for queries to Special Collections Research Center]

## B. Evan Rupert Nash Collection, Special Collections, Green Library, Stanford U.

This underutilized collection was donated by the Nash descendants of OC members who left the community shortly before the Break-up of 1881, settling in Santa Ana, CA. This dissident group was led by J.W. Towner, who had unsuccessfully challenged the leadership of John H. Noyes. Among many items, the collection contains letters to or by members of the Nash family about their lives at the OC and at the Wallingford branch.

URL: http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/spc
E-mail: speccoll@sulmail.stanford.edu

## C. Oneida Community Mansion House Collection, Oneida, N.Y.

The OCMH collection contains some miscellaneous written materials, as well as many material artifacts (e.g., women's dresses, furniture, business products of the OC) and an extensive photography collection donated by the descendants of Stephen Leonard. The photography collection is not yet catalogued, and is therefore, unavailable to researchers. When visiting the Mansion House, it is worthwhile to browse in the library, which has been in continuous use since the Community period.

URL: www.oneidacommunity.org
E-mail: ocmh@dreamscape.com
Address: Oneida Community Mansion House, Oneida, N.Y. 13421 USA, tel.: +1 (315) 363-0745

## D. Manuscripts, Kinsey Institute Library of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

The KI holdings consist of letters and notes compiled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by physicians/sexologists, Robert Latou Dickinson and Anita Newcomb McGee, who were interested in the OC practices of complex marriage and male continence. McGee interviewed and corresponded with a number of male former OC members.
URL: http://www.iucat.iu.edu

## II. Publications of the Oneida Community and by Oneida Community Members (selective, published before 1970)

Because the OC was self-conscious about its public image, it produced many materials, most of them written by or under the supervision of John Humphrey Noyes. These included weekly newspapers: The Circular (1851-70), Oneida Circular (1871-76) and American Socialist (1876-1879), which rendered a favorable version of Community beliefs and activities for public readers. The newspapers are now available on microform. The OC also produced various Handbooks, Annual Reports, etc.

In addition, Noyes and/or the Oneida Community itself produced a number of pamphlets to explain various aspects of OC practices: e.g., Male Continence (1877); Home Talks (1875); Salvation from Sin: The End of Christian Faith (1876); Essay on Scientific Propagation with an Appendix Containing a Health Report on the Oneida Community (1875); and Mutual Criticism (1876). Noyes wrote several substantial books, including Bible Communism (1853) and A History of American Socialisms (1870). In 1923 and 1931, George Wallingford Noyes produced two books (and planned four more, which he was unable to complete) that detail John Humphrey Noyes' spiritual development.

When they were adults, two stirpicult children wrote about growing up in the OC: Pierrepont B. Noyes, My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood (1937) and Corinna Ackley Noyes, The Days of My Youth (1960). Harriet M. Worden's Old Mansion House Memories, By One Brought Up In It (1950) was privately published by her descendants. For a short time Worden was editor of the Oneida Circular. This book includes her account of the notorious "doll massacre" during which the young girls had to throw their dolls into the fire because they were "worshipping graven images".

An unusual source by an OC member is: George Noyes Miller, The Strike of a Sex: A Novel (New York, Wesnage Printing House, 1890, 4th ed.) which is a birth control tract in story form based on the author's OC experience.

For those interested in the trap business of the OC, a relatively rare source is: Sewall Newhouse, The Trapper's Guide: A manual of instructions for capturing all kinds of fur-bearing animals, and curing their skins; with observations on the fur-trade, hints on life in the woods, and narratives of trapping and hunting excursions (Wallingford, Conn.: Oneida Community, 1867), a "2nd edition with new narratives and illustrations, edited by J.H. Noyes and T. L. Pitt". Newhouse invented the traps which proved to be the economic salvation of the OC and which provided the income that built the comfortable Mansion House complex. Noyes worked hard to keep Newhouse happy and within the fold (for example, his smoking outside in the sheds was tolerated, although officially all tobacco use was banned in the OC.).

Two insider accounts of the health of OC members are: Theodore R. Noyes, M.D., "Health Report of the Oneida Community Children," (OC publication, 1878) and Hilda Herrick Noyes and George Wallingford Noyes, "The Oneida Community Experiment in

Stirpiculture," Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics, 1921, in Eugenics, Genetics, and the Family, 1:374-386. (1923)

Two outside physicians who had access to OC women and to OC stipicult data, respectively, are: Ely Van de Warker, M.D., "A Gynecological Study of the Oneida Community," American Journal of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children , 27 (August, 1884) 8: 755-810., and Anita Newcomb McGee, "An Experiment in Stirpiculture," American Anthropologist 4 (October 1891):319-25.

# III. Biographies of John Humphrey Noyes

Two biographies of Noyes, very different in character, have been written. The first is an authorized one: Robert Allerton Parker, A Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community (1935). Parker enjoyed the confidence of the then-keeper of the OC archives, George Wallingford Noyes, JHN's nephew. This biography, therefore, contains some information based on sources that were probably destroyed after GWN's death in 1941. It is especially good on JHN's formative years and the development of his ideology of Bible Communism. Interestingly, four early chapters are named for women who shaped Noyes' ideas: his mother, his first true love (who spurned him), his wife, and his favorite lover in the OC.

The other biography, a psycho-historical work using ego psychology as its theoretical framework, is Robert Thomas, The Man Who Would Be Perfect: John Humphrey Noyes and the Utopian Impulse (1977). Fascinating, although not to everyone's taste.

# IV. General Overviews of the Oneida Community

The best introductory survey treatment of the OC is generally recognized to be Maren Lockwood Carden, Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation, originally published in 1969 and reissued in 1998 by Syracuse University Press. Some descendants shared their privately held materials and family memories/interpretations with Carden, so that she was able to analyze new information and to give a measured sociological perspective on the OC and its business successor, Oneida Limited, which was at the time (late 1960s) directed primarily by OC descendants, whom she interviewed. Her interview notes are now available in the OC Collection at Syracuse University.

A more recent survey that utilized the newly assembled collection at Syracuse University Library is Spencer Klaw, Without Sin: The Life and Death of the Oneida Community (1993). Very well done and a good read.

# V. Selective, Recommended Sources for the Oneida Community (Published after 1970)

- **+ author is an OC member (a designation used even when someone else edited)**
- **# author is an OC descendant**

## Primary Sources

Crawford and Stearns, Syracuse, New York, Historic Site Structure Reports, vols. 1-4, (1999-2002) deal respectively with the 1862 Mansion House, The Tontine, The South Wing, and the New House. These exhaustive reports, prepared for OCMH, detail the architecture of the three main wings and several annexes to the complex now called the "Oneida Community Mansion House." These reports are invaluable because they discuss, room by room and wing by wing, the changing spatial/social needs of the OC over time. Many photographs, drawings, blueprints, etc. For now, these reports seem to be available only in the Mansion House library.

#John B. Teeple and the Oneida Community Historical Committee, The Oneida Family: Genealogy of a 19th Century Perfectionist Commune (1985). This book traces up to five generations of OC founders and descendants, many of whom intermarried. More than a genealogy, it gives backgrounds, occupations, and a good sense of the complex and enduring familial ties of the "OC Family". Well worth consulting.

#Constance Noyes Robertson, the founder's granddaughter, was primarily a novelist. Late in her life, she compiled, edited, and wrote introductions/commentary to OC materials (which were mainly gleaned from published sources like the weekly newspapers of the OC), resulting in three books: Oneida Community: An Autobiography, 1851-1876 (1970); Oneida Community: The Breakup, 1876-1881 (1972); and Oneida Community Profiles (1977). Noyes Robertson fiercely guarded the respectability of the OC legacy and revealed very little that was new in these books, (even omitting material offensive to her without elisions in direct quotes) although they are very good sources for those who cannot easily get access to the publications of the OC itself. She concludes that religion was the glue that held the OC together; once the second generation became more worldly than their elders had been, the OC could not survive.

+ Jane Kinsley Rich, ed., A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community (1983). Based on the diary of a woman who grew up in the OC; much interesting material, some of it from the point of view of an OC child and of a young woman. Kinsley later became a gifted and entirely original braided rug artist, whose works have been donated to the OCMH Museum.

+Robert Fogarty, ed., Special love/special sex: an Oneida Community diary [Victor Hawley] (1994) is a transcription of Hawley's secret diary relating his work life, leisure activities, and his personal campaign to convince his special love, Mary Jones, to leave

the OC and begin a new life with him on the outside. Very good introduction by Fogarty, and lots of detail about OC life in the last years of its existence, from the point of view of an anguished young man.

+Robert Fogarty, ed., Desire & Duty at Oneida: Tirzah Miller's Intimate Memoir (2002) is a remarkable personal diary, covering about one and one-half years when she was in her thirties, in the turbulent sexual/social/maternal life of JHN's niece and favored lover. Excellent introductory material and analysis by the editor.

+Lawrence Foster, ed., [from material compiled by George Wallingford Noyes], Free Love in Utopia: John Humphrey Noyes and the Origin of the Oneida Community (2001) An excellent introduction by Foster; this volume is taken from documents opened in 1993 at the OC Collection, Syracuse University.

**Secondary Sources: Books**

Dolores Hayden, "The Architecture of Complex Marriage," in Seven American Utopias: the Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975 (1976): 186-223. A quite wonderful book, with excellent text, and reproductions of blueprints, layouts of OCMH.

Although differing somewhat in emphases, these worthwhile books cover similar ground. Each reflects the new interdisciplinary scholarship of the post-1960s generation: Richard De Maria, Communal Love at Oneida: A Perfectionist Vision of Authority, Property, and Sexual Order (1978); Louis J. Kern, An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community (1981); Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal experiments of the Nineteenth Century (1981), and Lawrence Foster, Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons (1991).

**Secondary Sources: Articles (A Sampling)**

Michael Barkun, "The Visionary Experiences of John Humphrey Noyes," Psychohistory Review 16 (Spring 1988): 313-334.

Marlyn H. Dalsimer, "Bible Communists: Female Socialization and Family Life in the Oneida Community", in Mel Albin and Dominick Cavallo, eds., Family Life in America, 1620-2000 (1981): 30-46. Focuses primarily on the socialization of girls in the OC, and contrasts its values/goals with those of the nineteenth-century middle-class family.

Robert S. Fogarty, "Oneida: A Utopian Search for Religious Security," Labor History 14 (Spring 1973): 202-27. Contains data about occupations of the OC joiners.

Marlyn Klee-Hartzell, "'Mingling the Sexes': The Gendered Organization of Work in the Oneida Community," Syracuse University Library Associates Courier, vol. XXVIII, no. 2

(Fall, 1993): 61-85. This article gives data, census figures, descriptive accounts, etc. about the essentially sex-segmented world of women's work in the OC.

Marlyn Klee-Hartzell, "Family Love, True Womanliness, Motherhood, and the Socialization of Girls in the Oneida Community, 1848-1880," in Wendy E. Chmielewski, Louis J. Kern, and Marlyn Klee-Hartzell, eds., Women in Spiritual and Communitarian Societies in the United States (1993):184-200. A discussion of ideology and practice in the OC regarding desirable female attributes.

Marlyn Klee-Hartzell, "The Oneida Community Family," Communal Societies 16 (1996): 15-22. Analyzes the OC as a patriarchal institution.

Marlyn McGary Klee, "Interpreting the Oneida Community and its Legacy: Competing Agendas and Audiences," (2001), available at http://www.ic.org/icsa/conference.html. An overview of the conflict between socio/sexual/religious interpretations of the OC versus the business needs of Oneida, Ltd. in the post-Community period, as it played itself out among descendants, and scholars.

Tara M. McCarthy, "The Medium of Grace: Mutual Criticism in the Oneida Community," Communal Societies 18 (1998): 92-106.

John E. Murray, " New Anthropometric Look at the Status of Women and Children in Oneida Community, 1848-1881," in John Komlos, ed., The Biological Standard of Living on Three Continents (1995). Comparing them with contemporary rural cohorts, Murray concludes that Oneida women were healthier and stirpicult children were taller than their peers. Yet, based on data collected by OC physicians, he detects a "failure-to-thrive syndrome" in stirpicult babies after weaning and separation from their mothers. Murray also raises the possibility of coercion into sex for preteen girls.

Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "Bible Communism and the Origins of Orange County," California History 58 (Fall 1979): 285-300. This is the only publication on OC dissidents who settled in California.

#Ellen Wayland-Smith, "The Status and Self-Perception of Women in the Oneida Community," Communal Societies, (1988) 8:18-53. Uses privately-held women's writings to support her analysis that women in the OC were relatively emancipated and generally satisfied with their lives.

**Recommendations for further research**

The evolution of Noyes' religious beliefs and their application to the socio-sexual practices of the OC have been pretty well covered (although there is always more to learn, new perspectives to apply, and sources that are not yet public which will hopefully be available in the future). OC architecture has been rather thoroughly researched. Yet many aspects of the OC need further investigation. Some topics might be:

1. A business history of the OC — its products, its accounting, its income, etc. The OC was extraordinarily successful from a financial point of view, yet no one has written an economic history of the OC, perhaps because the sources have not been found. Maybe these are stored somewhere in the offices of Oneida, Ltd., awaiting a highly motivated researcher. Maybe these were destroyed in "The Burning".
2. The hired hands of the OC in its later, prosperous years, many of them young girls from the immediate neighborhoods, e.g., in the silk-spooling factory.
3. Evolution of women's dress in the OC.
4. Food and food production in the OC.
5. Tourism as a component of the OC economy.
6. Educational system of the OC, both children and adult education. What and how did they learn?
7. What were the OC members reading? The Mansion House has a softly lit room filled with books from the OC period (off the present Library premises). Who was reading what, and how did it affect their daily lives, if at all? In other words, a library analysis of the Oneida Community.
8. How did poverty/privation and (later) prosperity affect the development of the OC?
9. The OC as a destination for single parents looking for a place to get help raising their children. This would be a wonderful topic for many communal societies.
10. Transmission of communal commitment from the founding first generation, to the second generation, using the OC as an example. Also pertinent to other communities.

# Part 2 – Communities today

## 2.1 Kibbutz studies

# Case study: Kibbutz Lotan – Eco-Zionism and kibbutz

## Dr. Michael Livni

*The power point presentation that accompanied this lecture can be found at www.chavruta.org.il*

**Abstract**

Kibbutz Lotan is located 55 km north of Eilat in Israel's Southern Arava desert. It was founded by graduates of the Reform Youth Movement of America and Israel in 1983. Currently (2004) the kibbutz members 50 adults from nine different countries with an average age of 35, and 60 children. There are a number of residents as well as youth groups and volunteers.

Kibbutz Lotan's affiliations indicate its special identity. The kibbutz is affiliated with the Collective Stream of the Kibbutz Movement, the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (Reform) and, latterly, the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN). From the beginning, Lotan has seen its intentional communal commitment linked to Jewish cultural pioneering.

The outstanding development during the last eight years of Lotan's 22-year existence has been the crystallization of a vision statement that includes a religious approach to integrating ecology within a Jewish-Zionist rationale. This has been the unique response of the Lotan community to a crisis of purpose and meaning.

The current Eco-Zionist bent of Kibbutz Lotan is part of the vision statement and part of the search for meaningful identity. "Ecology: We strive to fulfill the Biblical ideal, 'to till the earth and preserve it' (Genesis 2:15) in our home, our region, our country and the world. We are working to create ways to live in harmony with our desert environment".

The collective and liberal-religious identity of Lotan were instrumental factors in responding to the crisis and integrating ecology into the Lotan vision. However, Lotan is still unstable and as a result it faces serious challenges in terms of its continued viability.

**Background**

Kibbutz Lotan is located 55 km north of Eilat in Israel's southern Arava desert. The kibbutz was founded in 1983 by settlement groups of Israelis and North Americans, most of whom were graduates of the Reform Jewish youth movements. Members consist of 50 adults from nine countries (with a modal age of 35-40) and 60 children. Others include 10-15 Israeli and foreign volunteers and 30 residents who pay rent. Some of these residents are employees of the kibbutz. The cultural atmosphere in Lotan is Israeli, but English is widely spoken. Gender equality is fully practiced.

## The Lotan Economy

Currently, Lotan's economy is based on a dairy barn (250 head), a date plantation (60 acres) and eco-tourism. There is an alternative medicine clinic and heated Watsu pool. Many members are employed outside the kibbutz in a variety of professions. Five kibbutzim in the area have pooled their fields and Kibbutz Lotan is a partner in this arrangement. Similarly, five kibbutzim including Lotan are partners in a fish farm in the Gulf of Eilat.

## Organizational Ties

The organizational ties of Kibbutz Lotan reflect its unique status. Kibbutz Lotan is one of 28 kibbutzim, formally affiliated with the collective trend (*Zerem Shitufi*) within the kibbutz movement. Hence, Lotan is a 'classic' kibbutz with no privatization. In addition, it is one of only two kibbutzim belonging to the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (Reform) (Livni, 1999, Section 7). Finally, and most recently, Kibbutz Lotan is a member of the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN).

## The Context of Ecological Development on Kibbutz Lotan

Although Lotan was founded in 1983, it was a crisis of purpose and identity within the kibbutz that led to the beginning of its ecological development. During the years 1995 and 1996, a third of the kibbutz members left. The crisis had to do with the 'coming of age' of the founding members. Having come to Lotan as singles in their early twenties, they now faced the question as newly married in their early thirties, "Do we really want to stay so far from the center of the country? Do we really want to raise our families here?" Their confidence wavered for they were unsure of the kibbutz's ability to survive, and/or provide security over a long period of time. They were unsure that the life they had led as singles was what they wished to continue as families with their children. Other kibbutzim in the area went through a similar crisis at this stage in their development, but in Lotan the crisis was particularly severe. The siren call of more established kibbutzim and of normative western society was too strong.

The response of the kibbutz was a two-year long off and on process of redefinition. The product of this process was the Kibbutz Lotan mission statement, formally signed by a majority (not all) of the members in October 1997 (see Appendix A). A small group of enthusiasts pushed for the inclusion of a plank dealing with environmental activism in this mission statement. The kibbutz was to become an expression of ecologically oriented Zionism. Lotan's commitment to Jewish creativity and location in a fragile desert ecosystem led to a religious rationale for the support of a sustainable environment. An educational Center for Creative Ecology was established to demonstrate this commitment. This ecological concern had its roots in the biblical injunction to Adam when he was placed in the Garden of Eden to be a steward of the earth, "to guard and to till" (Genesis 2:15). Lotan has achieved a considerable reputation in Israel for its ecological initiatives. For example, Kibbutz Lotan was featured on the cover of El-Al's in-flight magazine (Atmosphere, 2003). Furthermore, Kibbutz Lotan was awarded a

special plaque by the Ministry of the Environment in the year 2000 in recognition of its ecological pioneering.

In Lotan, ecological activity covers several areas:

1) Recycling (composting) organic waste.
2) Solid wastes for reuse in Lotan and for recycling in the north of Israel.
3) Reusing solid waste, in particular for alternative building.
4) Introduction of straw bale building plastered with clay mud.
5) Two circular walks and one circular scramble in the kibbutz that demonstrate the unique natural history of the southern Arava.
6) Bird watching sites on and near the kibbutz. Kibbutz Lotan is located on the global flyway of migratory birds between Europe and Africa.

Kibbutz Lotan maintains a website <www.kibbutzlotan.com> which presents a somewhat idealized version of the community.

**The Idea of Eco-Zionism**

The relationship between Judaism and nature has been ambivalent. Eilon Schwartz has reviewed this subject (Schwartz, 1995). As of yet there is no generally accepted meaning for the term eco-Zionism. It is widely held that there are two distinct ideas behind this term. These ideas have their roots in two separate paths that led to Zionism.

The first (and better known) path that led to Zionism is that of political Zionism. The political Zionist movement was founded in 1897, initiated by the Viennese journalist, Theodor Herzl, 1860-1904. In the face of the rising tide of anti-Semitism, particularly in the nascent European nation states, Herzl proposed the establishment of a state for the Jews so that they could be "like all the nations". Within this context, it is clear that "like all the nations" Israel has its particular environmental problems as well as having responsibility for the well being of spaceship earth as part of the international community.

In this sense, environmental activists in Israel who see their environmental activity as part of their identity as Zionists would be comparable to the Green parties of Europe and/or the many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) active in the field. They are part of a growing universal concern with the impact of an exploding human population and its technology on the quality and viability of human life. The rationale for environmentalism is utilitarian. Ultimately, it is in our self-interest to be concerned with the environment as we eventually pay the price for reckless exploitation and depletion of the resources of our planet.

The less well-known path in Zionism is that of cultural Zionism. It is associated with Achad Ha-am, the pen name of Asher Ginsburg, 1856-1927. His thesis was that the impact of modernity threatened the continued relevance and existence of Jewish culture. In order to ensure creative continuity, a Jewish state would be necessary. Only then could Jewish civilization and its values express themselves in fruitful confrontation with all the challenges of the modern day and age. Jewish traditions and values would be revitalized in the process. The Divine covenant between God and the people of Israel was in fact a

triple covenant between God, the people of Israel and the land of Israel. Ensuring the well being of the latter as part of a religious commitment to creation as a whole constitutes the ideological/theological basis of eco-Zionism. Hence, eco-Zionism in the cultural Zionist context means a commitment to the totality of Creation with special responsibility for the Holy Land (Israel).

In this context, Eco-Zionism with roots in cultural Zionism is one aspect of Zionist Jewish renewal. It is based on absolute values rather than on utilitarian considerations. Of course, in practice, Eco-Zionism can be a mix of both utilitarian and absolute values. Certainly, this is also the case in many environmental movements throughout the world.

Creation as Divine and as an ultimate value is affirmed by the Midrash (Talmudic interpretations of the Bible) inscribed on a sign in Lotan's Center for Creative Ecology.

> *"When the Holy One, Blessed be He created the first man, He took him to all the trees of Paradise, and told him: See my works, how handsome and fine they are, everything I have created was created for you. Make sure not to spoil and destroy my world because what you spoil no one can repair"* (Koheleth Rabbah 7: 13).

**Eco-Zionism and Kibbutz**

From its inception in 1910, the kibbutz as community was a marriage of convenience between political Zionism's need to establish a state for the Jews and the need of socialist Zionist pioneers to establish a Jewish state based on prophetic values of social justice. The kibbutz framework suited both.

Kibbutz Lotan has made community an instrument for ecological transformation (ecological "Tikkun Olam"). The success is only very partial but the vision is there. In this sense Kibbutz Lotan is rooted in the cultural Zionist rather than the political Zionist tradition.

Theoretically, a kibbutz community constitutes an ideal framework for realizing eco-Zionist ideas and ideals. Practically, environmental consciousness is still far removed from Israeli and kibbutz norms. In fact, it was not until 1989 that the Ministry of the Environment was established in Israel. Thus, within its surroundings, Lotan's environmental awareness is exceptional. But as it has been described, Lotan is a small unstable community. Can Lotan overcome the challenges it faces?

**The Challenges Facing Lotan**

After having surveyed something of Lotan's background and its accomplishments, we must review the shadow side. Kibbutz Lotan is a small community in constant financial straits. It does not have the critical mass of approximately 100 members in order to function efficiently. For example, the administrative functions such as kibbutz secretary ('mayor'), treasurer, economic manager, food manager and accounting, need to be filled

whether there are 50 or 100 members. The same is true for cultural and educational functions. Currently, Kibbutz Lotan hires members from neighboring Kibbutz Ketura to fulfill a number of these slots.

This question of numbers is critical for future development. There is a dearth of members who can initiate and carry through development. This is a matter of both quantity and quality. There are not enough young singles. The ratio of dependents (60 children for 50 members) to working adults constitutes a heavy economic burden. It results in many adults having to work in service areas. In addition, hired workers do much of the childcare.

Not all members subscribe to all the ideas and ideals as expressed in the appended Lotan mission statement. It would be correct to state that most members subscribe to some of the ideals some of the time. One who visits Lotan's website and then conducts an in-depth visit will be struck by the apparent dissonance between the vision and reality.

Kibbutz Lotan could not survive outside of the framework of the Eilat region rural council where collective Kibbutzim set the tone and where the principle of mutual help between kibbutzim still exists.

And yet – Lotan continues to attract young people with some relationship to their Jewish identity who are seeking an alternative to the norms of western society. Many leave, disappointed by the gap between vision and reality. A few stay.

The ultimate question is whether Kibbutz Lotan can attract young permanent settlers who share its ideals and will broaden its demographic base. Will Lotan survive? The verdict is not yet in. In spite of its day-to-day existential problems, Kibbutz Lotan as a case study bears witness to the wisdom of the ancients who wrote "Where there is no vision, the people become unruly" (Proverbs 29: 18).

It is this writer's conviction that the loss of vision is the core reason for the crisis of much of the kibbutz and of the Zionist enterprise in general. Lotan struggles against the stream (Livni, 2004).

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# Report of a participant-observer in 5 new communes in Israel

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## Introduction

Communes and communal Kibbutz movements were an early tradition in the Israeli experience until recently. As Israel was settled before it became a state, its norms and ideologies were directed at building the state, and so it happened that Israel developed in many aspects as a Socialistic and centralized state to fulfill its original mission.

This mission had a major influence on the development of the state of Israel for many years. One could recognize the phenomena of building a state: The cities were built by middle class small business people, and the rural villages were built by pioneers who were also represented in the leadership of the Zionist-Socialistic parties. These parties formed the political elite in the country for many years.

One of the phenomena since the pre-state period was the existence, until recent years, of youth movements. These contributed the reserve and manpower to the kibbutzim and moshavim. In practice – city children or youth joined the movements while they studied at school. After those who were members of the youth movements completed school, they joined as new members of kibbutzim. The stages in the youth movements were as follows: At the age of 10 the children joined the movements, and at age 17 it was decided in the kibbutz movements (which controlled these youth movements) which kibbutz the youth would join, or whether they would build a new one.

In the eighties many kibbutzim and moshavim faced a severe economic crisis that soon became an ideological one. This crisis also became the sign of departure from the Socialistic and state-economy base. The result was that kibbutzim were and are going through different phases of privatization.

One of the results of this process was that kibbutzim do not seek new members anymore. In other words – the youth movements have lost their target. The question they faced was: what future was there for the youth movement? Their solution was to go to development towns and organize themselves as communes; to help weak populations and poor people and children. This activity preserved their ideology and mission. As a result renewed commune movements developed and flourished in these towns.

Sociologists and social workers, which have combined with kibbutz and moshav movements, decided to investigate these phenomena to further understand them. Yad Tabenkin Institute initiated in 2003 a research program to study this development. Joining this project also researchers from the Kibbutz Research institute at Haifa University, and individual Researchers joined too.

This paper will report the author's research, which was carried out in a town in the Northern part of Israel from 2003 until 2007.

**Research method and theory**

Anthropological research methodology was chosen. Avrahami (2003) and others, who used sociological methods, could understand, describe and analyse the communes in their current stages. Avrahami, came to the conclusion that what we see in the behaviour of the youth in the communes is one of the forms of moratorium, and he was right in his conclusions. But this author wished to understand the sociological outcomes from this activity, which were a result of the refusal of the kibbutzim (the moshavim from the beginning hardly accepted new members) to accept new members. So there was a need to find a solution to this problem. The solution was – to define a new, relevant, socialistic approach to activate a helping service to meet the needs in development towns.

Anthropological research enables the researcher to observe over a period of 3-4 years the processes, which developed in these communes. It enables the author also to report the theories, which are helpful in generalizing the findings (cf. Oxford dictionary of Sociology, 1994: 481-483; Bott, 1971: 8, 48; Sabar: 2001).
I decided to be a participant observer, and in addition to it, to analyse written material of the communes' archives I investigate. With an analysis of written material one can avoid the influence of the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewed in the setting. In this presentation I will not present final findings but an interview report of findings to this stage.

In my presentation I will refer to two items: a) The relation of 5 (or 6) groups in the town I referred to earlier and b) The relations of the kibbutz movement with the communes of young people.

**The new commune movements connected to the kibbutz movements**

Since the 1980s two phenomena occurred, which were mentioned in the introduction: a) There was an overall crisis in the kibbutzim; b) Communes were established as a result of the deadlock in which youth movements found themselves.

It is possible to recognize five commune movements from which four stem from the youth movements and one was founded by young kibbutz members.

**Findings**

**a. The five communes in HaEmek**

Although I have already described the origin of the youth communes as coming from the youth movements, I will elaborate now on a group of five communes from HaEmek. These communes were established by groups of youth who were born and grew up in the kibbutz where their parents live. These young people decided to leave the kibbutz and worked in the youth movement.

The first group to come to HaEmek was a product of the kibbutz youth movement. Later, a selected group grew and met from time to time to study together. As they finished school they were mobilized to the IDF (Israeli army) and as they finished their service they organized themselves as a group of youth leaders becoming part of the leadership working in the movement.

After few years they settled themselves into HaEmek with the declared mission "… *to guide and help meet the needs of youth*"; not through the youth movement they worked in, but through a movement they created themselves. Most of them worked as youth guides and they saw this as their mission. It was not long before they found themselves in a conflict with the original youth movement. The question was – to which group to be loyal and identified: to the youth movement they worked in, or to their already established communes?

**Pattern of life in the commune and in kibbutz HaEmek:**

**To whom to be loyal?**

In the first bulletin of HaEmek the question is raised: to whom to be loyal - the kibbutz of communes in HaEmek or to their original Youth movement? To this question another question was added – How to solve the tensions and needs of the communes in HaEmek and the needs of the youth movements? (Bulletin 1, 29.6.1999). This conflict led to the conclusion that they would form their own youth movement and would leave their activity in the kibbutz national youth movement.

The second question which appeared was – Is it possible to work together in the youth movement when there are already established their individual communes? Another question was, can they cooperate with the youth movement when they are building their own community and their way of living? An additional question issued from the way they decided to live. What was decided and implemented is that each group, which arrives at HaEmek, will live together in their own apartment. In this apartment they will share their income and live as a commune. This means that although they are a part of the kibbutz of communes in HaEmek, every group is also a commune in and of itself and carried responsibility for the way they arranged their lives. For instance, in one commune in HaEmek, two members of one commune decided not to share their income but to pay their own expenses. This decision was accepted. Every commune works and lives for themselves but all the communes In HaEmek do comprise one kibbutz. The "one kibbutz" is expressed by a weekly meeting. Every year the kibbutz is growing and it takes time for members to know and trust each other. There may be changes again in a few years because the process is a dynamic one.

Exhibit 1 – The development of HaEmek communes during the years:
(Every circle represents a commune)

O----------Oo----------Ooo----------oooo/ o (in another town) etc.
Year 1 Year 2 Year 3 Year4

All these questions became complicated after three years, and the reason was an outcome of their development. The reality was that every year a new commune joined HaEmek. The size of a commune contains about 8-15 members. The youngsters who came were the trainees of members of the group who arrived a year or two before.

The next question is – What is the relationship in the group of communes concerning seniority and leadership? In this context I would like to report that the group which joined in 2004 decided to be in the group of communes in HaEmek, but to stay and to work in another town not far from HaEmek. Are these the first signs of a leadership conflict?

Indeed I found some signs that predicted such a conflict, which were expressed in their bulletins (Where is the spirit? No.2, 22.11.99). It was openly expressed in another bulletin the same year where a complaint was made that the members of the 'founder' group see themselves as the non-elected leadership of the group of communes in HaEmek, including a threat to expel members from the younger communes in HaEmek (28.9.99).

**The development of one commune in HaEmek**

I met with a group which called itself "The January group", as I wanted to understand their motivation, beliefs, ideology, etc. I asked what they meant when they were talking about "creating a good society". What I found was that they interpret their activity as a mission to make society a better one. Or as "M" put it:

> *We want to create a solid foundation to a more solid society, because the present society is falling apart… such groups with kibbutzim and the Histadruth [*the trade union*] was a Social-Democratic society. Today everything is disintegrating. I think that we can contribute… I can contribute through education, music, and driver licence courses… Maybe we will be asked – why didn't you go to a kibbutz? , I have the feeling that if we were a group in the kibbutz we would not have the same rights. And above all we want something that belongs to us… I want to live in the town and influence through my way of living the belief that it is possible to create mutual aid and living in a community is possible even in the city…*

The things that were brought out in this discussion expressed the ideal that these young people are living in a way that they have chosen according to their ideal that a good society is one that they formulate. But, the members of the group spoke about a good

society that they will be an example of, but they did not talk about how to change the society as a whole as their parents did when they founded the kibbutzim.

In fact I found in this expression Ezioni's ideas about the Communitarian approach. Etzioni formulated it as:

> *" ...a new golden rule should read: respect and uphold society's moral order as you would have society respect and uphold your autonomy"* (Ezioni, 1996:XVIII)
> "*... a good society requires an order that is aligned with the moral commitments of the members"...* (Ezioni, 1996:12).

What is seen here is an approach to build a 'good society' in an individualistic world. In this context it is important to mention that another member of the group said, (while reading a text in one of the groups of communes) that she sees a difference between her duty to fulfil her mission in educating the children of HaEmek and her personal goal to fulfil her private needs which are different. She separated her mission from her personal needs.

**The communes among themselves and their relations with the kibbutz movement**

Two questions have been raised in the context of leadership:

a. Who will be the leaders of the different commune movements?
b. What role will the kibbutz movement play in the commune movement?

To answer these questions we must look to the commune movements, which are connected with the kibbutz movements.

*The commune movements*

There are three origins of the foundation of the commune:

1. Communes that their founders established after completing their army service, and after some also completed their youth movement service. They returned to their kibbutzim and discovered that the kibbutz no longer has a philosophical base to which they can contribute to Israeli society as they wanted,. These young people founded a few communes – two of them in Jerusalem, One in Beit Shemesh and one in Sderot. These represent the oldest group of commune founders. They have been living and working in their communes about 14 years. They have established families, built their houses in the towns they live in, and are promoting their activity to the benefit of the population they live with and in the neighbourhood.

2. The second origin of communes represented by their founders are the young people who grew up in the movements and became youth leaders. They are living in apartments in the cities and they are working in the youth movements. This type of commune is spread throughout the country. Their basis is their movements, i.e. three youth movements.

3. The movement founded by the kibbutz youth that established its own movement.

The foregoing situation created a leadership problem. The leaders of every commune movement claimed to be the leaders of the commune movement as a whole. The outcome was that there are at least four commune movements. On the one hand they cooperate, and on the other hand the leaders compete. On the one hand they have their meetings together but on the other hand they isolate themselves from the others.

It will take time to see the development of leadership through the processes which will occur in the communes through their way of building their leadership. From the kibbutz movement experience we can assume that at the state of the communes at the current period the leadership struggle will continue and create a number of commune movements until this controversy will be settled.

**Summary**

In this paper some observations and descriptions were presented which were carried out in different communes. It is too early to come to firm conclusions. What can be described now are the following reactions:

a. The situation that the youth movement found itself in without the target they were educated for, did not result in the dismantling of the movements but in finding a new goal. One of the goals is to create a new commune movement to build a good society and to shift and heal the Israeli society in the direction of a socialistic society.
b. A leadership and seniority conflict arose about who will lead the movement of communes.

It is interesting to note that in the seventies Prof. Erik Cohen predicted the emergence of second-generation communes (Cohen, 1983: 111-112). It is worthwhile to follow Cohen and examine his theory.

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## 2.2 Community practice and change

# Social ecology in practice: How does the organisational structure of the Norwegian Camphill villages reflect Rudolf Steiner's ideas of the three-folded society?

**Jan Martin Bang**

## Introductory remarks

In August 2003 the Council for Curative Education and Social Therapy at the Goetheanum in Dornach issued a draft statement on integration. This confirms that "The idea of people with disabilities living together in an environment created to meet their needs and developmental potential has always been fundamental in anthroposophical curative education and social therapy." The paper recognises that today there are a wide range of institutional forms and a readiness to venture into new ones. The paper ends by formulating a need to consider and develop a number of aspects:

- Individualisation of life styles in the institutions.
- Supporting the self-determination of people with disabilities.
- Openness to transition between institutions offering a different kind of care and support.
- Being more open to communal and social institutions and life situations.

These words struck a chord within my own thoughts about Camphill, and my role as a co-worker. My hope is that this paper will give the Norwegian Camphill villages a chance to look at themselves and consider ways of taking up the challenge that the Council in Dornach has issued.

## 1. Introduction to the study.

### Camphill history

During the 1930s a group of intellectuals brought together by Karl Kønig began meeting regularly in Vienna. They were inspired by Anthroposophy, the teachings of Rudolf Steiner, and how these could be put into practice in the fields of health and education. Kønig, the focus of the group, was a Viennese doctor, who had worked with mentally handicapped children in Bohemia and married Tilla, who came from the Hutterite villages of that region. The others in the group were younger than Kønig, who was in his mid-thirties. Alix Roth was a photographer, Anke Weihs a dancer. Thomas Weihs had graduated in medicine, Carlo Pietzner trained as an artist, Alex Baum studied chemistry, and Peter Roth had begun his medical studies.

As the political situation in Europe became more threatening, they decided they had to move. France, Cyprus and Ireland were all considered in their turn, but the Anschluss in 1938, when Nazi Germany invaded Austria, forced their hand. Intellectuals and Jews

could no longer stay in Vienna and for a while they were dispersed throughout Europe. Karl Kønig went to London, and stayed in contact with the rest of the group while he looked for a place where they could gather once more. This remarkable group of people came together again near Aberdeen, to continue with their work.

They moved to Kirkton House in the Dee Valley in the beginning of 1939 and began taking in handicapped children. When the Second World War started some months later, the group was registered as enemy aliens and all the men were interned on the Isle of Man. The women carried on and a larger house was found and they moved there to Camphill House on June 1st 1940. A few months later the men returned, and the community then comprised some 30 people of whom just less than half were handicapped children. It was then understood to be the first private institution for such children in the country. The founders saw themselves as political refugees working with social refugees.

During the 1940s, the community grew by acquiring additional houses and properties in the Dee Valley: Heathcote House, and Newton Dee Estate with 170 acres. By 1949 there were 180 children living in 5 houses, and a Camphill Seminar Course was begun for young people who wanted to learn about Curative Education.

The 1950s saw the Camphill Movement grow and develop, reaching out to England, Ireland, Germany, Holland, South Africa and the United States. For the first decade and a half the work of the Camphill Houses was centered round educating and caring for handicapped children. In the early 1950s, Kønig began to think about more extended communities, based on work in farms, gardens, and workshops, where handicapped adults would live together with co-workers in extended family situations. This was first put into practice at the Botton Estate in 1954, a property given to the Camphill Movement by the Macmillan family, and the first Camphill Village as we know it today was established. Botton Village created a model, which has been the basis for Camphill for nearly half a century. Today, Botton contains well over 300 residents in four clusters spread throughout a valley leading up to the North Yorkshire Moors.

The 1960s saw this change from schools for children to villages for adults happening throughout the Camphill Schools, and a consolidation and reorganization of the Camphill Movement. It was divided into 6 regions, and Camphill House in Scotland was no longer the headquarters, but of course remained a focal point. During this decade villages were established in Norway and in Germany. Karl Kønig died in 1966.

During the decade of the 1970s new villages were founded in Finland, France, Brazil and Botswana. The education of co-workers was strengthened through the publication of books and periodicals, and an increasing acceptance of Curative Education and Social Therapy as a serious profession. Social Therapy can be seen as a way of creating situations where handicapped people and others (so called normal) can exercise their educational potential in society.

By the end of the 1980s the Camphill Movement consisted of over 70 communities in a dozen or more countries. During this decade most of the founders had passed away and the movement had come of age, being run by 2nd or even 3rd generation co-workers. New developments were taking place in care for the elderly, and the setting up of the first urban communities. Government regulations, outside consultancy and the question of professional staff qualifications became increasingly relevant, and brought the movement closer to the 'establishment'.

Throughout the world today there are over 100 Camphill Communities in over 20 countries. They are organized into seven regions, and a number of magazines and newsletters keep information flowing between them. Regular meetings are held within the regions, and there is a great deal of internal movement of co-workers and residents from one community to another. There is a strong element of internationalism, and even in my own small community of about 45 people we counted thirteen different nations represented at a recent cultural gathering.

**Camphill Norway**

In Norway the first village was established in 1966 at Vidaråsen and by the beginning of the 90s that community had grown to about 150 persons, with five other villages spread throughout the south of the country, each one with between 30 and 60 inhabitants. Today it is a well-organised charitable trust with a legal form, which carries on direct negotiations with the government department responsible for handicapped people. With its six villages and a total of about 350 people, it is one of the financially strongest Camphill groups.

The villages are: Vidaråsen, Hogganvik, Jøssåsen, Solborg, Vallersund and Kristoffertunet. There is a workshop at Rotvoll Gård, and a seminar centre called Brobyggerskolen at Solborg.

**Field Work Methodology**

The nature of this study and the small size of the villages make statistical study difficult and irrelevant. My two basic questions, 'what is the organisational structure?', and 'how does this reflect the social ecological theory of threefolding?', do not lend themselves to simple questions which can be answered by yes/no ticks in boxes. The only method I found practical was what is called Participant Observation: talking to the people who lived there and becoming involved in the community. This was also the approach taken by Michael and Jane Luxford in their study of Camphill throughout the world, published as 'A Sense for Community' a few months ago.

Because I am an active participant in co-creating the organisational structure of the village in which I live, I decided to leave Solborg until the end, after I had looked at all the other villages. I still feel there is a danger that I will use the pattern of my own village as a template for the others, which does not help create the sense of objectivity that I would like to attempt.

A word here about the idea of objectivity might be helpful. There are clearly some factors which are beyond dispute, whoever measures them: Our village consists of about 45 people and it covers about 70 ha. I can set up a list of all the villages, comparing population and size. This is not open to dispute, given that I have the correct information. However, in the mass of potential 'facts' about each village, I need to select some for inclusion, while rejecting others because of limitations of space and time. Subjective decisions are already creeping in. The very term 'participant observer' is closer to the "new science" which has been developed over the last couple of decades, by scientists working in completely different fields than that of social ecology. These people are working with the idea that the observer is an integral part of the process being observed, and that influences flow in both directions. P. J. North, in his excellent but old-fashioned 'People In Society' (published in 1973), declares that sociology is a science that is "empirical, theoretical, cumulative, value-free and objective". As if somehow a machine can make these observations, which will be in some way 'true', whatever that means. As can be seen from the methodology described below, there are other 'measurements' which are also important, which might be different from observer to observer, but reflect the reality that objects (in the widest sense of the word) consist not only in the measurable physical realm, but have etheric, astral and unique characteristics, without which they would not exist as they are. This might be harder to observe in a rock, but certainly exist in the dynamics of a small society.

This methodology is itself an experiment, an attempt to combine the Goethian scientific methodology with the aim of looking at social forms. This has been done well in the natural sciences, but social structures are much more diffuse, and lack the physical aspects of being open to measurements and other rigorously quantifiable characteristics.

Being a 'participant observer' elevates me above that of a measuring tape registering size, or a thermometer measuring temperature. I participate in the observation. My own will, thoughts and feelings come into play. Instead of pretending that these don't exist, I bring them into the process and acknowledge their existence. Not only am I involved and engaged as myself, I also see the potential for learning, not only about the villages, but also about myself.

Before I began my fieldwork, I made myself a plan of action:

My fieldwork will consist of visits to each village, where I will interview a number of the co-workers. I will organise the material in five steps. One step builds upon the next to create a holistic picture of the organisational structure, which I want to observe, describe and understand.

1. **First Impressions**. I will try to capture my first impression in words or a sketch, and put these aside to look at later.
2. **The physical**. This part consists of looking at the organisational structure as it is now, which groups are there, what authority does each have, who is responsible to whom, and so on. This will be very much a snapshot of what is happening now.

3. **Development and Processes**. I will ask co-workers who have been involved over a longer time to discern changes in the organisational structure. I also want to look at the structure in its wider context, its relationship with the village trust, the local authority, the social scene and parents and friends.
4. **The meaning of the 'thing'.** I will try to discern what kind of structure we have here, if it corresponds to other patterns elsewhere, both in sociological terms and in other spheres.
5. **The thing itself**. I will try to arrive a definition of an archetype, a short definition of the structure. I will compare this with the first impressions, trying to see how they match or mismatch. Partly this is to train myself to see clearer right from the beginning, to train my intuitive faculties.

The interviews were conducted as conversations based upon the following questions divided into four groups:

Group 1. The Village:
1. Which groups are there in the village? Can you list them?
2. Can you make a list of meetings? What is discussed or decided at each one?
3. How is responsibility delegated? Can you make a list of mandates and persons?
4. How is the communication between various meetings and mandates carried out?
5. What is the organisational structure of your village? Can you draw a map?
6. How is work delegated? Which group or person does that?

Group 2. Co-workers:
1. How are long-term co-workers cared for?
2. Are there regular co-worker interviews?
3. Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?
4. How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?

Group 3. Leadership:
1. Is authority based on co-ordination and care?
2. Is there equality between the sexes?
3. Is work regarded as self-realisation?
4. Is there a systematic thinking about the internal structure of the village?
5. Is there awareness about the relationship between the village and the surrounding society?
6. Do you feel a personal identification with the village?
7. What is the village's vision?

Group 4. Development and processes:

Can you say something about how the village has changed over the last few years?

This was the plan. In reality things worked out rather differently. The visits were made, the interviews took place, and the answers were noted down. I quickly realised that the

organisational structure of a small community is not at all like a tree or an animal, and it was not possible to approach the phenomena in the way I had thought. My first impressions were confused and unclear, indeed, there were no real first impressions, just a jumbled stack of notes which only began to make sense as I worked through them afterwards. At first I was surprised how different the villages were, then later over how similar they were.

These are my comments on how the methodology developed 'in the field':

1. **First Impressions**.

I gathered this together under the heading "Portrait of a village", describing what kinds of people I talked to, how they related to the village, and what my first impressions were. I promised the people I interviewed not to use their names, in order to make them feel at ease about what they could tell me. This section included a general idea of how the geography of the village struck me. Occasionally there seemed to be a link between the landscape and the things I subsequently discovered about the social structures. This could be read together with the sketches.

2. **The physical**.

This was the core of the study, and consisted of the first group of questions. I have worked out a diagram of each village structure, hoping this reflects what kind of groups there are, and how different meetings relate to each other.

3. **Development and Processes**.

Most of the rest of the questions concern themselves with this part. Many of the questions were asked in order to get the people interviewed to talk about how they experienced life in the village. My hope is that this section gives some flesh to the bare bones of the previous one.

4. **The meaning of the 'thing'.**

I tried to sum this up as the "village vision", weaving together the things that were said to me during the interviews.

5. **The thing itself**.

This was my "last impression", where I tried to sum up the gist of what I had gathered. It was sometimes very like my first impression, but in other cases very different.

Before beginning on the separate sections for each village, it would be helpful for me to comment on how the questions were received, how they were answered, and how I organised the material that I had gathered in this way.

Group 1. The Village:

1. Which groups are there in the village? Can you list them?

This was asked as a straight descriptive question. Those who were involved in leadership roles usually had a clear picture of different groups, but often other co-workers had insights which I might otherwise have missed. The list given for each village is a composite of all the people I spoke to in that village. I also decided to include the groups which were perceived as existing but not functioning.

2. Can you make a list of meetings? What is discussed or decided at each one?

Meetings are not the same as groups. A group might exist but never have a proper meeting. In some villages this was made much easier by the existence of a formal list which I could work from, but even here there were meetings not included. The list formed the basis of the structural diagram, which I constructed. It was not possible for me to include detailed information about every meeting, how many attended, who they were, or how frequently they met, but I included this in those cases where I have it.

3. How is responsibility delegated? Can you make a list of mandates and persons?

Some villages had clear lists of which people were responsible for what. In others this was not clear, and responsibility seemed to float from person to person, or rest with a few key people. In both cases it was interesting to hear what people had to say. If there was no list, what I heard was all I had to go on. When there was a list, there were often other perceptions, maybe other realities on the ground, and I could include those.

4. How is the communication between various meetings and mandates carried out?

In most cases I experienced that clear channels of communication had not been developed. What emerges is often unclear and confusing. That's how it is.

5. What is the organisational structure of your village? Can you draw a map?

I collected quite a good number of sketched "maps". These I referred to closely when I worked out the diagrams for each village. In addition, I included some of the comments I heard, and added some observations of my own.

6. How is work delegated? Which group or person does that?

This I included as a specific example of decisions that have to be made, and I was curious to hear how each village tackled it.

Group 2. Co-workers:

1. How are long-term co-workers cared for?

In most cases this came down to an informal system, probably based upon the friendship groupings that had formed over time. In this case, the village resembles more a large family than an organisation.

2. Are there regular co-worker interviews?

This was included because in Norway today, co-worker interviews are expected to happen on a regular basis in all large organisations.

3. Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?

This was pretty straightforward, and I got straightforward answers.

4. How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?

Here there were often quite disparate perceptions between those who were presenting the aims and visions, and those who were being presented to.

Group 3. Leadership:

This group of questions was designed to start the co-worker being interviewed talking about how they perceived the village. Often there were widely diverging responses, depending upon whether they perceived the question loaded one way or another.

1. Is authority based on co-ordination and care?

This was seldom understood, and the answers I got were not very clear. I would not include this question again, and regretted having it in after the first couple of interviews.

2. Is there equality between the sexes?

This was pretty straightforward, and I got straightforward answers.

3. Is work regarded as self-realisation?

This was received in a very interesting way. Some co-workers clearly regarded self-realisation through work as highly desirable and positive, and related to the question from that point. Others regarded work as a duty that had to be done, and were clearly frustrated by the attitude of other co-workers who were too busy realising themselves to get on with their work. In the end this question told me more about the person I was talking to than about the village!

4. Is there a systematic thinking about the internal structure of the village?

I included this question in order to give co-workers a clear opportunity to talk about Anthroposophy, spiritual science and threefolding, and was surprised how little these things were mentioned.

5. Is there awareness about the relationship between the village and the surrounding society?

This was a straight question, and I got clear answers.

6. Do you feel a personal identification with the village?

This was a straight question, and I got clear answers.

7. What is the village's vision?

This formed the basis of my formulation of the village vision for each place.

Group 4. Development and processes:
Can you say something about how the village has changed over the last few years?

This was a straight question, and I got clear answers.

In order to make people feel comfortable I promised not to use their names. In the descriptions of each village I include quotes, but have deleted all reference to named persons. Though this makes the descriptions much drier and less interesting, I hope that it gave me more insight into each village by working with people who felt they could trust me.

Finally a note about terms for those unfamiliar with Camphill.

The Economic Fellowship is referred to in all the villages. This is a group of co-workers who pool their income and practice a fundamental form of communism in its distribution. One of the basic principles of three folding as practiced in the villages is to divorce work from wages. In the early days the Economic Fellowship consisted of all the resident co-workers, but as time went on, special skills were hired, and today not every co-worker is a member of the Economic Fellowship. The idea of inviting someone who is not a co-worker in a village to join the Economic Fellowship has been raised, but as far as I know, has not happened.

The Community Group consists of long term committed co-workers who have taken it upon themselves to nurture the spiritual entity of the community. They do not have a decision-making role, but carry out esoteric work based upon recommendations laid down by Karl Kønig in a number of Memoranda.

**2. Hogganvik**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village**

Founded in 1973, today has 17 villagers and a total population of about 45 people.

I interviewed six people at Hogganvik, three long term and two medium term co-workers, and one volunteer with just two months experience. They all felt a strong personal relationship with the village, also the volunteer.

My first impression was a small community still dominated by the co-workers who had been there for at least two decades, and had little need of formal structures to keep running the village. The village was hemmed in on three sides by steep wooded slopes, and open on the fourth to the fiord, with a long view across the water to mountains and other deep fiords. In the words of one co-worker: "There are steep forests behind us, and streams that threaten to wash us out into the ocean. We live amongst very strong nature forces, and we are not managing to handle these nature forces of late." Hogganvik is the most isolated of all the Norwegian Camphill villages, being a whole day's journey from any of the others.

## 2nd Section. The Physical.

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

### Groups in the village

Villagers, all resident except for one part-time day worker
Volunteers
Co-workers with 1 – 2 years experience
Middle generation co-workers
House parents
Leadership group, many years experience
Four pensioned co-workers who live outside
Six children in the village
Three hired co-workers

### List of meetings

At the beginning of every year there is a Board Meeting together with a Village Meeting followed closely by a Co-worker Meeting. The theme is a backward look at the past year and a forward look at the coming year.
Post Meeting (administration), weekly, most important meeting, 4 – 5 regular long term members, but open to those who ask to attend. Deals with applications from both co-workers and villagers.
Monday Meeting, every week, open to everyone, planning the week.
House Responsible Meeting, weekly. This meeting organises the village internally, villager's and co-worker's welfare, and logistic solutions.
Community Group, closed, weekly, only open to members of Community.
Hogganvik Meeting, village meeting open to everyone, once or twice monthly.
Co-worker Meeting, monthly or when necessary.
Economy Meeting when necessary.
Work Meeting when necessary, 2 – 3 times a year.

Council Meeting, when necessary, open to all committed co-workers.
Culture Meeting, 4 – 6 times a year.
Economic Fellowship Meeting, sometimes taken together with Post Meeting.

**List of mandates and persons**

There is no written mandate list, the Post Meeting group decides who does what.

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

There is one co-worker from each house present at the weekly Post Meeting, and information is given at the Monday Meeting, and at the weekly House Responsible Meeting. Otherwise things go by word of mouth, when necessary. One of the volunteers commented: "This is not so good. We don't always know what is going on." The established co-workers seemed happy with the system as it was.

**The organisational structure of the village**

The Post Meeting and the House Responsible Meeting are the most central. Issues are then delegated to other meetings.

See diagrams.

**Work delegation**

The Work Meeting is where this is decided. It is open to all co-workers and takes place 2 – 3 times a year or when necessary. The Post Meeting deals with minor matters. I was told that: "otherwise it just happens, or the Housemother takes care of things."

**3rd Section. Development and processes**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

There is no formal arrangement. A number of suggestions were offered:

"By the villagers."
"By the Co-worker Mandate Group."
"Within the houses."
"By our angels."
"By friendship groups."
"By free initiative."
"No-one."

**Co-worker interviews**

These occur only when necessary, if there are problems.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

My impression was that only those who needed to know understood the economy.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

Long-term co-workers told me that "the community vision is not 100% clear, and we lack the wholeness of the fellowship". This made it difficult for them to present a vision to new co-workers. There are meetings about this now, led by an ex co-worker, a Christian Community priest who still lives there.

**Equality between the sexes**

On the whole this didn't seem to be a big issue, but I did get some interesting comments:

"There is a Camphill tradition of machismo."
"There are no men who wash clothes, it looks very traditional."
"There is an unconscious tendency to put girls in the kitchen, and boys on tractors."

**Work as self-realisation**

There were no firm views on this, but some interesting comments:

"We just want to finish the job and maybe do that little bit extra."
"Work is not so central as it was, sometimes it's just routine."

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

Nearly everyone I spoke to responded that there was none.

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

This was very high, and the following comments indicate that in this respect Hogganvik is achieving some success:

"This is getting better, we are working positively towards a more open attitude."
"There has developed a stronger contact with the surrounding area, this has been an improvement."
"The local Housewife Group come to visit regularly, we also visit older people in the district."
"We have a good relationship with the Kommune (local municipality)."

"One member of the Board is now from the local area."
"We had an Advent garden with children from outside, a concert with neighbours, also lectures and music, all with cakes."
"There is also good contact with the Steinerschool at Haugesund." (A major town, about an hour away.)

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

Everyone I spoke to expressed pessimism over developments at Hogganvik. It seemed to me that many of the long term co-workers were tired:

The enthusiasm is on the wane. There is a wave of depression.
Previously there were more young co-workers, we were more dynamic, there was a stronger common vision.
The Community Group stood stronger before, we had more trust. This is the biggest challenge today.
Organisationally it has gone backwards.
There has developed a lack of trust in the fellowship.
There was really good co-operation between co-workers, but now there are greater differences.
Today there are too many gadgets in the houses, TV, computers, things that stand between people.
Today we are treading water.
Development has stagnated, but at least we are aware of it.

**4th Section. The meaning of the thing.**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

I was told that there is no collected vision, a year ago a meeting had been held about this, but with no concrete results. The people I spoke to responded with the following comments:

"To live in a different way, in fellowship, integration of people."
"Farming, environment and ecology are shared aspects."
"Our vision is to live and work together, to regard each one as a person, to look after the earth, and each other."
"Anthroposophy is our aim and our idea."
"We practice organised chaos."
"We are a meeting place of cultures."

**5th Section. The thing itself.**

*In this section I try to sum up my own course in finding out about the village. It might be interesting to compare this with the first section.*

**Last impressions**

The village has recently celebrated 30 years since its foundation, and the atmosphere seemed good to me. The villagers were engaged and contented, and the new barn and even newer village hall well built and attractive. It is the most isolated of the villages in Norway, a whole day's travel to any of the others, but it hosts a cultural gathering every autumn which attracts villagers and co-workers from the rest of the country, and which has become a fixture in the calendar.

The older leaders are becoming tired, and I couldn't perceive a strong new group ready to take over. This came out most clearly to me when I asked people to talk about how the village had changed over the last few years. There had been more enthusiasm before, but now there was not enough energy to prepare a new group of stable co-workers to take over the running of the village. The small group of people leading the village for so long had not developed a formal structure which could easily be opened to new co-workers. The management style worked well for them, but could easily be perceived as closed to a new arrival.

**3. Jøssåsen**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village.**

Founded in 1977, today has 23 villagers and a total population of about 50 people.

I interviewed seven people at Jøssåsen, three long-term co-workers, one of whom was hired and not resident, one medium term member and three more recent arrivals, two of whom were volunteers with only a few weeks at the place. Five of them felt a strong personal relationship with the village, but the two volunteers had some doubts, being disappointed in the lack of co-operation.

My first impression was a small village still dominated by the co-workers who had been there for at least two decades, and who had little need of formal structures to keep running the village. There seemed to be a gulf between those in leadership roles and the new younger volunteers. I didn't see a middle group of co-workers. Jøssåsen lies at the end of a country road, and feels isolated, deep in the forests. It was basically one large old farm, with a view down onto a small lake and across to forested hills. There was a small mountain visible above the nearer trees.

**2nd Section. The Physical.**

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

**Groups in the village**

Leadership Group
Co-workers, hired
Co-workers, new, young, volunteers
Economic Fellowship
Economics Group
House Responsible Group
Villagers, residents and day workers
Villagers, more capable and less capable

**List of meetings**

Regional Trønder meeting
Board Meeting
Leadership Group, weekly, highest decision-making group.
House Responsible Group, weekly, decides on important issues.
Workshop Leader Group (not functioning so no meetings)
Economy Meeting
Economic Fellowship Group
Villager care, (temporarily suspended)
Co-worker Meeting, weekly, for established co-workers (practical information)
Large Co-worker Meeting, monthly (all co-workers welcome)
Jøssåsen Village Meeting, weekly (open to everyone, even I attended!)
Introduction Course for young/new co-workers, weekly
Klasse Time (study session for dedicated Anthroposophists)
Bible Study, weekly (open to everyone)

As far as I know, the village does not keep a list of meetings.

**List of mandates and persons**

Traditionally responsibility goes to specific persons. Mandates change as people leave and new arrivals take their place. There is a clear awareness about who has responsibility for each house and workshop. The leadership group makes these decisions and the perception of the co-workers who were not part of that group was that house responsible co-workers dominated the decision-making.

There is a list of who has which responsibility, which is updated from time to time. See list of Ansvarsområder (Areas of responsibility).

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

There seemed to be a lack of communication between the Leadership Group and the rest of the co-workers. The people I talked to who were not in leadership roles experienced

the situation as “very chaotic” and unclear, but felt that criticism was not acceptable. “It is difficult for young co-workers to get into things, hard to get answers.” “Decisions are made by the leadership, if there is no opposition, they are carried through.” I was told by those in the Leadership Group that this is getting better: “Most information gets to the Co-workers meeting, or by word of mouth through other meetings, such as the Village meeting.”

There was a perception amongst those not in leadership roles that there is very little written. Minutes are taken at Co-worker meetings but not distributed. Officially each meeting has minutes, which can be seen at the office. Leadership Group Meetings are minuted but have access limited to long term co-workers. There seemed to be a wide gulf between those in leadership roles and those not. To the latter it was unclear what structure there is, or where the Leadership Group get their authority from.

**The organisational structure of the village**

See diagrams.

**Work delegation**

There was no specific work co-ordinator. The situation was perceived by those not in leadership roles as unclear, with not enough instructions. The following meetings were suggested as places where work related decisions were taken:

Weekly Co-worker Meeting
Large Co-worker Meetings
House Responsible Meeting
Planning Day two or three times a year.
Workshop Leader Meeting

**3rd Section. Development and processes.**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

There was no formal system.

For short-term volunteers, a contact person is chosen after 3 weeks. After that it gradually becomes informal, or operated through workshop leader or house parents. “It is up to young co-workers to speak up.” The system was perceived by them as not functioning.

For one person interviewed it was not a very positive experience during illness.

Hired people have a contract to protect them.

**Co-worker interviews**

I was told that these took place only when problems arose.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

Those in leadership roles were familiar with the economy, others were not. There did not seem to be any open discussion of the overall budget.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

There was an Introduction Course one evening every week. I was told that this was done badly two years ago, but is better now, with an introduction pamphlet given out. The volunteers commented about this course:

"Too many long discussions about interpersonal politics."
"The talks about anthroposophy were unclear."
"The aims are vague."
"Practice does not reflect the words said."

According to the program I was given, the following subjects were covered during the autumn:

The human being.
The history of Camphill.
What is community?
Care.
Bio-dynamic agriculture.
Seasons and festivals.
Preparation for Advent, Christmas Market and the Christmas play.
Two meetings with volunteers from Kristoffertunet and Vallersund.

**Equality between the sexes**

On the whole this didn't seem to be a big issue, but I did get some interesting comments. One was about the villagers, where it was pointed out that there were slightly more women villagers, that they were more social and much more "visible".

Amongst the co-workers there was still perceived to be some old fashioned male chauvinism, despite more women in leadership. The volunteers felt that it was regarded as man's work to drive tractors. They asked me "Why can't women drive tractors?" Other co-workers thought that women dominate, and felt that this was typical Camphill.

**Work as self-realisation**

Half the people I spoke to responded positively to this. Work was regarded as co-operation with others, caring for others and living with the villagers. “Work is life.”

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

Not one of the people interviewed gave this a name, even though half of them said that there was systematic thinking. There seemed to be less clarity among the younger co-workers.

One co-worker commented on the difference between those long term co-workers who have grown up and into the ideology and the younger co-workers who are voicing more personal needs.

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

The views were very divergent.

Some commented: “A lot of contact. Book workshop in Vikhammer (local town). Day workers going both ways. Local health sport group. Good relationships and strong contacts with local authority and housing co-op.”

Others said: “Jøssåsen too isolated geographically. Only contact is to the local supermarket. Makes it difficult to get out. Bad for villagers.”

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

Jøssåsen began in 1977. It was more static earlier and bound by traditions. “It’s what we do”. Tasks were more evenly delegated, everybody could do everything. Now there is more contact with the outside world but there has developed a gulf between co-workers and villagers. 20 years ago there were three main meetings: spiritual, social and economic. Co-workers and villagers sat on every meeting, the social meeting too, discussing interpersonal problems where everyone signed a confidentiality contract, even villagers. Villagers were more carrying. These three meetings reported to the general meeting. Now the villagers are older and many of the more capable have moved out because of the “Integration reform”, to lonely flats in town. The intensive period lasted till 80/83 with a dominant pioneer leadership. The second generation is now older, without a following generation.

Jøssåsen has changed from a led organism to a much weaker one and the structure has disappeared. The villagers have changed most. Now there is much more contact with day villagers in the local area. They now have TV in houses because villagers want it. As the villagers get older they need more care, but there are not enough professional care people. It has got somewhat better during the recent past with new workshops and better leadership. Decisions are made, there is more direction.

**4th Section. The meaning of the 'thing'.**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

I was told by a leading co-worker that Jøssåsen is one of the more modern Camphill villages, based on needs in society. All the people I talked to were enthusiastic about this and these are their comments:

"The village is for both villagers and co-workers."
"It is an inclusive local society."
"There is an openness to society at large and we have porous borders."
"Villagers learn skills, take pleasure in their work, and pride in production."
"To live like a family, to live together, so that villagers have a home."
"This is a place where we offer different people different tasks and different ways of living."
"Working, social, religious and cultural life."
"Really good for volunteers."

**5th Section. The thing itself.**

*In this section I try to sum up my own course in finding out about the village. It might be interesting to compare this with the first section.*

**Last impressions**

I attended the Jøssåsen Village meeting while I was there, and was impressed by what a good atmosphere there was. Not very many co-workers came, but a lot of villagers. It was clearly a popular meeting, with its own easy going dynamic. In a way it said a lot about the village. The villagers felt secure, the structure around them seemed to them to be stable and predictable. The criticisms of the volunteers did not seem to be so important in the day to day working of the community, and may have been just the normal reaction to the first weeks and months of a way of life totally different from that which they were used to outside. In the long run, though, there will be a problem with finding a strong group of co-workers capable of taking the village onwards. I did not perceive a middle generation being groomed for leadership roles, or a clear structure that could be taken over by those who would replace the present pioneers.

**4. Kristoffertunet**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village**

Founded in 1989, today has 10 villagers and a total population of about 30 people.

I interviewed four people at Kristoffertunet, two of them had been there three or four years, and were acknowledged as the leaders of the community. One was hired to run the farm, and had previous Camphill experience, but had only been there one and a half years. The last was a volunteer who had been there a few weeks. The two "leaders" felt a strong attachment to the place, but not so the last two.

My first impression was lots of rain and cold, dashing between buildings to talk to people. There were many young volunteers, they seemed to be by far the largest group of co-workers I could see. The place is not really a village, rather a number of houses on a housing estate built during the second world war, with workshops in a farm complex which they share with the local Steiner school and the Corona Food Business, a workshop run by the Camphill Foundation, but with no residents, only day workers. It lies in a suburb of Trondheim, on the southern shore of the fiord, and the views would have been spectacular on a good day.

The leadership was about to change, and be replaced by second generation co-workers originally from Vidaråsen.

**2nd Section. The Physical.**

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

**Groups in the village**

Long-term co-workers
Short-term co-workers
Resident co-workers
Hired co-workers
Volunteer co-workers
Resident villagers
Day villagers

**List of meetings**

Representantskap, the national Camphill body.
Trønder Meeting, regional. Rotvoll Meeting, local.
Board Meeting.
Co-worker Meeting, highest decision making body. All long term co-workers, both resident and hired.
Economics Meeting.
Workshop Leader Meeting.
House Responsible Meeting.
Villager Mandate Meeting.
Culture/Seminar.
House Meeting in each house.
Village Meeting.

Workshop Meeting, open to all co-workers who work in workshops.

**List of mandates and persons**

The mandate list was set up a few years ago, and is updated at Co-worker Meetings according to need. Initially it was intended for Internal Quality Control. From this list it is clear that a small group of five people share most of the mandates between them.

See attached sheet

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

The Co-worker Meeting is the highest organ, a meeting with a very high priority. I was told that reports from meetings in the village are sent round. There is also informal communication by word of mouth, and at Co-worker Meetings, and this works well.

The more recently arrived volunteers were not quite in agreement:

"Nobody tells you, you need to ask, there are language difficulties. You have to say what you want several times."

**The organisational structure of the village**

See diagrams.

**Work delegation**

The Co-worker Meeting was clearly the place where this happened. Hired co-workers have their jobs described according to their contracts.

**3rd Section. Development and processes.**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

They take care of themselves, informally, "they just do it casually". I was told that this is very good for some, but sometimes not so good for others.

**Co-worker interviews**

There is a series of co-worker interviews going on, with a professional social ecologist who is head of the Board, doing the interviews.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

The long term co-workers clearly had. The employed co-worker commented: “There are various signals about how tight the economy really is. Workshop budgets work fine, but the investment side is very unclear.” The volunteer had no idea.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

Kristoffertunet is good at this. There are tours, explanations, and an introduction course every second week. These are also presented through the application procedure, brochure, web page, and through the contracts with the hired co-workers. The aims are very clear, and stated in the contract.

**Equality between the sexes**

Yes.

**Work as self-realisation**

There is a balance between what needs to be done and what people like to do. The people I spoke to felt that this is really important, that there is a big emphasis on this.

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

The people I spoke to commented that it was not really systematic and that there seemed to be less of the big spiritual vision.

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

People were very aware of this. They experienced a porous relationship between Kristofertunet, the Steiner School, Rotvoll gård and the wider society. The village is in a suburban neighbourhood, connected to the Steiner school and the Corona Food Business. The workshops are outward looking and there is lots of co-operation with surrounding area. The community is really open to the outside world.

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

There were no hired people four years ago, now they are part of the Co-worker Meeting. Previously there were no Workshop Meetings or House Meetings. I was told that things are getting better in many different ways, more social, and with good co-operation with the Corona Food Business in the last few years. “The place has really become something, it has become better organised and better led during the last period.”

**4th Section. The meaning of the ‘thing’.**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

All those that I talked to were very enthusiastic about the community:

"We are trying to create a socially exciting place for everyone who finds their way here."
"We work with crafts, ecological farming, culture and celebrate festivals."
"It is very positive here, and will be more so."
"We want to develop a place where villagers and normal people can live and feel good, be creative, with no discrimination between them."
"We try to find another way to handle life, to create an alternative, a better way of life, trying different things."
"Many things arise that are not planned, we encourage the creative side of people and get things done."
"Different backgrounds and handicaps meet here."
"Working together in cooperation, an interesting place, a really good offer for the villagers."

**5th Section. The thing itself.**

**Last Impressions**

There seems to have evolved a new and dynamic leadership over the last few years, very open to the outside world and to new young volunteers, and this was working well. Of the five people who share most of the responsibility for running Kristoffertunet, two are leaving, and two have only recently joined, though they do have several decades experience in Camphill in Norway. This change in leadership will create a new dynamic, depending upon how the new leaders will carry on the present trend. How this will work out remains to be seen.

There was no mention of anthroposophy, and no-one mentioned a Community Group or an Economic Fellowship. Despite the conscious structure and the enthusiasm, I did wonder what the underlying ideas for the community were at this time.

**5. Solborg**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village.**

Founded in 1977, today has 18 villagers and a total population of about 45 people.

It is impossible for me to give either first impressions or a portrait of Solborg in the same way that I have covered the other villages. I have lived here for over three years, and during most of that time I have worked in the administration. For the last two years I have been part of the team creating a new organisational structure. It is this work that inspired me to write about this subject.

I interviewed a few of the newer co-workers in order to get their view of what was going on. I have incorporated their comments into the description, but most of it is based on a 12 page document which the Internal Quality Control Group has produced. Being a member of that group, and taking the minutes of the Council Group Meeting where we are slowly going through this document, reviewing every sentence, gives me the insights upon which I have based my portrait.

Solborg sits on the western side of large hills overlooking the county of Buskerud, just an hour north west of Oslo. Internally it's not a particularly pretty community, but the views are magnificent, with mountains in the distance, a long fjord snaking away northwards, and below us a river winding through wild forests. I like to think that the view is one of our inspirations for our vision.

**2nd Section. "The Physical".**

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

**Groups in the village**

Long-term co-workers
Young co-workers
Volunteers
Villagers
Pensioned co-workers
Hired employees
Children
Economic Fellowship Group
Community Group

**List of meetings**

Representantskap, the national Camphill body.
Board Meeting, four times a year.
Administration Meeting, twice a month.
Economic Administration Meeting, twice a month.
Village Meeting, twice a month, everyone welcome, visitors also.
Monday morning planning meeting, for the whole village. The minutes from this meeting form the weekly programme, and are read out at every morning meeting, with any other news.
House Responsible meeting, weekly, with a representative from each house.
Council Meeting, two or three times a month, the highest decision making body, and open only to established co-workers.
Economic Fellowship Meeting, once a month, only open to members.
Free Spiritual Life Meeting, once a month, open to everyone.
Villager Mandate Meeting, meets when necessary.
Co-worker Mandate Meeting, meets weekly.

Community Group meets weekly.
Co-worker Meeting, twice a month, all co-workers and volunteers welcome.
Maintenance Group Meeting, meets only when necessary.
Building Group Meeting, meets only when necessary.
Internal Quality Control Meeting, meets only when necessary.

**List of mandates and persons**

See list.

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

Most meetings have minutes which are kept in the office. Minutes are usually read and commented at the beginning of each meeting. Minutes are usually circulated to those members of the meeting who did not attend. Administration meeting minutes are circulated amongst the Council members. The Morning Meetings are places for information, as are the Co-worker and Village Meetings. Otherwise people are usually delegated to inform on specific issues or decisions. The young co-workers felt this worked well.

**The organisational structure of the village**

See lists and diagrams.

**Work delegation**

This was the responsibility of one co-worker who was chosen by the Council Meeting, but has recently been divided between two, one from the House Responsible Meeting and one from the Co-worker Mandate Group.

**3rd Section. Development and processes.**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

The Co-worker Mandate Group is responsible for co-workers and volunteers. That group also helps to resolve conflicts between co-workers. The house that any co-worker is attached to also plays a strong role in this.

**Co-worker interviews**

Yes, a regular programme to interview every co-worker is undertaken by the Co-worker Mandate Group.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

Budgets and financial reports are presented regularly to the Council Meeting and to the Economic Fellowship Group. The minutes of the Economic Administration Meeting are circulated amongst the Council Group.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

There is a regular seminar one afternoon a week for new co-workers, and occasional lectures that touch on the subject. They are welcome at the Free Spiritual Life Meeting and to extended study sessions that occur at Christmas and Easter. Those attending the seminar commented that it was not always so successful, and that it covered mostly practical day to day things rather than the aims and visions.

**Equality between the sexes**

Solborg likes to think there is, though there is probably a slightly higher proportion of the women volunteers cooking in the houses than the men. At the moment the Economic Administration Group is all men, while women dominate the House Responsible Group.

**Work as self-realisation**

Solborg tries hard to let people do what they like doing, and allow them to balance their sense of duty with their own personal aspirations. The newer co-workers and volunteers agreed that this was their experience.

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

A lot of discussions centre around the issue of three folding, and that is reflected in the way the organisational structure has been written. This was not entirely clear to the younger co-workers.

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

Solborg has a high proportion of foreigners, who have difficulties integrating into the Norwegian society outside the community. Many of the earlier co-workers left to form and run the Steiner school, and still live locally, forming a natural social circle, but relatively few of the co-workers have strong contact with them. There is a commitment to opening up more contacts with the local community, and the purchase of a house in the nearest town and the recent opening of a shop there are tangible expressions of that commitment.

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

When I arrived over three years ago there were very few minutes taken at meetings, and decisions were not often communicated to other co-workers. The introduction of a more structured organisational form has been a process which has been going on for the last two years, and forms the background for this whole work.

**4th Section. The meaning of the 'thing'.**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

The following statement was made by the Council Group over a year ago, and has been looked at and discussed a few times since. Even though the discussions have been long and often showing a wide variety of views, it still stands as the only written version. What follows is a rough translation, the original is attached as an appendix.

1. A caring community of high quality for the mentally handicapped, where we take care of each other, our environment and the quality of our lives. Where we celebrate life and everything it has to give us, our earth, our health, our food and our culture.
2. A place where the human being stands at the centre and where we respect our differences, our strengths and our weaknesses.
3. Our village can be a place where the villagers and the co-workers can work together to develop the idea of three folding, which has its origin in the ideas of Rudolf Steiner, and make this idea understandable to our neighbours.
4. Spiritually and culturally we stand for the self-development of every person's resources in freedom out of spiritual science, social therapy and youth guidance, avoiding the mass media and artificialities.
5. Socially we stand for respect for equality for each person as we meet mentally handicapped people and decide things on a democratic basis.
6. Economically we stand for caring for each other in fellowship, seeing money as a means to become better acquainted with each other, creating interesting workplaces for each one, develop bio-dynamic agriculture and taking care of our environment.
7. We are creating a free spiritual life with Christ as a model, rules which protect the weaker members and a working life, which minimises self interest.
8. Our village has a unique opportunity, because of the mentally handicapped, where we can develop educational skills and mirror our theoretical ideas in practise.
9. Our basis is to develop our social fellowship into a spiritual brotherhood with the spiritual laws which are known from Anthroposophy, in order to help our handicapped members as well as other people who come to share our lives and our work with us.
10. As a community we stand for building up an ecovillage which can develop strategies to co-operate with other cultural creatives in society at large.

**5th Section. The thing itself.**

*In this section I try to sum up my own course in finding out about the village. It might be interesting to compare this with the first section.*

**Last impressions**

I can only hope that we carry on with the process of creating a stronger and more robust organisational structure that reflects the aspirations of our co-workers and the ideas of three folding. I am too involved in that process to attempt any kind of objective assessment of whether we are succeeding.

**6. Vallersund**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village.**

Founded in 1980, today has 12 villagers and a total population of about 40 people.

I interviewed five co-workers at Vallersund, one long term, two medium term, and two volunteers with a few months experience. They all felt a strong personal relationship with the village, also the volunteers.

My first impression was a village with some internal conflicts, but on the whole pretty stable. Since it was established Vallersund has specialised in drug rehabilitation, the only Camphill village in Norway to take this on. A small group of people had held the leadership for many years and established their own style, which might be difficult for others to enter into, though this did not seem to deter everyone.

Vallersund seems to be at the end of the world. The northern Atlantic lies just offshore, on the other side of an island. Behind the village the land rises into rounded hills which looked like pictures of Ayers Rock in Australia. The trees are tilted by the constant winds, the hills are bare rock. Just living there struck me as a challenge.

**2nd Section. "The Physical".**

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

**Groups in the village**

Co-workers in the Community Group
Co-workers not in the Community Group
Long term co-workers
New co-workers
Volunteers, including conscientious objectors, mostly from abroad
Co-worker children

Religious Services group
Festival celebration group
Office group
Older villagers
Younger villagers
Drug rehabs and psychiatrics

**List of meetings**

Co-worker Meeting, only co-workers, highest organ, making decisions.
Work Meeting, every week, everyone welcome, planning the week, information.
Working Life Meeting, co-workers and volunteers, decides upon work questions.
Drug Rehab Meeting, to review the work with this group of people in care, all co-workers and volunteers concerned.
Community, closed, only open to members of Community. There is an occasional open Community meeting called Fellowship which takes up spiritual matters.
Theme Meeting once a month, vision meeting, co-workers only.
Idea Meeting, 4 – 5 times a year, planning festivals, co-workers and volunteers.
Culture Meeting carries out Idea Meeting decisions.
Village Meeting, open to everyone, 4 – 5 times a year.
Religious Services Preparation Meeting for those involved.
Building Meeting.
Economic Fellowship Meeting, only for members of the Economic Fellowship, monthly.

**List of mandates and persons**

The Co-worker Meeting decides on this.

There is a partially correct mandate list.

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

Officially all meetings have minutes, accessible in the office, and read at meetings. A weekly program goes to each house. People are asked to communicate decisions by word of mouth, and the daily coffee break, when nearly everyone gathers in and around the shop, is very important. However, it was felt by some that communication was a little weak between co-workers and volunteers. I was told that Vallersund attempts and aims for a flat structure, but is not always successful.

One co-worker had an interesting comment: “Some things are not spoken about clearly, words can go wrong. There is a lot of intuition, the heart of Camphill is intuition and connections.”

**The organisational structure of the village**

See diagrams.

**Work delegation**

This is taken care of at the Working Life Meeting or the Co-worker Meeting.

**3rd Section. Development and processes.**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

Informally by friends or by the Community Group, otherwise everyone takes care of him or herself.

Volunteers have a contact person.

**Co-worker interviews**

These do not take place on a regular basis, but they will be starting soon.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

Only those who worked within the economic sphere seemed to have had this.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

Those responsible for explaining things to new arrivals commented:

This is done through the application process. There is a Web page and a brochure as well as personal discussions. For volunteers and new co-workers there are great differences how this is done. There is contact before people come, but it can be a little accidental and varies from person to person. There is a seminar for young co-workers and volunteers, to understand the village role, to improve communication with villagers, and to study lectures by Karl Kønig.

Newer arrivals commented:

"It was not explained very much, it was assumed that one learns through everyday work."
"It is a disorganised process."

**Equality between the sexes**

This did not seem to be a problem, but there may be a tendency that women should begin working in the houses.

**Work as self-realisation**

Most of the people I spoke to responded that this was the ideal, and that it was largely successful. One co-worker commented that "the first priority is the need to get things done" and implied to me that some co-workers were spending too much time realising themselves, and not enough time getting things done.

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

The people I spoke to were very clear about this. I was told:

Anthroposophy, Christianity, Community, human values, ecological, religious (spiritual), co-operation.

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

This was clearly a really important issue. The location is a challenge, Vallersund is very isolated geographically. I heard the following comments:

"It has become better recently."
"We try all the time to create a closer relationship."
"Someone from outside said it is becoming more and more open."

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

The same four co-workers have been in leadership positions for over a decade.
Ten years ago there were fewer meetings, now there are more meetings, more delegation of responsibility, more mandates, more structure and more equality. Before everybody knew about everything, but now there is more specialisation. However, the older co-workers are getting tired.

The older co-workers felt that now they need to defend the way they do things more and more, there are more questions. The development of society outside is also important, they were aware that they cannot have an 'island' consciousness. They felt that the fellowship has become more open, and that there is a good process going on now. There is more "us" and less "you and I", that there are less hidden intentions, and that they were "getting it right".

**4th Section. The meaning of the "thing".**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

This question was enthusiastically answered by everyone I spoke to, clearly everyone felt strongly about this:

"We live with each other in a way that every person can be seen as he or she is and not just as they appear."
"We are a group of people who try to create hope for those who don't have any."
"We are about knowing each other, understanding each other, even with our problems."
"This is a place where co-workers can create and develop initiatives and find themselves."
"We try to soak a little part of the earth with love."
"Ecovillage. Ecological farm. Fellowship. Individual freedom."

**5th Section. The thing itself.**

*In this section I try to sum up my own course in finding out about the village. It might be interesting to compare this with the first section.*

**My last impressions**

Vallersund has been led by a small group of extremely strong people who have been in this position for a long time. They have created a strong structure, opened up to new people, and it seems to be very successful. I was struck by the clarity of the place, and the enthusiasm of many of the people there, both villagers and co-workers. My initial reservations about a small group of people having held the leadership for so long were dispelled by the enthusiasm, which came across from nearly everyone I spoke to. It may be that working with drug rehabilitation is so demanding that only a clarity of purpose can be successful, knowing that failure would be catastrophic to the whole community. My only negative reaction was that Vallersund is quite small and isolated, and if the leadership group need replacing, they should be trying now to create a new generation of responsible co-workers.

**7. Vidaråsen**

**1st Section. First Impressions. Portrait of a village**

Founded in 1966, today has 59 villagers and a total population of about 150 people.

I interviewed five people at Vidaråsen, they all had many years experience ranging from over 30 to just a few, and were in varying degrees involved in decision making. They all felt a strong personal relationship with the village.

My first impression is difficult for me to formulate, as I lived and worked at Vidaråsen twelve years ago for nearly a year, and have lots of strong memories. The village is very neat and tidy, the house freshly painted in bright colours. Internally it is by far the prettiest place, set in rolling forests, with views opening up as you walk around the roads. It does not have the spectacular views of Solborg, nor the drama of the ocean that we find at Vallersund and Hogganvik. Becuase of its size, and proximity to Andebu and Tønsberg, it does not feel isolated either. People were friendly and open, and it's always

nice for me to visit, with so many old friends and shared memories. However as I talked to people, I became aware of serious underlying conflicts between co-workers.

Vidaråsen is the oldest and largest of all the Camphill Villages in Norway, and seasoned co-workers have left Vidaråsen to pioneer all the other communities. There are very few of the original co-workers left at Vidaråsen, and the management is largely in the hands of people who have arrived there over the last decade.

**2nd Section. "The Physical".**

*This section should be read in conjunction with the organisational diagrams.*

**Groups in the village**

Council Group
Management Group
Established co-workers who are peripheral
Young co-workers
Villagers
Religious services responsibility group

**List of meetings**

Representantskap, the national Camphill body, not strongly related to.
Board Meeting, 3 – 4 times annually, not strongly related to.
Village Council, weekly. This is the highest authority, and is a closed meeting. It has about 32 members, all co-workers with at least one year's experience. Every second week this is a study session.
House Responsible, weekly. A very important meeting, but with many frustrations.
Management Group. Daily leadership, weekly meetings. Four to five members. A bridge to the outside world. Delegated by the Village Council.
Workshop Leader Meeting, weekly.
Living Place Meeting, called when necessary, about where people live.
Villager Mandate Meeting, employed leader, who is used to structure.
Culture Meeting, when necessary.
Village Meeting, important and functioning well. Weekly, everyone welcome.

**List of mandates and persons**

Village council is the highest authority, it chooses mandates. I was given a clear list of mandates and meetings, with defined areas of responsibility, how often each one meets, and who sits on it.

See list.

**Communication between various meetings and mandates**

There were varying perceptions of how this functioned, most were highly critical:

"Works pretty well, there are no complaints."
"Decisions are communicated through the Village Meeting, or direct to houses, or to those who are affected. Village Council Meetings have minutes."
"There is not much minute taking, but a good overlap of members of various groups."
"Communication is now much better than before."
"Communication is bad, there is very little minute taking at meetings."
"There are unclear definitions of mandate responsibilities, and a lack of continuity between meetings."
"Very few minutes are kept."

**The organisational structure of the village**

I was given lists of mandates and a map of how they fitted together. This forms the basis of what I have mapped out, and largely conforms to what I heard from those I spoke to.

See list and diagrams.

**Work delegation**

The Work Mandate Group consists of one person! I was told that usually decisions are made from wishes expressed by other members and that this works well as long as people take the initiative.

**3rd Section. Development and processes.**

*This section fills in some background information not covered in the previous section.*

**How long term co-workers are cared for**

There was no formal system, and a good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed to me, as the following comments show:

"They are left to themselves. Everyone is more or less frustrated."
"We are not good at looking after ourselves, there are few resources to spare."
"You need to create your own support group."
"There is the possibility of using the house responsible meeting."
"There are some serious conflicts which remain unresolved."

Only new co-workers cared for, with a mentor system. This I was told works well.

**Co-worker interviews**

Only for new co-workers. Not for established co-workers.

**Have you had the possibility of building up an economic understanding of the village?**

Generally the economic understanding seemed very low. According to some co-workers I spoke to there have been problems and mistakes which have led to conflicts. I can confirm this from information not connected with this survey. From what I understand this is a problem which has been in existence for some time.

**How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?**

There is some presentation in application forms given to those wanting to come. There is an introduction seminar, but I was told that it concerns itself mostly with the practical side of life. This year there has been a problem that young co-workers have been arriving at irregular intervals, and it has been difficult to establish a clear group. The seminar works much better when it begins together.

An underlying problem expressed to me by some of the co-workers was that aims and visions were not clear for the established co-workers that Vidaråsen doesn't really know what its vision is, and this made presenting it to others a big problem

**Equality between the sexes**

This was not a big issue, but there were some interesting observations. I was told that Camphill had a matriarchal tradition and that men are badly represented, except in the economic sphere. Today there are many eastern Europeans at Vidaråsen, they are much more macho, and afraid of being seen as "soft Scandinavian men".

**Work as self-realisation**

The only two co-workers who elaborated on this told me that there is now a turning point. Earlier work was dominated by the ideal of duty, now self-realisation is much more important. "Today too much time is spent on self-realisation, basically the young co-workers run the village, while established co-workers are busy realising themselves."

**Systematic internal structure of the village**

Perhaps because of the conflicts between co-workers I found there to be quite negative responses to this question. It seemed that the older group of co-workers are carrying the vision of anthroposophy, Camphill and three folding, but "the vision has become fossilised and ideas don't relate to practice." I was told that young co-workers are not really interested in anthroposophy, but they are really engaged in the everyday life. One

frustrated co-worker told me that "there is no systematic structure any more, the community has become very ragged."

**Awareness of the relationship between the village and the surrounding society**

I was told that there is very little awareness of the outside world and that Vidaråsen is a closed community. There are many foreigners there, and it's difficult for them to read the newspapers. "Some people read just the headlines, and don't really understand the world outside." I was also told that many co-workers are more concerned with what they can get out of society financially.

**How the village has changed over the last few years**

The clear leadership that was responsible for establishing and developing Vidaråsen has gone. The experienced Norwegian group left 5 to 10 years ago. A chaotic situation emerged 4 or 5 years ago, with a breakdown of leadership. I was told there was a complaint from the local Board, which led to the setting up the structure as it is today. It is difficult to see where the leadership is now. The Community Group has had no new members for the last three years, today it has only about 10 members.
Many members from Eastern Europe arrived with a strong distrust of communism and of other people. There are relatively few native born Norwegians among the Village Council, perhaps less than a third. One co-worker characterised the changes as "a tendency towards the materialistic, and towards the private, away from the WE towards the I."

There were some signs that things are beginning to settle into a new structure:

"The form was forgotten, but the structure is not so bad today, we are trying a new orientation."
"It is a positive thing that there is chaos now, after the strong leadership that was here. There have been lots of changes in many areas, many new processes, now people dare to speak up."

**4th Section. The meaning of the 'thing'.**

*This section tries to sum up the spirit prevalent in the village.*

**What is the village's vision?**

A process of defining a vision has begun, and there is definitely a desire for a vision. There was a meeting to discuss this, and now there is a retreat every month, studying the Village Lectures and Life Processes. The people I spoke to commented:

"We want to create something on a higher plane, to be together, to go in the same direction."

"Formally our aim is to create living and working situations for villagers, and most people are engaged in this."
"There is goodwill to help one another."
"We have solved many problems. The villagers have a lot of respect. We should be more proud of what we are doing."
"The well being of the villagers, they mostly take care of this themselves."
"Some co-workers think that anthroposophy will save the world, others have no vision at all."

### 5th Section. The thing itself.

*In this section I try to sum up my own course in finding out about the village. It might be interesting to compare this with the first section.*

### Last impressions

My last impression was a community with internal conflicts that seemed to be unresolved. Even though Vidaråsen is the oldest Camphill community in Norway, it has had problems with succession and the present group of carrying members is having trouble inheriting the tradition of strong leadership that dominated for the first couple of decades. The structure that was set up a couple of years ago is still not secure, and there seems to be a lack of consensus. It is not clear whether the tradition of strong leadership by a small group can reconcile itself with a more democratic shared power structure. The widely different backgrounds of the co-workers make this even more complicated.

However, this tale of woe and gloom might not be all that important. The one unified idea that stood out for me was the villager's well being. Here there was not only general agreement, but the results could clearly be seen and felt in contented villagers going about their daily lives with a smile on their faces. One co-worker, commenting on the various groups in the village said, "the villagers are the most together and clearest group. They show solidarity and empathy, they are all included, even the isolates." Who needs more?

## 8. Discussion

### General remarks

This exercise in social ecology was for me a journey into the unknown. Like other explorers I had some general notion of the direction I wanted to go, and some ideas about the lie of the land. What I encountered on the way forced me to change direction, to see things in a new way, and most of all, to appreciate village life all the more. I mapped as I went, but only afterwards could I get a feel and an understanding for the major patterns of the landscape through which I had travelled. So far I have presented the field notes, now I will try to give an idea of the whole picture.

**How is the pattern of the three-folded social order reflected in the structure of the villages?**

As I carried through the research I came to realise that the question was not set by me in the right way, and was in fact somewhat irrelevant. When looked at through the lens of three folding, ALL communities and societies can reflect this pattern. I came to realise that three folding is not a model upon which to build a social pattern, but rather an analytical tool for understanding.

National newspapers, often far removed from the ideas of anthroposophy, and written by journalists who might never have heard of Rudolf Steiner, have their different sections, news, economics, and cultural life. Easy to squeeze into the three folded dress, but hardly evidence that they are inspired by the same ideas as our Camphill villages. The same is true of the organisational structure I found in the villages. On the one hand it was relatively easy to find the three-folded pattern, but it was harder to discern how far this was the deliberate application of anthroposophical principles.

Three folding can indeed be regarded as a social law. When looking at any social organism, it will display these three aspects. To use Peter Normann Waage's explanation, this corresponds to the size, shape and colour of any object we encounter. Every community, from the largest to the smallest, has components of culture/spirituality/creativity requiring freedom; of economics/work/sharing requiring responsible fellowship; and balancing these two, social/legal/rules requiring equality. How these three are balanced might help us to determine the health of a community, and supply us with ideas for treatments should the community be unhealthy.

**The Anthroposophical tradition**

It was surprising to me how seldom the words "anthroposophy", "threefolding" and "Community Group" figured in the things that were said to me in the villages. This was to be expected among the new volunteers, who might well not have been told about these things during the first few weeks or months, but generally among the more senior co-workers I had expected that these would often have been referred to. It is possible that my questions lacked something, but I was aware of leaving openings for people to mention anthroposophy and three folding, by asking such things as:

- How are aims and visions presented to new co-workers?
- Is authority based on co-ordination and care?
- Is work regarded as self-realisation?
- Is there a systematic thinking about the internal structure of the village?
- What is the village's vision?

In only four of the six villages was the Community Group mentioned as either a group or a meeting. Even in my own community at Solborg, it is not mentioned in the official list of groups and meetings which is otherwise the most detailed and comprehensive of all the villages in Norway. Maybe people had forgotten about the Community Group, or it plays

a minor role within the villages. Adrian Bowden, writing a similar study three years ago observed that "the Community is undergoing an overwhelming process of self analysis sometimes leading to doubt but with a hope for renewal." The Community Group could have been mentioned when I asked:

- Which groups are there in the village?
- Can you make a list of meetings?

Just as a fish may not have a lot to say about water, it is possible that co-workers in Camphill may not have much more to articulate about the basic philosophy underpinning their society. People don't always like to state the obvious, and clearly Camphill is based on anthroposophy. However, when people were asked to talk about their aims, visions and systematic thinking, I had expected to hear about anthroposophy, Rudolf Steiner, Karl Kønig and threefolding. After I became aware of how little this was mentioned I did a little survey to find out how often these words were referred to in the notes that I took as I talked to people. This is presented here:

| Subject | Solb | Vidar | Vall | Kristoff | Hogg | Jøss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anthroposophy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| R. Steiner | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Karl Kønig | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 folding | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Community | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| **Total** | **6** | **4** | **3** | **0** | **2** | **1** |

It has to be understood that this was not a survey as such, merely the result of running through my notes to see how often these words occurred. That Kristoffertunet scored zero and Solborg 6 might only reflect the fact that at Solborg I had the vision statement which we had prepared as a community a year ago available to me, while no-one gave me theirs at Kristoffertunet, if indeed they ever prepared one.

These results, and the scoring I based them on, in no way reflects positively or negatively upon the communities concerned. This is not meant to be an evaluation of the villages, and must not be taken as criticism or praise. It probably has no significance whatsoever, and was never even intended when I began to think about this study. However, it did suggest one thing to me. The active and continuing study of anthroposophy and three folding by as many carrying co-workers as possible would be of great help for a community to clarify its visions and aims.

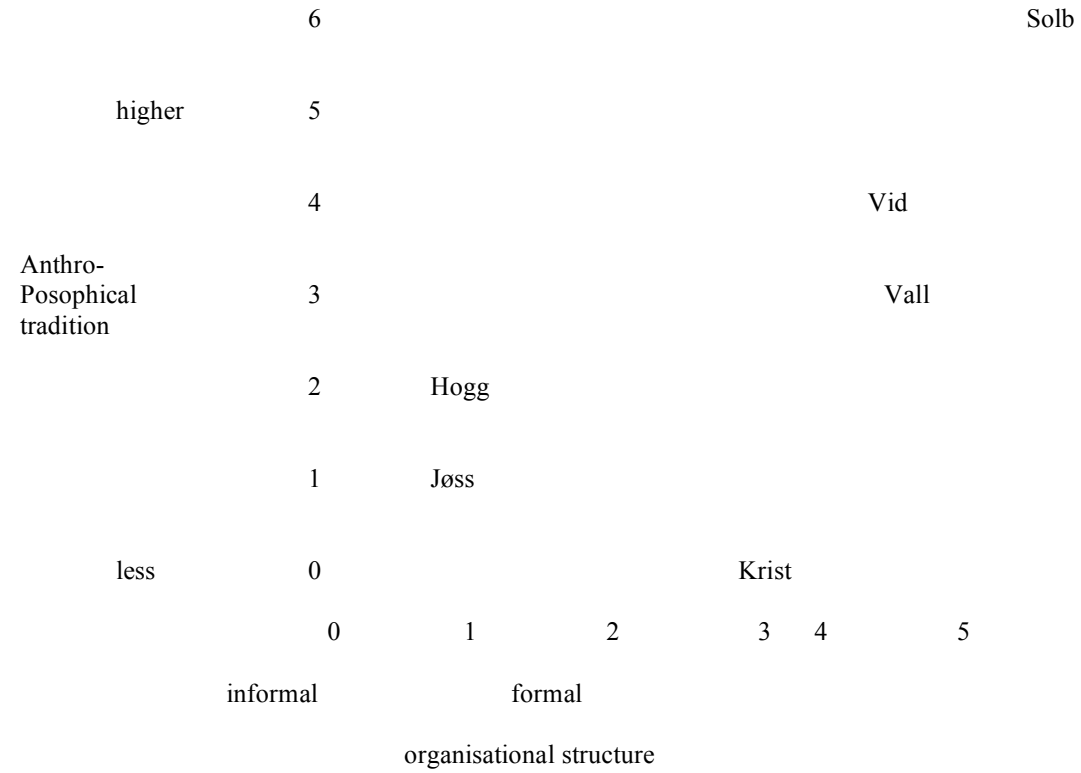
Having seen this, and after thinking through whether this had significance I decided to do another straw poll on the issue of formal versus informal structuring. This was harder to do numerically, but by this time I had got a feel for how the villages differed from each

other, and was able to score them on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being the most formally structured. I based this partly on the written material I had been given (or not) and partly on the clarity of the diagrams which co-workers drew for me when I interviewed them. Again, this was not a survey, but an intuition, allowing myself to follow a hunch to see where it would lead.

| | Solb | Vidar | Vall | Kristoff | Hogg | Jøss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Formal/informal Structure | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 |

Using these two sets of figures I decided to map them onto a matrix to give me a graphic spread, to see whether we had groupings, if there was a pattern which might tell me something.

This is a classic holistic scientific method directly in the tradition of Goethe. Putting things in an order to see if we can discern a pattern. It was an experiment, not designed to test a hypothesis, but to see whether I could perceive a pattern or gain an insight.




To be completely honest, I could not discern any significant pattern here. The only insight I gained from this exercise was a glaringly obvious one. That there is a connection between consciously building up a formal organisational structure, and being aware of the philosophical, spiritual and ideological impulses underlying the community. The fact

that Kristoffertunet seems to have the lowest score on anthroposophical awareness, yet well on the way to having a formal organisational structure is most likely an aberration of the survey, which was, as I mentioned earlier, no rigid scientific exercise.

Any community which spends its energy on articulating an organisational structure and committing this to paper will in the process incorporate the basic aims and visions that inspire it. The opposite seems to be just as true; a community which spends time and energy in creating its vision, will in the process begin to create a more formal organisational structure.

**Two Trends**

Working with this material over the last few months has again and again led me to see two main trends, somewhat overlapping. One trend or impulse consists of working with villagers in Social Therapy, this is often voiced as "the villagers are the centre of our lives", or as "our work". The other impulse consists of creating an alternative society. This often comes to the surface when co-workers talk about "the fellowship", or "realising a three folded society". Sometimes they conflict, or one tends to overshadow the other. This conflict may be more apparent then real. Only in the interests of analysis, and as a tool for understanding, does this dual impulse idea have any value. In fact, Camphill gives us the possibility of doing both at the same time. They can run in parallel, like the two rails of a ladder leading us ever higher.

A word of encouragement for those who feel frustrated by Camphill life: You don't have to combine these two impulses. There are plenty of alternative communities around the world where people can realise new forms of fellowship without having to come into contact with the mentally handicapped. And there are many institutions based on anthroposophical social therapy where co-workers can go home to their nuclear families at the end of a seven and a half hour workday and live otherwise perfectly "normal" lives.

As far as I know, it is only in Camphill (though there are other Camphill inspired communities which are not officially part of the network) that these two impulses manifest together in this way. When in perfect balance, this gives the Camphill tradition a robustness that has carried it through over 60 years and into over 20 countries throughout the world. It combines "doing good work" with "building a bright future". Even though older established communities seem to be suffering from lack of co-workers and wondering what their "vision" might be, new communities are founded nearly every year, and young people flock to experience this amazing phenomena. We at Solborg turn away many young people every year for lack of space!

When these two are not in balance, conflict MAY rear its ugly head. We can imagine this in two extreme possibilities: Co-workers with decades of experience and who relate wonderfully with villagers bypass the democratic process, or have no regard for financial accountability. Other co-workers spend all their energy on administration, travel endlessly to seminars and conferences, and seldom come into more than fleeting face-to-

face contact with villagers. If this happens, even in a mild form, it can easily be the trigger for conflict within a village.

Recognising that Camphill straddles these two impulses may help some of us resolve some of our conflicts. In fact, if we can see conflicts as indicators that the two impulses have come out of balance, we may be grateful to the "conflict" and use it as an opportunity to get things right again. If we change some of the words we use, and talk instead about "in-balance" and "out-of-balance" this might be enough in itself to defuse many situations and point us on the right road.



Recognising that Camphill combines these two impulses in a unique way is the key to understanding that they must be kept in balance. Electricity gives power as a result of the tension between negative and positive charges. If you have only one, there is no power. Camphill has a unique energy that comes from the interplay between these two impulses. By keeping them in balance and maintaining the dynamic tension, we can tap into that energy.

**The role of the villagers**

Another aspect that I noticed was that villagers play a fairly low profile in most of the interviews. Perhaps when it comes to organisational structure, villagers play a fairly small role in determining it. The structure is set by co-workers talking about co-workers and not so much about villagers. Despite the often-said phrase that "villagers are central", they might in fact not be so central when it comes to organisational structure. In my experience as a co-worker involved in a wide range of meetings I find that in the minutes of most meetings the majority of things discussed do not directly concern "villagers", but rather "the village".

Clearly there would be no village without some form of social organisation. To have a place for the mentally handicapped it is implicit that there is a village to invite them to. It is dependant upon co-workers to set up and organise such a village. On the other hand, it doesn't seem to matter much to the villagers whether it's democratic or not. They get by with whatever comes. However, they do feel the tone of the village that is set by the co-workers. In fact, they are highly sensitive to the "vibes". There are numerous examples of conflict between co-workers manifesting as anti social behaviour on the part of the villagers. We co-workers owe it to the villagers to create a healthy social organism. That is really the central message of social therapy.

It may be at the end of the day that whatever exact form the organisational structure happens to take is really not important, because the villagers fulfil such a special role, they are in many places the most stable element within the village. Co-workers come and go, house parents are replaced and turn over every few years. The villagers see people arrive and depart, and take it all in good spirit. I can only marvel at the capacity of these

people, who individually would be so vulnerable in any other kind of society, to cope with the number of co-workers who pass through the villages in the course of the years. It is the co-workers who burn out, crack up, break down, and in the end leave to follow other stars and ambitions. The villagers, those officially designated as "weak of mind" carry on working the farm, the gardens, the households and the workshops. They form the basis for celebrating festivals and seeing the seasons swing through the year. Their capacity for remembering past co-workers is prestigious. Without them we co-workers would be lost, endlessly arguing about how to organise our little community!

Can we bring the villagers in to play a more active part in the decision making process within the village? In Jøssåsen one long-term co-worker pointed out that this had been practiced many years ago, but that it had been discontinued. Interestingly enough, it is at Jøssåsen that TV has become acceptable in houses, something that would have been anathema in most other Camphill villages. It was explained to me that this came about because the villagers demanded it. How far are we willing to go in this direction? How equal are we all really in the social sphere? Given that at least one village has accepted TV as a normal part of their lives, how do we react when alcohol comes up for discussion? As far as I know today, alcohol is banned throughout the villages in Norway, any co-workers who want to have a drink, must do so either outside the village, or possibly in the privacy of their own quarters (though even this is "frowned upon"). What if the villagers at Jøssåsen ask to be able to drink a beer while watching the World Cup on TV in their living room? Apart from medical reasons, is there any ground rule in Camphill against that? Where do the boundaries of democracy and freedom lie?

These may be uncomfortable questions to raise, but the legal changes that the Camphill Foundation in Norway is going through today will force us to redefine the status of the villager. It is also possible that other categories of people needing help will be invited to share their lives with us for longer or shorter periods. As we have seen, at Vallersund they already have many years experience of working with drug offenders. I know that in other villages, people have come to do community service instead of serving a prison sentence. There may be new, unexpected demands coming at us over the horizon. How do we cope? Who decides? Do we have boundaries across which we will not go, even if a majority decides to do so?

However difficult these issues may seem to us now, it will be much easier for us to deal with them if we can first clarify our visions and aims, and define our organisational structure, knowing clearly who decides what.

**Succession**

The villages had all started as small, intense projects, where virtually everyone knew everything that was going on. As the years went by, those who needed to know stayed in the know, and those who were not involved in the day to day running lost contact with that guiding centre.

Today one of the challenges for Camphill is to find the co-workers who will carry the community into the future, and bring them into the guiding centre. There is a strong tide of change. The number of applications from the mentally handicapped has gone down, many of the more able are being offered sheltered accommodation by the local authorities. There is a higher number of applications from psychologically disturbed patients who need therapies that we as co-workers are not trained to provide. Our legal status is changing, and will probably result in a higher degree of supervision by the health authorities. There are very few Norwegian co-workers, and virtually no younger ones from Norway. Our co-worker population is dominantly foreign, and the few Norwegians are nearly all older, many of them nearing retirement.

There is little sign of a middle generation. There are lots of young volunteers but few of them stay for mare than a year, and hardly any for more than two or three. In the short and mid term future there will be a challenge here, how to groom the next generation of leaders.

In my conversations I found that the philosophical or ideological basis of Camphill: anthroposophy, spiritual science, Goethianism and three folding, were not clear to many of the newer arrivals. I also found that the Community Group, if it was seen at all, was perceived as a shadowy, secretive organisation that somehow tries to control things. It was felt to be fairly inaccessible. It may be a problem of presentation. I have no doubt that the Camphill elders are acting out of the absolute best intentions, indeed they are some of the best intentioned people one may meet anywhere, but the fact is that it is difficult to see where the Community Group has its role in today's Camphill villages in Norwa*y*.

Within Norwegian society there does not seem to be a major crisis in the numbers of young people drawn to the social services. Neither is there any lack of alternative lifestyle creatives. It seems that few of these two categories of people either know much about Camphill or are attracted to our communities. There may be a number of reasons:

- We are not well known. We don't appear in the media very often. We are not connected to the conventional social services world. Most people in that world work in "institutions" with "clients". We feel that we are a cut above, creating a "society" with "villagers".
- Many co-workers deliberately keep their distance from the non anthroposophical alternative society creatives. They don't want to end up being just another "ecovillage".
- There is no formal career structure. Most co-workers are unqualified in social work. Should they leave the village, their choice of work will be very limited, unless they had a qualification before they joined Camphill. Initial training today consists of a one year introductory seminar. As far as I know, this has no agreed upon format throughout the villages. Following that is a three year part time course (of which this study is a part!). This is now being negotiated with a technical school (fagskole) and will probably receive a qualified status within the next two years. In addition there is a two year part time guidance course for co-

workers who want to lead the three year seminar. As of today, those who have completed 6 years of part time education in Curative Education and Social Therapy lack an official qualification.

- As co-workers, our economic security is almost totally invested in the Camphill Foundation. Only in 2003 did we take a serious look at the pension arrangements, and even though a secure solution seems to have been worked out, this has still not been finalised.

The question of succession, however, is not only tied up with such formal things as career qualifications and pension arrangements. Enthusiasm, motivation and inspiration come from the spirit, not from bureaucracy. The fundamental question here is how do we inspire people to share our lives in the villages?

Visions and aims inspire. In my opinion, this is the fundamental aspect of our lives. The spirit comes first, physical and organisational forms have to grow out of that. It does not work the other way round. I have seldom found deep spiritual insight from organisational forms alone, or from career structures or pension plans. Without an inspirational vision, these can be really boring.

**Questions and recommendation**

I began this study by considering myself not as an "objective observer", but as a "participant observer". My hope was that interactions with the different communities might have some value beyond the merely academic. This was not articulated or thought out from the beginning, but was certainly encouraged by my being asked several times if I could send a copy of the final report to the village for them to read. I hope that the time and energy I have devoted to looking at our villages will contribute something to the continuing development of our community life.

This report can give no answers, there are no formulas for succeeding in life, or in community life. Each one of us must develop our own freedom, make mistakes and learn from them. There are plenty of guides. As anthroposophical communities, we are richly endowed with a tradition and a culture which contains a wealth of wisdom. It is up to us to take it up and use it.

I have decided to sum up this report by asking questions. I would like this not to be closing statement, but a new opening:

- Are the 3 components of three folding really balanced in our community? Do all the people who live there really feel freedom in the cultural/spiritual sphere, do they really trust that the fellowship will support them in the economic sphere, and is there real equality in the social sphere?

- How can we keep a balance between working with the mentally handicapped and creating an alternative three folding society at the same time?

- When conflicts arise, can we identify components of each of these two impulses and solve the conflict by rebalancing them?

- Can we, as a community, articulate and record our organisational structure?

- Can we, as a community, formulate a statement of our visions and aims?

- Are we willing to forge connections with professionals who work in conventional, non anthroposophical care for the mentally handicapped?

- Do we really see ourselves as cultural creatives, ready to interact with other alternative lifestyle creatives?

- Can we give our full support to those co-workers who are organising a full training programme, so that this will give a qualification which has value also outside our Camphill villages?

- To what extent can we involve the villagers in the decision making process within our villages?

- Can members of the Community Group foster the spiritual component which will inspire and motivate more young people to join our communities?

- Lastly, when we refer back to the questions raised at Dornach in August of last year, do they give us a direction and a motivation to change and develop? They asked us to consider and develop the following ideas:
  Individualisation of life styles in the institutions.
  Supporting the self-determination of people with disabilities.
  Openness to transition between institutions offering a different kind of care and support.
  Being more open to communal and social institutions and life situations.

Health and wholesomeness only come
when in the mirror of the soul of man
the whole community takes shape;
and in the community lives
the strength of every single soul.

From Rudolf Steiner

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## 2.3 A world of communities

# Montsalvat: an artists' colony in Australia

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Montsalvat, an artists' colony about 15 miles (25 km) from the centre of the city of Melbourne, was established in 1934. It provides accommodation for up to 20 artists-in-residence. The name is derived from Christian mythology, as the legendary site of the Holy Grail. It is mentioned in the legends of King Arthur and the Round Table, and again in Wagner's opera, Parsifal (Montsalvat Symphony, 2000).

Apart from its social character as an intentional community, Montsalvat was also a radical experiment in architecture. Its buildings used the technique of rammed earth (pise), described as far back as the first century C.E. by the Roman writer Pliny. This was combined with masonry using the local basalt or 'bluestone', which gives the buildings their characteristic appearance. The use of pise has since become fashionable in alternative architectural practice, but in 1934 it was a daring innovation. The outward design of the buildings was inspired by medieval French architecture.

Montsalvat was created by a charismatic artist and architect, Justus Jorgensen (1894-1975). The son of a Norwegian sea captain who settled in Melbourne, he trained as an architect and practised off and on for 20 years, until he devoted all his attention to building Montsalvat. He was also a talented painter, and in the 1920s he worked in Paris and London, where he had several successful exhibitions. He returned to Australia in 1929 and established his own studio and art school. In 1934, he purchased a large block of land in the outer Melbourne suburb of Eltham, a forested area with several creeks running through it. Eltham had been discovered by artists in the 19th century, and the first paintings of the area were made by a Belgian immigrant, Eugene von Guerard (1811-1901), who settled in Melbourne in 1853 and became curator of the National Gallery of Victoria. In 1876, he was represented at the Philadelphia exhibition of Australian art. Von Guerard's work is now highly valued, and his role in the history of Australian art is somewhat similar to that of Winslow Homer in the USA (Marshall, 1971).

Jorgensen recruited a number of artists, writers, and personal friends to assist in the building of Montsalvat. One of the writers, Betty Roland (d. 1996), wrote several accounts of Jorgensen and his circle (Roland, 1984, 1989). Roland herself was an extremely interesting character, who worked as a journalist, playwright and novelist. She was married for some years to another very interesting and unorthodox character, Guido Baracchi (1887-1975). Baracchi came from a distinguished family in Florence. His father, Pietro Baracchi, had been a prominent figure in the Italian Risorgimento, and left Italy as the result of political conflicts. He settled in Melbourne and became official astronomer in the state of Victoria. Guido became an anti-war activist during the 1914-18 war, and went to jail in 1918. He was a foundation member of the Communist Party of

Australia in 1920, but left shortly afterwards for Europe. In Berlin, he joined the German Communist Party and edited the English edition of Inprecorr, the propaganda organ of the Communist International (Comintern). He returned to Australia in 1925, but was expelled from the local party for 'right deviation'.

In 1930, Baracchi married Betty Roland, and they returned to Europe. From 1933 to 1935, they worked together in Moscow, where Baracchi became a translator for the Co-operative Publishing Society for Foreign Workers and Roland was a journalist on the English-language Moscow Daily News. One of their best-known collaborators was the American journalist, Anna Louise Strong (Roland, 1979). When the co-operative was closed down by Stalin, they returned to Australia, where they became involved in the building of Montsalvat. He rejoined the Communist Party, but was expelled again in 1940 over his opposition to the Second World War. Although this was Communist Party policy at the time, Baracchi expressed his opposition by quoting Trotsky, which was a heretical act. He later joined the Australian Labor Party, and was an early opponent of Australian involvement in the Vietnam War. He collapsed and died in 1975, during a national election campaign (Roland, 1989).

Another important figure in the story of Montsalvat was the art critic Mervyn Skipper, who was a great enthusiast for Jorgensen's paintings. Skipper and his wife Lena participated in the building and maintenance of Montsalvat. Skipper also collected 100 volumes of letters and documents written by various people connected with the colony (Dunstan, 1979). Skipper's son, Matcham, became a talented sculptor and metalworker, and did much of the detailed work on the interior of the Montsalvat buildings.

Jorgensen was also ahead of his time in the use of recycling. He was friendly with a building contractor named James Whelan, one of whose main activities was demolishing old buildings to make way for new construction. He used the slogan of 'Whelan the Wrecker', which became a local byword for any kind of destructive activity. Whelan provided Jorgensen with many items from wrecked buildings, including marble fireplaces, carved wooden beams, balconies, and flagstones. Some of the flagstones allegedly came from a brothel in the central business district of Melbourne (Dunstan, 1979: 271). An old theatre provided a circular staircase made of cast iron. Another donor of building materials was one of Jorgensen's art students, Helen Lempriere, whose family owned limestone quarries. Helen Lempriere was, among other things, the niece of the famous operatic soprano, Nellie Melba, who sang in many operas with Enrico Caruso and made a number of early recordings of opera performances.

Montsalvat extends over 15 acres (6 hectares), and includes the main building, a row of artists' studios, two galleries, a chapel, a metalworking studio, a glasshouse, an ornamental pond, a vineyard, a milking shed, and a coffee shop for visitors. Two of its major features are the Great Hall and the Long Gallery, both built mainly by Jorgensen's students and resident artists. The Great Hall was started in 1938, and contains some of James Whelan's important gifts, including ornamental windows and stone balconies carved in the Gothic style. To match the balconies, students carved gargoyles like those which adorn medieval Gothic churches.

The Great Hall was unfinished when the Second World War broke out. Some of the Montsalvat residents joined the armed services. A dairy farm, market garden and poultry farm were established, using recycled building materials. Some of the produce was supplied to the Australian Army, which reciprocated by lending some skilled tradesmen to assist with construction. After the war, a new generation of artists arrived and took part in the building of the Great Hall and the Long Gallery.

The Great Hall was finally completed in 1963. The Long Gallery was still unfinished when Jorgensen died in 1975, but the state government of Victoria provided a grant, which enabled the work to be completed in 1978. Most of the detailed work was carried out or supervised by Matcham Skipper. A subsequent state government recognized Montsalvat as a heritage property in 1989, and in 1998 the Federal government placed it on the register of the National Estate, the nationally recognized list of important historic sites and natural features.

Since the 1960s, real estate values in the area have soared as more and more suburban development has taken place. The result was a sharp increase in land taxes. To meet the financial problems, the Montsalvat community decided in 1963 to make the property available for commercial purposes. Much of its income now comes from fees paid for the use of the buildings for private functions, including receptions, weddings, banquets, conventions, lectures and concerts. Advertising agencies also use the premises as a background for TV commercials. After Justus Jorgensen's death, the control of the property was placed in the hands of a charitable foundation, the Montsalvat Trust, whose current chairman is Jorgensen's son, Sigmund.

In a foreword to Betty Roland's history of Montsalvat, the Australian artist John Olsen sums up its significance. “The influence of Montsalvat has spread far and wide throughout Australia. It has touched a chord with those seeking alternative lifestyles. Architecturally it has influenced the mainstream of Australian building….Jorgensen and his group…offered an alternative style of living, showing how to escape from the economic strictures of a society wherein status was entirely conditioned by wealth and possessions. Jorgensen's notion of rural romanticism, an idea incidentally not dissimilar to Tolstoy's in his later years, envisaged man free from exploitation, co-operating in all things, poor but independent, rich in his relations with the earth.”

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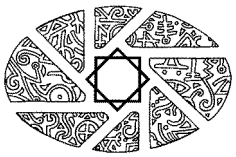

# The Federation of Damanhur

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*Shifting to a 'higher level' human species has occurred before. Long ago on earth, the Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon shared the same valley. The Neanderthal died off and Cro-Magnon advanced to become our common ancestor. Today in Italy there is a group of people who call themselves Damanhurians. They may represent the next stage in human development.*
**Alexia Parks, Rapid Evolution, The Education Exchange, 2002**

Founded in the early 1970's, the Federation of Damanhur in Italy is now an internationally renowned center for spiritual, artistic and social research. Damanhur is an eco-society, a federation of communities and eco-villages with a continuously evolving social and political structure.

The aims of Damanhur are: the freedom and re-awakening of the Human Being as a divine, spiritual and material principle; the creation of a self-sustaining model of life based on ethical principles of good communal living and love; harmonic integration and co-operation with all the Forces linked to the evolution of Humankind.

Since 1998 the Federation of Damanhur has been a full member of GEN Europe. GEN (Global Eco-villages Network) is an NGO comprising hundreds of communities, people and research centers. GEN was founded in 1995. Its main aim is to support and encourage the evolution of sustainable settlements across the world. The UN has recognized GEN as a consulting member of its ECOSOC Commission.

## The Federation of Damanhur today

Damanhur numbers 44 small communities, each one built around approximately twenty people. Approximately 400 other supporters live nearby and participate regularly in its activities. They are contributing to the creation of a new social model based upon solidarity, volunteering, a respect for the environment and the sharing of ethical and spiritual values. Damanhur has centers in Italy, Europe and Japan and maintains contact with spiritual groups worldwide.

The Federation has internal schools for boys and girls up to 13 years of age, a daily paper, a publishing house, a Constitution and a University open to researchers from all over the world.

Damanhur has established itself in Valchiusella, in the alpine foothills of Piedmont, bordering on the Gran Paradiso National Park, 45 kms from Turin, in the heart of Europe. The Italian territories of the Federation are not concentrated in one area, but spread out throughout the valley. The territories comprise approximately 400 hectares of woodland; residential development and farming land and another 100 privately owned buildings, artistic workshops, studios, companies and farms.

David Kanaley director of Environmental Planning Services at Byronshire Council in Australia, in 'Eco-villages, A Sustainable Lifestyle' of June 2000, states: "*Damanhur is the best example found of a collection of eco-villages - a Federation - with a strong spiritual philosophy and work ethic. ... Damanhur has a strong spiritual foundation with a clearly defined philosophy and cultural and personal development program. Because of its strong spiritual basis and focus on work and actions, Damanhur is very successful as a Federation of Eco-villages, particularly in the development of business enterprises. Everyone in Damanhur is employed and most on site*"

**A sustainable eco-society**

Damanhurians think of the planet as a living being to be respected and preserved. This principle is translated into the ecologically conscious development of the Federation's settlements. The Federation has invested considerable resources in environmental restoration and in the acquisition of more and more areas of woodland that had been severely exploited, used as sources of firewood, destroying the brushwood and forcing the animals to find new habitats. The citizens of the Federation, in cooperation with the University of Turin, have started a major reforestation program.

Great importance is given to the pursuit of self-sustainability and energy (50% sustainability for hot water with solar panels, 25% sustainability for electricity with photovoltaic and 90% sustainability for heating with wood derived from the care of Damanhur's own forest. 35% of Damanhurian's cars use bio-diesel for transport, and 40% use natural gas or gpl).

Organic agriculture and food sustainability are among Damanhur's most important objectives (50% sustainability reached as of Dec 2003). The Federation produces food and wine, and has opened the first and only coop distribution center of safe organic products in the Valley, open to the public at large. All products are tested by Damanhur’s own analysis laboratory to make sure it is not genetically modified. This goes hand in hand with the commitment to conserve and restore biological diversity – Damanhur’s has its own seed bank - and to create awareness on these themes on society at large, through the organization of meetings and educational events.

Bill Metcalf, professor of Sociology at University of Brisbane, Australia writes in 'Damanhur: A Magical Mystery Tour', in COMMUNITIES magazine, number 103, 1999: *"Damanhur is one of the most interesting intentional communities in the world today, regularly interacting with other communities such as ZEGG, Auroville and Findhorn Foundation. Damanhur's economic, social and cultural achievements offer an inspirational model for others developing intentional community. As part of the Global Ecovillage Network, Damanhurians seek environmentally sustainable food, housing and energy technology. Eco-Damanhur Association is now a major Italian player in this field and is developing an international reputation."*

The citizens of the Federation have created over 60 economic activities and services. Most of them are co-ops, grouped in a Consortium, which guarantees the high quality of their products and the ethical and ecological principles applied in manufacturing them. The many activities include art studios - glass, mosaic, painting, sculpture, restoration-, restaurants and agri-tourism, computer and Internet consultancy, a publishing house, medical research, bio-architecture and building.

This is how professor Luigi Berzano of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Turin, and the author of the book 'Damanhur: People and Community', describes Damanhur's impact on Valchiusella: *"Studying Damanhur I got the perception of what the Carthusian monasteries and the abbeys represented in the Middle Ages. Establishing themselves inside agricultural valleys, they brought benefits and revitalized entire valleys. And, in fact, I believe this is what has happened with Damanhur. In a valley, which had all the economical and social indexes of depression and ageing, Damanhur represents a resource in many aspects. Damanhur has revitalized the valley in demographic terms, has reactivated the interest for many ancient trades, and has brought back the pleasure for artistic production in many sectors. And since the beginning, Damanhur has represented this element of social innovation."*

The experience of Damanhur's teachers, artisans and artists is put at everybody's disposal through the Association 'Damanhur Arte e Mestieri', one of a few continuous education, re-qualification, equal opportunities schools recognized by the Region Piedmont in the arts, education, information technology, health and foreign languages.

Mario Parilli, of Parilli and Torraco Associated Consultants said at an international conference held in Lisbon, on 21-25 September 1997 on 'Strategies for the city - Flagship projects and their place in urban development and regeneration *"Among other things, what is peculiar in Damanhur, is that the artists are not old craftsman, whose trade has been handed down from father to son, but young people whose territory has allowed them to express themselves by experimenting, observing and meditating, dialectically exchanging the experiences that have made them artists. We should think over old crafts in the world. They are handed down so scarcely that their tricks get lost very often, while in Damanhur their techniques are proudly spread."*

**Civil and political commitment**

Damanhur's citizens have created several associations which, thanks to the unrelenting social and ethical commitment of their members, have been recognized by the Italian government as Associations for Social Promotion. 120 Damanhurian citizens are civil protection volunteers, 100 more are Red Cross volunteers and 20 more volunteers care for the aged in the Valley.

Damanhur is the demonstration that new forms of society are possible and practicable. They are the indispensable pathways to the creation of a new planetary balance in social, economic, human and cultural terms.

Mauro Parilli of Parilli and Torraco Associated Consultants said at an international conference held in Lisbon, on 21-25 September 1997 on 'Strategies for the city - Flagship projects and their place in urban development and regeneration': *"Life in the community is characterized by a common philosophy through which a dialectical process is continuously working with the aim to nurture a soul in a body joined to it. ... Damanhur is a full-time workshop where people of different backgrounds work together towards a common goal, the result being a better quality of life. Can we transfer the same experience to a town? I believe we can."*

Valchiusella, where the Federation has its main settlements, is a depressed but as yet uncontaminated area. Damanhur is reviving ancient trades and crafts, based upon local resources. The valley needs new infrastructures and new schools, libraries, services and new activities able to revitalize the area in social and economic terms. Damanhurians have been working for years to develop a well-balanced project of eco-compatible development for the entire valley. In order to put their experience in the service of others in society at large, Damanhurian citizens are actively engaged in the political arena at local and national level. 13 Damanhurians serve as Councilors in five of the valley villages, and a Damanhurian is the Mayor of the town of Vidracco.

Bill Metcalf, in The Findhorn Book of Community Living, Findhorn Press, UK & USA, 2004 writes: *"Damanhur's creativity and industry have helped transform an impoverished region into almost an economic miracle. Several Damanhurians are on the local government council and one member was recently elected as Mayor of the area. Relations between Damanhurians and their neighbors are good in spite of concerns by some non-Damanhurians that they are being taken over by their communal neighbors."*

Damanhurian citizens run on the list of Damanhur's own independent political movement: 'Con te per il Paese' (With you for the Country): "*The distance between our hands and our soul is much shorter than we think. To grow spiritually means also taking upon oneself the responsibility of the environment around us, of the well being of other people, of the growth of society at large. It is not enough to sit down and meditate one hour a day to be an evolved human being. It is necessary to work hard to manifest one's spiritual achievements in concrete actions that make a difference."* Con Te per il Paese Manifesto.

At national level, Damanhur is among the founding members of CONACREIS, Italy's coordination organism of all associations for ethic and spiritual research recognized as Associations of Social Promotion by the Italian State.

**Damanhur's structure**

Damanhur is based on diversity and change. Change applies to everything in the community, also to the social and political systems, which have changed many times throughout the years, from the first single community to today's federation. Likewise, Damanhur's model of decision-making has evolved creating an efficient democratic system with elected representatives and elective bodies, and a vast participation of its citizens to the public debate. All normative changes are established by the Constitution, which has been modified several times, till the 1998 version, which is the one now legally valid.

Damanhur's social environment represents the practical everyday application of the teachings and traditions of Damanhur's own School of Thought, and of the innovations brought through Damanhur's Game of Life.

**The School of Meditation**

The School of Meditation is an individual and collective path aimed at re-connection with the Divine in every human being for the awakening of all Humanity. It is an original pathway, which brings back to unity the common essence of all traditions. It is based upon change, elaboration and continuous experimentation. The School of Meditation is a Mystery School; an inner discipline applied 24 hours per day, a path of knowledge and empowerment, also through the use of ritual practices. In Damanhur 's spiritual path there are no dogmas, only 'working hypotheses' which undergo continuous verification. The Damanhurian School of Meditation requires the exercise of free will through continuous choice.

**The Game of Life**

In Damanhur when things go very well, it's time to change them! Only by so doing is it possible to take advantage of the enthusiasm and the momentum in society and reach a new level of organization and relationship among people. In Damanhur bringing change into society is the function of the 'Game of Life'. Game projects prevent Damanhur's society from becoming habit-ridden and allow for experimentation with new formulas of living. Adventurous travel, survival exercises in the woods, wars of the Arts and the acquisition of animal and plant names are some of the many ways in which Damanhur society has experimented. The Game of Life is a collective experience of transformation of the Self and the world, based on fun, challenge and innovative ways, in order to find that pinch of divine humour in every situation.

Bill Metcalf, professor of Sociology at University of Brisbane, Australia writes in IC Magazine: "Damanhurians are intelligent, friendly and passionate about intentional community life, and always open to change. My admiration is not diminished by my skepticism about their esoteric claims.'

## Everyday life at Damanhur

D.R. Kaarthikeyan, former director of the Central Bureau of Investigation of India and Director General of the Human Rights Commission, in an interview for the Indian magazine Life Positive (July-September 2002) says: *"Being in Damanhur is like being in a dream. ... When I visited Damanhur recently, I was struck by the immense joy that it seemed to radiate."*

Damanhurians like to call their society a 'university of the spirit' where everything offers the individual an opportunity to discover their own hidden talents and potential; a live laboratory in which to put that potential into practice and make it grow, not only for oneself but also for others.

The homes, schools, farms and facilities of the Federation are not concentrated in one single site, but are scattered all over the Valchiusella valley. They include 400 hectares (approx. 990,000 acres) of forest, urban surface and farmland, and over 100 buildings including private homes, laboratories and farms. Real estate is owned by two co-ops of which all Damanhur's citizens own shares.

Damanhur offers different possibilities of citizenship, according to the level of involvement each person chooses: from full-time residency, to people who live all over the world but visit regularly. Resident members live communally. Damanhur's citizens have restored many large houses in the valley, in which live more than one single family. In the same home there may also be couples, singles, elders. This way, life together is very rich, because every age brings different experiences. Everybody has their own private living space, and shares the common areas like the kitchen and the meeting spaces.

Damanhur citizens own homes in the valley villages as well as farms, urban apartments, homes in the woods and advanced experiments in self sufficiency fully in contact with nature: citizens choose where and with whom to live according to their inclination, interests and objectives.

Parents are the main reference for their children, but every adult citizen is considered responsible for their well-being and has the duty to take care of them. Damanhur has internal schools for boys and girls from 1 to 13 years of age. Subjects such as music, theatre, computer sciences and several foreign languages complement the official Italian curriculum. Teaching methods combine 'classic' classroom lessons with frequent trips for hands-on observation of the topics under study.

Besides paying Italian taxes, all Damanhur's citizens contribute economically to the development and the growth of the Federation with a small percentage of their income. Public money is then invested in the sectors of public interest such as the schools, the arts, the acquisition of new homes and territories.

Besides the several co-ops funded by Damanhurian citizens and the internal services, Damanhur has doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses, civil servants, computer consultants: living in Damanhur does not require working only inside of the Federation. Everybody's skills are put at everybody's disposal through several hours of devotional work that every citizen offers every month for projects of general importance: solidarity and reciprocal help are indeed fundamental values of everyday life in Damanhur.

The impulse given by Damanhur to the social and spiritual renaissance of Valchiusella is attracting more and more people from all over the world. Some of them are not interested in becoming full time citizens of the Federation, but wish to buy property in the valley and start activities in cooperation with Damanhur. The objective of the 'Val of Chy' project is to assist these people in finding a suitable dwelling and to facilitate their settlement in the cultural and economic environment of Italy.

## Art and the temple

Art is Damanhur's preferred instrument for growth and transformation. Damanhurian citizens are striving to create a very beautiful and stimulating place in which art makes it possible to open up to intuition and new ways of thinking and living together, so that everybody's life can truly become a work of art. Damanhurians intend to build their land as a Place of Inspiration, where Spirit and Form are no longer separate and where spiritual realizations manifest also in the practical results of everybody's work.

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Gary Alexander, professor at the Open University in the UK in 'eGaia, Growing a peaceful, sustainable Earth through communication', Lighthouse Books 2002, writes: *"Most of their buildings are decorated inside and out with paintings (some walls have murals of giant painted plants and animals). Statues, altars, and various works of art are placed around their grounds. Damanhur has built a magnificent underground temple, with walls covered with murals, floors covered with mosaics and ceilings covered with stained glass. It has to be seen to be believed. Notices on walls and bulletin boards announce games, theatrical and musical events and courses of all kinds. There is a strong sense that for the Damanhurians, creativity and the arts have replaced the drive for material consumption."*

Every year thousands of people visit Damanhur to explore its social model and study its philosophy. They also come to meditate in the Temple of Humankind, the great underground building carved by hand out of the rock by Damanhur's citizens and defined by many as the 'Eighth Wonder of the World'. Art and aesthetic research are tools capable to give substance to the hallowing of time and space that finds in the Temple of Mankind one of its concrete expressions. The sacred in Damanhur is a concrete reality,

created by the sharing, the offer of everybody's creativity and the strength of the realization of a common ideal.

The Hall of Water, of the Earth, of the Spheres, of Mirrors, of Metals, the Blue Temple, the Labyrinth: The Temple of Mankind is an underground work of art, a great three-dimensional book built entirely by hand and dedicated to the divine nature of humanity and to the narration of the history of Humankind through all forms of art. The Temple of Mankind is a pathway towards the Divine inside and outside of oneself.

The Temple is a large laboratory where art and science, technology and spirituality are united in the search for new paths of evolution and growth for all humanity. The temple has been built entirely by hand. It stretches for over 4000 cubic meters, on five different levels, connected by hundreds of meters of corridors. The Temple rises where the Eurasian continental plate meets the African one, creating breakthroughs of a rare mineral, over 300 million of years old. It is called mylonite. It is a rock characterized by the faculty of transporting the physical energies of the earth. The Temple of the Mankind is built inside a vein of this particular mineral, whose presence follows perfectly the flow of the 'Synchronic Lines' of our planet. Synchronic Lines are energy rivers that surround the Earth and link it to the universe. These energy flows carry ideas, thoughts and dreams and are able to catalyze the great forces present in the cosmos.

The Temples of Humankind symbolically represent the inner rooms of every human being. Walking along its halls and corridors corresponds to an inner journey deep inside oneself. In the Temple everything can be read like a book: every color, measure, step has a meaning; they follow a precise code of forms and proportions. Every Chamber has its own specific resonance, its own sound.

Just as in the Renaissance, the construction of the Temple of Humankind has given impulse to the creation of artistic studios and craft workshops for which Damanhur is appreciated all over the world. While working to build a work that was to be the highest collective artistic expression, Damanhur's society has grown, refining itself and founding the bases of its culture, myths and tradition.

The British author Jeff Merrifield in 'Damanhur: The Community They Tried to Brand a Cult', Thorsons, 1998, writes: *"Given that the Temple of Mankind is such an astounding achievement, what of the community that built it? The social structure developed by the Damanhurians turned out to be every bit as remarkable as the Temple. The first thing to be very clear about is that this is a place of spiritual, philosophical research, not about the creation of a new religion. Here they research spirituality, here they research social philosophy, here they research living. ... If all this sounds a bit too good to be true, let me just say that after staying with these people, living with them, experiencing the nature of Damanhur's social structure as it function in people's daily lives, there is no doubt in my mind that reality comes close to the vision."*

**Damanhur's philosophy**

Damanhur's philosophy is based on optimism. According to Damanhur's philosophy, every human being has a divine principle within and is an active part of a spiritual eco-system, which includes larger and larger Forces. The physical form that we inhabit and the dimension of time and space in which we exist are transitory. The task of human beings is to become aware of their god within, in order to make matter divine so that the universe can become a fully aware part of God.

The search for oneself and for God coincide, as the human being is a 'bridge-form' between the material and the spiritual planes. All human beings have this completeness within, and can use themselves as a crucible for transformation to lead matter towards Spirit. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary for humans to elevate their quality of relationship with the world and with life itself, by means of our choices and behavior. The formula for comprehending who we really are involves: an harmonious and continuous transformation of oneself; overcoming the limits of individuality; measuring oneself against action and practical work and respecting all living forms – both physical and subtle.

Another fundamental principle of Damanhur's philosophy is that everything changes. At every new step of the path we can discover horizons that were unimaginable just a moment before. As a consequence, Damanhur is a society in constant evolution and transformation, based upon the celebration of differences, with a social, political and philosophical system that is forever growing and unfolding in time.

Damanhur is a way of living and thinking based on experimentation, play and transformation in order to overcome limiting habits and to open up to new empowering visions of reality. Very important is research in all fields - from the social context to alternative energies, from the arts to physics. The citizens of the Federation constantly study, explore and experiment, in order to reach a deeper and deeper understanding of the universe and the role of human beings in the grand divine plan. Humility, consistency, being able to be amazed and a constant willingness to play are the indispensable tools for the success of every research projects.

In an historical moment in which more and more peoples and races are disappearing, making all mankind poorer in culture and diversity, Damanhur is creating a human group with its own artistic, philosophical and cultural expression. It is a new People based on the exaltation of the differences among individuals, differences made precious and irreplaceable by the pursuit of a common goal. The People of Damanhur are not linked by blood ties, but by profound spiritual choices. Core values are sharing, solidarity, positive thinking and an active commitment to awaken humanity on this planet.

Damanhur society is structured in such a way that spiritual research really intertwines with everyday life. All Damanhur's citizens can participate in research groups called "Ways", sort of socio-spiritual corporations. The Way of the Word, the Way of the Oracle, the Way of the Integrated Arts and Technologies, The Way of Healing, the Way

of Work, the Way of the Monasteries, the Way of the Knights all carry out a specific branch of research. Music, Dance, healing, rituals and teaching are only some of the many fields of spiritual and practical endeavors.

In the documentary 'The Heart inside of the Mountain: the Damanhurian Temples of Humankind' to be released in 2004, writer and producer Robert Calef says: *"In many ancient and mystical traditions it has been said that in every age, new mystical and mythical human formulations will appear to enhance, transform and deepen, what has gone before. It is a human creative exercise not to only walk in the footsteps of others, but to look at the world with original eyes and see how to express the wonderful mysteries of the Universe. For the Damanhurians, this mystical exercise has produced an entire culture of spiritual investigations, creativity, sacred language and dance, spiritual processes and practices, ritual, innovative theories of time and personality, and temple building. All this not to convince the world of anything more than demonstrating what is possible when a group of individuals decide to move together in the world as cells in the body of the Divine."*

## Damanhur's complementary currency system

In order to develop a new form of economy based on the ethical values of cooperation and solidarity, and to use a means of exchange never tainted by speculative intentions or illegal activities, Damanhur has, over the years, created its own complementary currency system: the Credit. The Credit - so called to remind its users that any exchange should be based on trust - carries a high idealistic value: rather than considering money as an end in itself, the Credit is considered simply as a functional instrument in the exchange of materials and services.

Bernard Lietar, one of the creators of the Euro, best selling author of 'The Mystery of Money' and 'The Future of Money', sees in local complementary currencies one of the most efficient solutions to the economic problems of our times. Lietar underlines that also in currencies there are 'Yin' and 'Yang' types. Common money, like the dollar and the Euro are extremely yang. They've been created by hierarchical political systems and are based on scarcity; they generate interest and concentrate wealth on very few. People compete for them and they represent a monopoly. On the contrary, community based local currencies are not created by hierarchies, are based on the idea of distributed wealth and generate no interest. Our society is patriarchal and is therefore based on the yang system. All ancient matriarchal societies, on the contrary, always had two systems of currency: a yang currency to be used with foreigners and a ying one for internal exchanges. This specific system is what creates the idea of community: this is why in a yang based society it is extremely difficult to create human communities.

During the meeting 'Money Moves – away from Greed and Scarcity' held in Lebensgarten, an ecovillage near Hanover in Germany in July 2003, Lietar said: *"In the West the only reality I'm aware of where a complete monetary system is working, is the Federation of Damanhur."*

With full respect to Italian law and staying within the administrative obligations of company owners and interested individual operators, purchases from the economic activities present in Damanhur provide for and privilege the circulation of the Credit as a system of internal exchange.

Today, the Credit assumes the same value as the Euro and is accepted also by many non-Damanhurian stores and services in the Valley.

On arrival in the Federation it is possible to convert money at the Welcome office or by means of specially located change machines positioned around the territories. Unused credits can easily be re-converted to Euro when necessary.

## Damanhur's mutual credit union

In the Italian financial sector certain structures have been founded where it is now possible to invest and lend money without being an official bank. They are called MAG 4 (Mutual Self-Management) and are co-operatives where exchanges of money are made exclusively between members. Deposited funds are recorded and returned to members through a savings book. The main purpose of MAGs is to create an economy based on ethical values, on co-operation and on investment directed towards sustainability.

MAG 4 experts state that *"The action of large amounts of capital is not limited to wielding power in the economic field – sustaining the principle of formal competition and monopolizing every business thanks to the position of strength retained at a technological and capitalization level – but arrives to theorize, to maintain and to extend its own influence, a unique model of development and applicable in any field of expression of human life. It goes against history to impose a single model of development and all the attempts to do so have brought and bring serious social imbalance".*

*The Federation of Damanhur is creating its own mutual credit union (DES) with different functions. One of the co-operatives, other than its normal functions will have the possibility of collecting funds through the issue of a savings book to members of the co-operative and to give depositors interest.*

*The second co-operative, in addition to its normal activities will be able to supply financial loans to co-operatives and associations and, through a structure of mutual help will also be able to financially assist individual members of the co-operative.*

### Oberto Airaudi: Damanhur's founder

Damanhur was born out of the dream of a society based on optimism and the idea that human beings can be the masters of their own destiny, without having to depend on outside forces. This was Oberto Airaudi's vision when, together with a group of fellow researchers, he founded the spiritual, human and social experience of Damanhur. Today, in accordance with the citizens' custom of being called by animal names, in Damanhur Oberto Airaudi uses also the name 'Falco' (Falcon).

Born in Balangero in 1950, from a very early age, Oberto Airaudi displayed exceptional paranormal and healing abilities that, from the beginning, he undertook to develop through constant and rigorous experimentation outside of classical academic institutions. His spiritual and personal growth has continued throughout the years with continuous study and research, awakening memories, developing artistic abilities and rediscovering ancient knowledge.

Philosopher, healer, writer and painter, in 1975, in order to present the results of his research to the public and set in motion a more intense phase of experimentation, he founded the 'Horus Centre' in Turin. From there Damanhur was born and Falco continues to be its Spiritual Guide.

Hildur Jackson co-founder of GEN (Global Ecovillages Network), in "Ecovillage Living - Restoring the Earth and Her People" writes: "*Falco (Oberto Airaudi) is a researcher and a visionary, who believes in the law of change. He is not so much a leader as a gentle, multi-talented person who share his visionary ideas with the community, and whom the community recognizes as a valuable guide*."

The path that Oberto Airaudi proposes leads to the awakening of the inner Master in each one of us, through study, experimentation, the full expression of individual potential and the elimination of dogmatic attitudes. At the basis of this philosophy is the conviction that every human being partakes of a divine nature, which is to be awoken and recognized, through continuous interaction with others. As a consequence, Damanhur is a society in constant evolution and transformation, based upon the celebration of differences, with a social, political and philosophical system that is forever growing and unfolding in time.

Massimo Introvigne, one of the world's leading sociologists of religion and director of CESNUR (Center for the Study of New Religions) in an interview for the British film company Amora, said: *'Damanhur is one of the leading communal alternative spirituality groups in the world and I think it's part of the tradition of 'Ancient Wisdom Movements', but on the other hand it's new. I think that the founder, Mr. Airaudi has succeeded in inventing something which is really new and that has been proven successful by the fact that this experience has lasted for much more than sociological theories would have predicted. Damanhur's stability is quite uncharacteristic and exceptional, and it runs counter some theories that these kinds of communal groups can be successful in the post-modern world, but only for a few years. Perhaps theories themselves can be revisited based on Damanhur. And Damanhur is big enough to reconsider theories, because we are not talking of 20 people living together - they can be exceptional or peculiar people - we are talking of more than 600 people*.'

Always rather reserved and not inclined to promote his own image, Oberto Airaudi does not hold decision-making positions within the political and social structure of Damanhur. He is however always available to collaborate with the Guides, elected by the citizens and with the people responsible for the Federation's Bodies.

Falco is very active in the research fields of therapy, art and new sciences. His knowledge, which he himself puts to the test continuously, derives from his ability to draw from the great reservoir of humankind's knowledge and from the link which Damanhur has created with the divine cosmic forces of the new millennium.

## From the constitution of the Federation of Damanhur

1. The citizens are brothers and sisters who help one another through reciprocal trust, respect, clarity, acceptance, solidarity and continuous inner transformation. Everyone is committed to always giving others opportunities to aim higher.

2. Each citizen makes a commitment to spread positive and harmonious thoughts and to direct every thought and action towards spiritual growth. Each person is socially and spiritually responsible for every action they take, as everybody is aware that each act is multiplied and reflected through the Synchronic Lines all over the world.

3. Through community life, Damanhur aims at developing individuals whose reciprocal relations are regulated by Knowledge and Consciousness. Fundamental rules of life are common sense, thinking well of others and the welcoming and exaltation of diversity.

4. Work has spiritual value and is understood as a gift of oneself to others. Through it everyone takes part in the material and spiritual progress of the people, carrying out assignments, as they become necessary. Each citizen offers a proportion of their work in activities of common interest. Every task is precious and carries the same dignity.

5. Those who take on roles of social responsibility carry out their tasks in a spirit of service, without looking for personal advantage or serving the private interests of others. Only Citizens residing in the Communities may be elected or nominated for positions of social responsibility.

6. Spirituality, research and ecology inspire all relationships with the environment, also through the use of appropriate technologies, useful in improving the quality of life. Every Citizen lives in communion with nature and the subtle forces that inhabit it. Everyone is committed to respect and preserve resources and avoid as far as possible forms of pollution and waste.

7. Each Citizen respects their own body, takes care of it and nourishes it harmoniously, refraining from any form of substance abuse. Citizens put into practice rules of life suitable for harmonious physical, mental and spiritual development; they ensure the orderliness and cleanliness of their environment. Each individual is expected to be capable of self-control, of making mature choices and of manifesting purity in thought and action.

8. Damanhur promotes and supports research both in science and art; it fosters and encourages continual experimentation of both the physical and the non-physical, as long as it is expressed in a harmonious form. All Citizens constantly improve their education and widen and deepen their knowledge in the fields of research, art, work and leisure activities.

# Part 3 – Visions for the future

## 3.1 Kibbutz studies

# Gender and the effect on self-selection in higher education: the case of kibbutz young adults

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**Abstract**

The influence of recent social and economic changes in the Israeli kibbutz was focused on gender differences of kibbutz young adults. The prolonged stage of kibbutz youth was examined with respect to: the crystallization of academic choices along the time axis; the choice of institutions and fields of study in higher education; intentions to study further, and the clarity of students' vocational prospects.

Data was obtained during 1998 from kibbutz youth up to 29 years of age, most in the second or third year of study for the first degree or diploma. 414 students answered the questionnaire, 57% of them were female. Also 60 open-ended interviews were carried out.

The findings are: (a) More young women on the kibbutz of the late 1990's appear to commence studying then young men. (b) They are more practical in choosing their field of studies, but also realizing personal interests as a means of self-expression. (c) Kibbutz women are the most instrumental group and have the most clear professional direction, compared to both kibbutz men and non-kibbutz women.(d) In choosing fields of study, they prefer more applied studies like education, social services, practical arts, paramedical-professions and also business administration and are less likely to choose sciences and the humanities.

In the presentation I will argue that (a) in the long run, these changes are essential for the revitalization of kibbutz economy, not to say for a better integration of young women in the changing kibbutz; (b) The trend of choosing practical studies, stronger among women, may affect their professional career and personal development.

The social and economic changes in the Israeli kibbutzim over the last 15 years allow an examination of the relationship between changing social structure and the moratorial aspects of the stage of youth, with regard to higher education specially for women. Following years of reserve towards higher education (Gamson 1975), from the mid 1970s onward, the kibbutz communities have allowed young people relatively easy access to colleges and universities (Gamson and Palgi 1982; Leviatan 1982). During the 1980s special 'study arrangements' were instigated, these attractive arrangements allowed young people to choose and start their studies at will. In spite of the changes in the last five years, young adults from the kibbutz still tend to delay starting their studies compared to non-kibbutz peers, but the gap between kibbutz and non-kibbutz has closed.

Also access to study was easy the question of what to study required weighing individual preferences against collective needs. The narrow range of occupations for women on the kibbutz and the traditional discouragement of working outside it exacerbated this problem. Moreover, selecting a course of study suited to kibbutz needs could restrict vocational opportunities outside the kibbutz. These last two dilemmas were closely tied to the more inclusive one of whether or not to remain on the kibbutz, even that more kibbutz members work outside the kibbutz. This onerous decision tended to be postponed, delaying the choices what, where and when to study (Dar 1993).

The notion of differential remuneration for work, coupled with growing numbers of young people who leave the kibbutz (Sheaffer and Rosenblatt 1997), have increased awareness of the link between personal well being and education. Consequently, many turn to higher education to assure their future in the kibbutz or outside it, even at the expense of shortening the prolonged and self-gratifying role moratorium that has characterized youth on the kibbutz for 30 years.

Gender differences in the centrality of the family and career (Gilligan, 1982; Archer, 1985; Hess-Biber, 1985; Mannheim, 1993) and gender factors in the work market (Charles, 1992) may segregate personal studying (and employment) biographies of men and women (Lysine, 1981; Jacobs, 1995; Street, Kimmel, and Kromrey, 1996).

Despite an ideology of gender equality, the traditional kibbutz was characterized by a quite segregated division of labor, locating women in public services and education while men took most of the jobs in agriculture and industry, as well as the main administrative roles (Tiger and Shepher 1973; Ben-Rafael and Weitman 1988). The feelings of ambivalence and insecurity concerning their social role in the kibbutz that this state induced among women, seems still to affect young women in the present kibbutz as well. Eager not to be 'stuck' in the public services and education jobs within the kibbutz like their mothers, and recognizing that outside the kibbutz women without an education can find places only at the bottom of the occupational ladder, young women will probably be more anxious than men to start studies earlier and choose a route of study that leads promptly to a well paid occupation.

Tending to choose professions that were seldom chosen in the ten years previously, having no place in the existing occupational structure of the kibbutz (Zamir 1997), kibbutz youth also started to attach greater importance to obtaining a degree or diploma and to studies leading directly to a profession. All these tendencies were found accentuated among women (Avrahami 1997). The clarity of vocational plans, from the

70s to the 90s, almost did not change for males, but was multiplied for females. So the diversity of the chosen subjects was multiplied for females, and for males the change was minimal.

The present study has examined these previous impressions using quantitative comparison of a representative sample of kibbutz and non-kibbutz students. Facing the expanding higher education in Israel and the changing social structure of the kibbutz, we ask in this study which choices of study do young women make? How are these choices linked with their vocational prospects?

Following the argument about the status insecurity of young women in the fast changing kibbutz, we expect the kibbutz women-students to display a practical orientation concerning their studies, stronger than among their non-kibbutz, Israeli peers of a similar sociocultural position. We also expect to find this orientation stronger among kibbutz women than among men.

I shall present the pattern of study preferences of the kibbutz-women in comparison to the men, and to their non-kibbutz counterparts, and ask what part the kibbutz plays in the personal decisions and the effect of the social environment on the study preference.

**Data and Analysis**

Data was obtained in 1997 from two groups of kibbutz youth up to 29 years of age, most in the second or third year of study for the first degree or diploma. The first group received the questionnaire in 21 kibbutzim, chosen according to location in central Israel or in the periphery, size and age of the kibbutz, and economic condition - four levels from bad to very good. 283 students answered the questionnaire. The second group consisted of 59 kibbutz students that were included in a national sample of 1707 second and third year first-degree students in universities, general colleges, regional colleges, professional colleges, and teachers' colleges – all granting B.A. or B.Ed. degrees - and in vocational colleges that grant diplomas. Thus a research sample of 342 kibbutz students was obtained. The national sample, excluding the 59 kibbutz students, was used to compare kibbutz and non-kibbutz students to pinpoint environmental influences on research variables. In some analyses, data from Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) were used to complement the comparisons.

342 kibbutz students (women 62% men 38%) and 1707 non-kibbutz students (women 55% men 45%) took part in the research.

**Results**

Most kibbutz students did not commence studying on discharge from the army. Taking advantage of all modules of the moratorial youth, they begin studies about 2 years later than their other Jewish Israeli peers - on the average at the age of 25.1 vs. 22.7 years for non-kibbutz men and at 23.5 vs. 21.3 years respectively for women (difference beyond genders at $p<.001$). The percentage of kibbutz women studying exceeds that of men at the ages examined (78% versus 65%) and is higher than the proportion of women in higher education in Israel (CBS: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 1998/9). As many of the men

not studying intend to start later, this indicates that kibbutz women are less patient in timing their studies. Women can commence studying earlier due to their shorter military service and because they devote a shorter time to traveling abroad. Possibly, too, the desire to study before marriage plays a role.

***Where and what do they study?***

An examination of choices of higher education should consider the two stratification axes of selectivity, prestige and payoff - the hierarchies of institutions and fields of studies (Tinto 1980; Trow 1984; Davies and Guppy 1997).

***Institutions***

The preference of institutions was examined in regard to five categories: (1) University and Institute of Technology; (2) Academic teachers' college; (3) General academic college, usually a regional one; (4) Academic professional college, generally in one field; (5) Practical vocational college, generally offering two-year diploma courses rather than degrees.

Table 1: Kibbutz and non-kibbutz students by gender and educational institution (%)

| Institution | women | | men | | Cbs[a] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | kibbutz | General sample | kibbutz | General sample | |
| University & Tech. Institute | 41.5 | 52.1 | 51.7 | 48.6 | 49.1 |
| Teachers' college | 19.7 | 19.6 | 5.8 | 3.9 | 12.1 |
| General academic college | 12.2 | 11.4 | 12.5 | 14.4 | 15.8 |
| Academic vocational college | 13.3 | 6.1 | 21.7 | 12.5 | |
| Practical vocational college | 13.3 | 10.8 | 8.3 | 20.6 | 23.0 |
| *N* | 188 | *895* | *120* | *737* | |

[a] CBS data do not distinguish between academic general and academic vocational colleges.

87% of female kibbutz students (89% of non-kibbutz) and 92% of kibbutz male (79% of non-kibbutz) study at degree granting institutions (Table 1). This is higher percentages than the general sample for men, and somewhat lower for female. Data may be explained by higher rates of matriculation: 71% kibbutz women and 63% men, and another fifth have partial matriculation. However, 10% fewer of the kibbutz women-students in academic institutions study at a university, usually more selective, oriented to research and theoretical study and with longer courses of study, as compared with the general women population, and 10% fewer then men in the kibbutz. More kibbutz women-students study in academic vocational colleges as compared with the general women population. More kibbutz women than men attend practical colleges, while in the general sample more men than women do. Since a higher percentage of kibbutz women undertake higher education, probably more women have difficulties entering academic studies. It is also likely that kibbutz women attach more importance to vocational studies that quickly lead to a diploma rather than a B.A. that is frequently not a professional qualification.

***Fields of study***

Both samples exhibit a gendered division in fields of study (Table 2.). More women study arts, education, social sciences and paramedical professions (kibbutz: women 63%, men 27%: others: women 57%, men 27%). More men study math and computer technology, engineering and architecture, and practical engineering (kibbutz: women 14%; men 51%, others: women 19%). men 46%, There are only tiny gender differences in business administration, natural sciences and in the less preferred fields. The differences between men in the kibbutz and non-kibbutz are fewer then those of women. Examining specific fields, kibbutz women, prefer more then non-kibbutz women, an education that leads rapidly to an occupation, like practical arts, teaching, social work and alternative medicine they also prefer more science (mostly biology).

Table 2: Kibbutz and non-kibbutz students by major field of study and gender (%)

| Field of study[a] | CBS 1998 | Women | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Kibbutz | General sample | Kibbutz | General sample |
| **Humanities** | 10.2 | 4.6 | 11.4 | 5.9 | 5.9 |
| Arts | 6.1 | 14.4 | 6.2 | 7.6 | 4.1 |
| Education | 18.9 | 18.0 | 19.9 | 4.2 | 4.4 |
| Social sciences, Communication | 16.3 | 15.9 | 15.8 | 7.5 | 10.9 |
| Business administration | 5.5 | 10.9 | 9.1 | 11.7 | 8.0 |
| Law | 5.0 | 1.0 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 5.1 |
| **Math, Computers[b]** | 4.6 | 2.7 | 10.2 | 17.6 | 18.9 |
| Physics, Chemistry, Biology | 3.4 | 8.7 | 4.8 | 5.9 | 5.8 |
| Engineering, Architecture | 7.0 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 23.5 | 14.4 |
| Practical engineering (technicians) | 15.7 | 4.7 | 2.7 | 10.1 | 12.2 |
| Medicine | 0.9 | 0.5 | 2.7 | | 3.6 |
| Paramedical professions | 3.8 | 9.8 | 3.3 | 1.7 | 1.8 |
| **Practical administration** | 2.6 | 2.1 | 3.2 | 0.8 | 4.9 |
| N | | 194 | 949 | 119 | 779 |

[a] Classification of fields according to CBS.

[b] Includes both students in computer sciences and computer technicians

The practical orientation of kibbutz women-students is further confirmed when we cross tabulate field of study by institution (not tabulated here). Relatively fewer kibbutz women, as compared with other women, take the following fields at a university when a college grants the same degree: business administration (26% versus 43%); paramedical professions (61% versus 89%); the practical arts (16% versus 30%). The two exceptions are math and computer studies (80% versus 63%); biology (72% versus 59%). There is no difference in the humanities, social science, and engineering.

***Intention for further studies***

Two-thirds of the kibbutz women wished to continue studying, as 43% of the men, and against 58% of non-kibbutz women. 26% of the kibbutz women regarded the first degree as insufficient for working in their chosen profession compared with 15% of the men and 22% of non-kibbutz women. Kibbutz women seem more cognizant of the link between education and occupational mobility. Many of the courses they chose require further education to enter a profession. In contrast, men may more easily get good jobs without an advanced degree, especially in technology. More kibbutz women between ages 18-40 study for 16 years+ than men and non-kibbutz women, and more kibbutz-women have academic education (Pavin 2003).

***Clarity of professional choices***

This was examined by asking about the chosen profession in the future**.** Kibbutz women have a clearer professional choice than the men, especially after deciding to study. Answers to the question "What profession do you want to work at in the future?" reinforced the observation that professional direction develops later among kibbutz students but is then somewhat clearer. A fifth of kibbutz students had not yet decided on their future occupation (17% of the women and 30% of the men) versus one third in the general sample. This difference was sustained also when only those of 24 years of age and older were compared.

Deciding on a course of study and developing a professional identity is commonly seen as inherently linked (Eccels 1994; Lent *et al.* 1994; Trusty *et al*. 2000), though different individuals reach relevant decisions at different times. Educational choices are therefore frequently viewed as a means for implementing vocational choices. However, many of those who start to study at a relatively early age continue to examine professional options and may even change academic as well as vocational directions (Super 1990). In the moratorial setting of youth, undergraduate studies may be an additional experience of exploration. To what extent are educational and vocational choices inherently connected among kibbutz students?

Linking student's vocational preferences with her/his field of study shows that two-thirds of kibbutz students perceive a clear link between their present studies and chosen profession and 4% perceive some connection.

Kibbutz women developed a professional identity more than men and more then other women. Only 17% of the kibbutz-women had not chosen a profession and for only 9% education was not congruent with professional choices. This contrasts with 31% and 6% of men, respectively. 31% of other women had not chosen a profession. Interviews have also shown that kibbutz women are more aware than men of the need to acquire a profession if they do not wish to remain in work of low status and payment (Avrahami 1997). In contrast to the kibbutz sample, some more women than men in the general sample had not chosen a profession.

## Discussion

Most kibbutz women opt for academic, degree-granting studies, but a lower percentage chooses university studies than among the general population. Likewise, in choosing fields of study, kibbutz women prefer more applied studies like social service occupations and are less likely to choose the exact sciences and the humanities. Where

facing the choice between studying a particular field in a university or a college, more kibbutz women, prefer to study in colleges.

More than kibbutz men and more than other Israeli women, kibbutz women prefer to acquire a non-academic profession rather than go into academic studies that offer no advantage in the labor market. They are the most instrumental group regarding higher education and have the most clear occupational direction, compared both with kibbutz men and with non-kibbutz women. As the women see it, not studying means 'being stuck', whether in the unappealing service and education roles in the kibbutz or in the lower-paid jobs outside the kibbutz. Men who do not study can find their place more readily in well-paying work that carries status as well. This stems, it would seem, from their awareness of the kibbutz reality. At the same time there are signs that women are now going into what have been thought of as men's fields, more in the direction of biological sciences and technology, and less into administration and management. Women choose a wider range of occupations than men, possible because fewer women than men intend to live in the kibbutz.

Explanations may be offered for the practical orientation among kibbutz women. First, since 78% of kibbutz women are studying, the group includes those without matriculation, and who are less suited to academic studies. The non-selective kibbutz school allows 60% women-students to matriculate and thus opt for academic studies. However, it prepares them inadequately for the competitive entrance to the prestigious trajectories of higher education. Even though academic achievement has been encouraged in the last two decades, kibbutz high schools in the 1990s still emphasized social education, the focus of the traditional collective education (Avrahami 1999).

Consequently, fewer kibbutz girls than non-kibbutz took in the high school expanded curriculum in subjects like math (15% versus 36%) science (30% versus 43%), foreign languages (5% versus 11%) and more girls took humanistic (38% versus 31%), and art (16% versus 6%). Likewise, kibbutz women obtained lower matriculation grades in comparison to their non-kibbutz peers (85 vs. 91, $t=7.2$, $p<.001$). The average psychometric score of kibbutz women-students in academic institutions is somewhat higher than in the general sample but they have a lower combined score from matriculation and psychometric exams, which is what counts for university entrance. Since these disparities limit chances of acceptance in prestigious university departments, 43% apply to academic vocational colleges where entrance requirements are less stringent.

Second, due to de-communalization and economic and social instability, fields that require longer studies or an additional term of training, like medicine and law, or where a first degree is inadequate for entry-level employment, deter young women from choosing them. The transition to differential remuneration for work in the kibbutz encourages acquisition of a practical profession without lengthy studies in order to get a reasonable salary as soon as possible. This need is met by the academic vocational college, which allows entry to a profession with the first degree (Yogev 2000).

In the past, kibbutz youth may have heartily followed their inclinations in choosing studies, assured of the future of the kibbutz and their own ability to acquire a profession later on. Enjoying a prestigious position in Israeli society, the kibbutz was able to endow

its youth with social capital that may have paved their entrance to the labor force, inside or outside the kibbutz, even if they lacked the formally needed educational credentials. Since this capital has largely been eroded, and since the kibbutz high schools are adapting only slowly to the new reality, the young people now have to make compromises in their educational choices.

Third, exposure of young people to the work world may influence their planning for a profession (Flum 1995; Hurtado *et al*. 1997). Despite the increasing openness to work outside the kibbutz, many kibbutz women still work at traditional kibbutz occupations and in unsophisticated personal services. Exposed in adolescence to a restricted range of occupations, and being aware of the immediate occupational needs of the kibbutz, many kibbutz women students may have aimed their choices of study and vocation in a practical direction.

The practical trend in choosing studies, among women, may affect professional career and personal development. University graduates have better chances of getting a job, are better paid and advance faster into management positions (Smart 1988; Brennan *et al*. 1993). They also develop social networks that increase their social capital in varied markets (Davies and Guppy 1997). Most important, their broader education is advantageous in facing the rapidly changing structure and content of professions.

This perception is compatible with the distinction made by Kanter and Pittinsky (1995-1996 p.10): "Not traditional notions of *employment security* – stable, life long employment with a single employer – but rather *employability security* - the possession of skills and connections that make one able to secure employment when necessary." This is more meaningful for kibbutz women. Affording employability security to kibbutz women requires that the kibbutz rethink the role of the school in vocational planning and the policies of investment in human capital. Both are essential for revitalization of kibbutz economy, no less than for better integration of the young women in a changing kibbutz environment.

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# The kibbutz and its future: historical perspectives

## Dr. Michael Livni

**Abstract**

The kibbutz movement is perceived as the 'flagship' of the intentional communal movement worldwide. Today this 95-year-old phenomenon appears to be foundering.

The relative success of the kibbutz was due to its being an integral part of the Zionist movement. The Zionist movement was both a national political movement for establishing a state for the Jews (political Zionism) as well as a movement for Jewish cultural renewal (cultural Zionism). The kibbutz was a result of a 'marriage of convenience' between a certain vision of Jewish cultural renewal (cultural Zionism) and the practical needs of political Zionism. During the period preceding the Second World War and until immediately after the establishment of Israel in 1948 the marriage of convenience evolved into a full partnership of vision and purpose. This was the period when Martin Buber described the kibbutz as "an experiment that did not fail".

After the establishment of Israel, the kibbutzim increasingly diversified into industry and strengthened their economic base. However, with the passing of the founding generation, their ideological elan began to decline. The functional importance of the kibbutzim for the State of Israel became marginal.

The founding generation of the kibbutzim was motivated by an ideology based on faith. The following generation of sons and daughters related to practical challenges and eschewed ideology. The kibbutz began to stagnate ideologically. A major negative contributing factor was the Holocaust, which destroyed the European reservoir of recruitment for new ideologically oriented kibbutz members.

The mass immigration to Israel after the establishment of Israel, particularly from the Arab countries, was unsuitable for kibbutz life and largely became aligned with the right wing nationalist movements that toppled Israel's Labor government in the 1977 elections. These elections also spelt the end of the special relationship between kibbutzim and government. The kibbutz proved incapable of building bridges to the new Israeli society. It was associated with the 'patronizing' elites that had absorbed the mass immigration. The kibbutz's rigidly secular stance negated the traditional bent of many of the new immigrants especially those from the Arab countries. After 1977 new neo-liberal economic policies undercut Israel's agricultural sector including the kibbutzim. Ideological stagnation and economic over-extension went hand in hand and caused the economic crisis of the mid-eighties.

Economically, much of the kibbutz movement is undergoing partial privatization. However, the essential change is that the kibbutz, whatever its economic framework, is

no longer a focus for social-cultural Zionist vision. “Where there is no vision, the People become unruly” (Proverbs 29:18).

Currently there appear to be three possible foci of kibbutz regeneration:

1) The collective stream within the general organization of the kibbutz.
2) The orthodox religious kibbutz movement.
3) Urban kibbutzim founded mainly by Israeli youth movement graduates and the sons and daughters of veteran kibbutzim.

The verdict is not yet in with regards to their ability to revivify the most prominent communal movement of the Twentieth century.

**Outline**

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3. The partners to a ‘Marriage of Convenience’

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## 1. Background

The kibbutz movement is perceived as the 'flagship' of the intentional communal movement worldwide. The first kibbutz was established in 1910. During three generations, its size and influence on its surrounding society have been without precedent. The words "without precedent" demand immediate qualification in terms of absolute numbers. The kibbutz movement at its relative peak in May 1948 numbered 177 kibbutzim with a population of 49,160 in a Jewish population of 650,000 (7.6%). It was perceived as the Zionist elite of the State of Israel that had just been established. Until the end of the Seventies the kibbutz maintained much of its leadership image within its surrounding society even though its percentage in the total Jewish population had declined to 3.5%. Since the mid-Eighties we have witnessed a radical decline both in the self-image of the kibbutz as well as the status of the kibbutz in Israeli society. In terms of numbers, the kibbutz population peaked in 1994 with a population of 124, 600. In the year 2002 the population of the 268 kibbutzim had declined to 115,600, just 2.1% of Israel's Jewish population.

Today this 95-year-old phenomenon appears to be foundering. The rise and apparent decline of the kibbutz can be understood only within the context of its place in the national movement of the Jewish people - Zionism.

## 2. The Zionist movement: Jewish response to modernity

A comprehensive view of modern Jewish history is beyond the scope of this presentation. In terms of 'stimulus – response' two different paths led to the Zionist response. These were political Zionism and cultural Zionism. These paths often intertwined - both in public events as well as in the life stories of individual participants in the Zionist saga. The history of the Kibbutz movement and its current quandary cannot be understood without reference to its evolving relationship with these two facets of Zionism. Ultimately, the relevance of Zionism as perceived in the Israeli and the Jewish world today is part of the kibbutz dilemma as well.

### 2a. The path of political Zionism

In modern Jewish history, the better-known Zionist path is that of political Zionism. It is political Zionism that has impacted on international affairs during the past century. It is associated with the name of Theodor Herzl, 1860 - 1904, the founder of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). To a considerable extent, the stimulus that led to its formation was the rise of militant modern anti-Semitism, a byproduct in many European national movements of the Nineteenth Century.

The Herzlian political Zionist response was based on the assumption (reinforced by the hostile environment) that the Jews were one people - a group with a common past, present and future. The only answer to anti-Semitism was a state for the Jews where they would be free and secure. The aim of a State was adopted at the first Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897. At its outset, political Zionism concentrated on political lobbying in the international arena in order to further its aims.

**2b. Cultural Zionism and Jewish redemption**

In 1791, the French National Assembly, bent on dismantling all vestiges of feudalism, set the historic precedent of granting all Jews equality before the law as French citizens. Just as the serfs had been emancipated from the authoritarian feudal structure, so the Jews were 'emancipated' from the authority of the Jewish community. Napoleon's armies spread the anti-feudal message throughout Europe. The authority of Jewish communal institutions was restricted to matters of religious ritual. The existential dependence of the individual Jew on his/her community came to an end. Jews became exposed to the Enlightenment. Many left Judaism and assimilated. Others began to confront the challenge of reconciling their Judaism with modernity.

Cultural Zionism was a response to the disintegration of Jewish society, which resulted from the Emancipation and the Enlightenment. It was associated with the name of Achad Ha'am ("one of the people"), the pen name of Asher Ginsberg, 1856-1927. Achad Ha'am's thesis was that the impact of modernity could be confronted by Judaism only by reviving the prophetic aspect of Judaism. The purpose of the Jewish National Home was to enable redemption of the prophetic spirit and its manifestation in a way relevant to the modern day and age.

In Jewish tradition, a portion of the Torah (the Pentateuch) is read three times a week. On returning the Torah to its ark, the congregation chants a prayer, which ends with the words: "Renew our Days as of Old". The cultural Zionism of the kibbutzim sought to realize this prayer of messianic longing and redemption in a non-orthodox framework. Cultural Zionism in general and the kibbutz movement in particular had characteristics of a messianic movement.

**2c. The concept of a Messianic movement**

The term 'messianic' is used here in a sociological and historical sense as proposed by Bernard Barber in his study of messianic movements among the North American First Nations during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

A messianic response or movement is the countering of a recognized cultural impasse by a doctrine of hope, which seeks to re-assert the values of the culture in the face of the impasse. The cultural impasse must give rise to "an experience of 'deprivation' - the despair caused by inability to obtain what the culture has defined as the ordinary

satisfactions of life… Deprivation may arise from the destruction not only of physical objects but also of socio-cultural activities." Clearly, Zionism fits into this mold.

The First Nations' messianic movements embodied a whole system of ghost dances and shamanistic rituals, the purpose of which was to rid the land of the white man, bring back the buffalo, and in general redeem and re-establish the culture of the First Nations as a continuing significant force.

The messianic movements of America's First Nations, as well as the messianic cults of other indigenous peoples which arose in the confrontation between them and the expanding West, were (certainly in retrospect) not in a realistic relationship with the political and social reality of the day. Zionism is a messianic movement that succeeded at least in part.

**2d. Zionism as a unique Messianic movement**

The Zionist movement is unique in the annals of modern history in that its messianic response to physical and cultural impasse (deprivation) actually succeeded. Walter Laqueur has documented this unlikely story.

As a messianic movement, Zionism differed from other messianic movements and cults in a number of respects:
1. There was no one person identified as the infallible messianic leader. (Even Herzl during his short life faced opposition on tactical questions within the WZO that he founded.)
2. The physical and cultural redemption of the Jewish people was to be realized in social and political frameworks compatible with modernity.

Nevertheless, a majority of the Jewish people were suspicious and doubtful. In the West, many saw Zionism as a threat to their integration as citizens in their countries. They believed that Zionism was removed from the extant social and political realities. Both political and cultural Zionism remained minority movements until after World War One. Even after Britain issued the Balfour Declaration in 1917 favoring the establishment of a Jewish National Home, mass support for the movement came only with the cataclysmic events of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

**2e. Collective settlement as an instrument of national redemption**

The first decade of the last century witnessed the exodus of a million Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia. A few thousand ideologically oriented (mainly) Russian Jews were prepared to personally commit themselves to a messianic cultural Zionist program of redemption of the Jewish people in what was then Turkish Palestine. Within that group, a few hundred believed that the land of Israel, in particular its agricultural settlement, should be rebuilt on collective foundations. They began to establish communal groups (*kvutzot*) for mutual support. They saw themselves and came to be known as *chalutzim* - pioneers. Their interpretation of cultural Zionism was: Hebrew land, Hebrew language,

Hebrew labor and Hebrew social justice. Hebrew social justice meant their interpretation of the spirit of the prophets. This was the recipe of the *chalutzim* for the cultural redemption of the Jewish people in the face of the cultural impasse of continuity and creativity in the Diaspora.

However, Near's compilation of communal group membership in Turkish Palestine at the outbreak of the First World War, shows less than 400 individuals involved in the *kvutzot* which constituted the initial potential of the first kibbutzim. (The word Kvutza, pl. kvutzot, denotes a small collective group. The word kibbutz, pl. kibbutzim, began to be used in the Twenties for larger collective groups settling on the land).

**3. The partners to a 'marriage of convenience'**

Kibbutzim could not have been established without the active support (sometimes grudging, never enough) of the WZO. This was a marriage of convenience between two very disparate partners.

**3a. Political Zionism and the pioneers (*Chalutzim*)**

Philanthropically funded settlement by proto-Zionist groups called the 'Lovers of Zion' had begun in the Eighties of the Nineteenth century but was foundering by the beginning of the Twentieth century when the WZO began to function. It was not until 1907, ten years after it's founding, that the WZO decided to undertake practical settlement work in Palestine in tandem with its political lobbying for an internationally recognized juridical framework for a Jewish National Home.

Arthur Ruppin, a young German-Jewish sociologist, was retained by the WZO to establish an office in Palestine in order to further the practical work of Jewish settlement. He demanded and was given a free hand in promoting settlement. It was Ruppin who recognized the potential inherent in the commitment of young Russian-Jewish pioneers, the *chalutzim,* and entrusted them with the responsibility for settlement of lands purchased with limited WZO funds. Thus, he became the 'marriage broker' between funds donated by middle-class Jews in Europe and America and a marginal group of radical socialist idealists in their late teens and early Twenties. This 'marriage of convenience', brokered by Ruppin, was a decision criticized by many in the WZO and Ruppin had to defend it constantly.

**3b. The Chalutzim As men and women of faith**

Maurice Samuel's eyewitness description of these Zionist *chalutzim* in Eastern Europe describes their world outlook.

> *"I met them (the chalutzim) first in Eastern Europe, more than thirty years ago (1920) - young men and women preparing themselves for the role of builders of the Jewish homeland. They were in revolt against the Jewish ghetto, against the Jewish exile, against the evils of the capitalist world. They were caught up in the fever of a great mission; they were*

*going forth to show that a Jewish life could be built in Palestine cleansed of the particular curse of Jewish homelessness and of the general or all-human curse of an exploitative economy... It was altogether extraordinary to encounter in them an equal passion for the Bible and Karl Marx, for the morality of the prophets and the materialistic interpretation of history, for the deliverance from Egypt and the Bolshevik revolution".*

In reviewing the background of the kibbutz movement and that of the select few who initiated it (and much of the Zionist enterprise) the question of their faith is too often avoided. Indeed, the word 'secular' when used to describe the *chalutzim* confuses the issue even further. For the average contemporary Israeli, 'secular' is perceived as being the opposite of 'religious'. The latter word is associated with religious ritual performance.

The *chalutzim* rejected most religious (Orthodox) Jewish ritual. However, they did not see themselves as 'secular'. If the antonym of secular is holy, the *chalutzim* felt that they were engaged in a holy task. They saw themselves as 'free' Jews. In this context, the term 'free' meant that they saw themselves as free of the injunctions of orthodox Judaism - in particular as interpreted by the rabbis. The rabbis and the wealthy constituted the power elite of the traditional Jewish community and the *chalutzim* rejected both.

The true prism through which the *chalutzim* must be seen is the question of faith. As Paul Tillich, the German Protestant theologian has pointed out:

*"Faith is the state of being ultimately concerned: the dynamics of faith are the dynamics of man's ultimate concern... In true faith the ultimate concern is a concern about the truly ultimate; while in idolatrous faith preliminary, finite realities are elevated to the rank of ultimacy..."*

Tillich differentiated between the finite aims of worldly success, both at the level of the individual and the level of the nation-state as distinct from the infinite aims of social justice inherent in the prophetic ideals of the Old Testament.

A.D. Gordon (1856-1922) was the outstanding philosopher among the *chalutzim*. He juxtaposed life in the 'here and now' with 'life everlasting' and then demanded a synthesis between them.

*"Insofar as I have not yet experienced a change in my purpose for living, there is no reason for me to seek a new life, as I will not find it...They say that it is up to the worker to clarify for himself what it is he wants - if he wants to work and live by/for himself, or if he wants to work so that others may live; that is to the say for the general good or for the good of future generations. These types of questions distract the mind from the essence of it all - from the here and now which contains life everlasting; <u>for insofar as the here and now is itself real life it contains life everlasting.</u>*
*(Emphasis in the original)*

For A.D. Gordon the pursuit of the prophetic social ideals upon which the new Jewish society was to be built were 'life everlasting.' He also believed in the necessity of the Jewish return to a life of labor on the land to achieve this aim. However, the pursuit of such an ideal falls into Tillich's category of true faith. It was the nature of that faith which Maurice Samuel observed and described.

For most of the original *chalutzim,* the future state (the aim of political Zionism) was a finite aim and a framework for the realization of their prophetic ideals in socialist garb - their interpretation of cultural Zionism. (Indeed, at a certain stage, some *chalutzim* felt that their ultimate aims could be realized within the finite framework of a bi-national Arab-Jewish state.)

The 'generation of faith' itself came to be partially converted to a generation of practicalities, a merging of political Zionism with a particular variant of cultural Zionism. However, the distinction is of critical importance for the understanding of the crisis in the kibbutz movement today and for a prognosis of the resolution of that crisis.

**3c. Practical considerations of political Zionism**

Clearly, Arthur Ruppin, the 'point-person' of the WZO establishment in Turkish Palestine, was also imbued with belief in the Zionist enterprise. This gave him the ability to work with the *chalutzim.* However, Ruppin was a practical man and it is as such that he had the confidence of the Zionist executive.

In 1924 Ruppin gave the following practical reasons, in terms of maximal results with minimal resources, for supporting the *chalutzim* and their form of collective settlement, the *Kvutza*:

1. Shortage of experienced and dedicated candidates for agricultural work.
2. Initial investment for a group was less than for establishing individual farmers.
3. Within the group, individuals could specialize in particular areas. The individual farmer could not be an expert in all areas.
4. The economic success of the groups was not less than that of private settlement.
5. By virtue of shared ideas and ideals with regard to settlement on the land, settlement groups could create tradition and norms, which would bind them to the soil.
6. The WZO was in direct contact with groups - not with individuals. Each group was responsible for sifting and choosing suitable members. There was no contractual relationship between the individual and the WZO.

In my opinion, the last reason weighed heavily given the difficult and primitive circumstances in which the initial settlement effort took place.

**3d. The demarcation between the partners in the 'marriage of convenience'**

The idea of the collective settlement group with a particular social vision rooted in prophetic ideals of social justice in socialist garb was funded by a skeptical middle class organization. This marriage of convenience was the basic factor that made the development of the kibbutzim possible. The kibbutzim became the willing servants of a political Zionism, which did not always subscribe to their particular brand of messianic, socialist and cultural Zionism.

In retrospect, the clear demarcation between the two partners in the 'marriage of Zionist convenience' continued until the early Thirties. The political Zionist establishment represented that minority of the Jewish people who were dues paying members of the WZO. Most of these belonged to the middle class - mainly the lower middle- class. The *chalutzim* and their settlement form, the kibbutz, represented a particular variant of cultural Zionism with a particular (decentralist) socialist vision of the kind of society that should develop in the Jewish state. The social origins of the *chalutzim* lay mostly within the East European lower middle class. However, in confrontation with existing Jewish class structure on the one hand and with various streams of socialism on the other hand, the *chalutzim* had undergone a process which led them to adopt values and a way of life totally at variance with their origins. Therefore, the 'marriage of convenience' remained a controversial subject within the WZO.

**4. The kibbutz comes of age**

From the mid-Thirties a sea change occurred in the relationship between the kibbutz and the Zionist movement. Forces from without created dramatic changes in attitudes and demography within Jewish Palestine. The rise of Hitler in 1933 resulted in a major influx of German-Jews including many with some capital. A controversial transfer agreement between the Zionist movement and Nazi Germany enabled significant investment in the economic infrastructure of the agricultural sector including the kibbutzim. Paradoxically, Palestine was one of the few locations in the Western world unaffected by the Depression. Between 1931 and 1935 Jewish Palestine doubled in size - from 175,000 to 350,000. This resulted in an Arab revolt (1936 - 1939). From 1937 a further partition of the Palestine mandate became a possibility. (The first partition had taken place in 1921 with the British decision to separate Transjordan from the original Palestinian mandate). The kibbutzim became a major instrument in the service of political settlement of outlying areas as it became clear that the future borders of the Jewish state would be influenced by facts (settlements) on the ground.

In 1935, David Ben Gurion, of the Labor Zionist Mapai party was elected Chairperson of the Jewish Agency - in effect the Jewish state in embryo. The leadership of the Labor Zionist movement was in fact the idealistic youth of twenty-five years before. They now became the establishment. The kibbutzim were a core element (arguably **the** core element) in that establishment.

Hence, this was the period when the kibbutz movement came of age. Between 1932 and 1940 the kibbutz population rose from 4,400 to 26,500, just over 5% of the Jewish population of Palestine.

A network of Zionist youth movements had developed both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Their aim was to inculcate values and norms, which would lead to self-realization within the framework of the kibbutz movement. They constituted the main continuing source of committed young pioneers.

The kibbutz economy became much stronger. From a collective loss of 114,00 Pound Sterling in 1929, the movement registered a profit of 30,000 Pound Sterling in 1939. However, Daniel Rosolio has noted that the cumulative debt of the kibbutzim remained greater than their annual production. The kibbutzim were chronically under-financed in terms of investment. They were seen (and saw themselves) as a social unit based on prophetic ideals, an instrument for furthering Zionist aims, and as an economic unit that would try and break even. However, economic considerations took a back seat.

Nevertheless, during the fifteen years that preceded the establishment of the state (from the rise of Hitler) there was a majority consensus both in the Palestine Jewish community and the WZO that the kibbutz movement constituted an elite essential to the nation building process.

Within the context of these dramatic developments, the social and political demarcation between the political Zionist establishment and the socialist, cultural Zionist *chalutzim* of the kibbutzim became blurred. The 'marriage of convenience' blossomed into a full mutuality of ideals and purpose.

It was during this period that Martin Buber described the kibbutz as "an experiment that did not fail". It was at this time that the kibbutzim approximated Buber's communitarian vision of true community: Land in common, work in common, way of life in common and belief in common.

**5. The impact of statehood**

The establishment of Israel impacted on the kibbutzim (and the state) demographically, ideologically, and economically.

In the period between May 1948 and May 1949, 57 new kibbutzim were established. The total number of kibbutzim rose from 177 to 234 and for a short time they constituted 7.6% of the Jewish population. In the main, these kibbutzim were established with the purpose of occupying lands from which the pre-existing Arab population had either fled or been expelled during Israel's War of Independence.

However the Kibbutz movement was drastically affected by the wave of immigration and in particular by the nature of that immigration. Between 1948 and 1953, 722,000 Jews immigrated into the newly established Jewish state. Israel's population more than doubled.

Almost half of these immigrants were Holocaust survivors from Europe and Russia. They were reluctant to opt for a committed group framework. For many, the kibbutz was associated with the Soviet collective farm - the *kolkhoz*. Understandably, many concentration camp survivors only wanted to get on with their private lives. Although many among the surviving remnants of the youth movements did join kibbutzim, the East and Central European youth movement reservoir had been wiped out.

Half of the immigrants were from the Muslim lands of North Africa and the Near East. Rising nationalism and increasing instability in these lands resulted in the immigration of an additional 350,000 Jews from Morocco in the West to Iran in the East, in the following decade. Because of their roots in a family- based patriarchal traditional society, they were not generally candidates for collective settlements. In the long run, these immigrants and their descendants were to be the decisive element in ending Labor Zionist political hegemony in 1977.

Future kibbutz members were to come from the Israeli youth movements, the small Zionist youth movements in the West, and from the second-generation kibbutz members.

Government allocation of resources to the rural sector decreased. It became clear that a majority of the immigrants would have to be absorbed in the cities. Of the planned 20% who were envisaged as part of the rural sector, most were to be settled on the moshavim and smallholder cooperatives, where each family had its homestead.

## 6. The kibbutzim until 1977

### 6a. The state-kibbutz relationship until 1977

With the establishment of Israel, much of the political Zionist movement morphed into the government of Israel. That government was forced to deal with the immediate priority of defense and the absorption of mass immigration. At most, the kibbutzim became a secondary instrument for relating to the immediate problems facing the new nation. There was a growing recognition, within and outside of the kibbutzim, that the kibbutz would not have a central role in the nation-building process. Many left the kibbutzim in the early Fifties as a result. Internal ideological dissension in the kibbutzim (pro-Soviet, anti-Soviet - which socialism?) added to the disarray.

Nevertheless, the government was a Labor Zionist government. Kibbutz members held key roles at all levels. There was still a significant degree of ideological and personal congruence between government and kibbutz leadership.

### 6b. Internal developments

The removal of immediate existential threats, affirmative government action in promoting the agricultural sector and the channeling of kibbutz energy into industry led to a continued economic strengthening of many (not all) kibbutzim.

On the other hand, from the Sixties on, the passing of the founding generation of Labor Zionist pioneers resulted in the dissipation of the cultural Zionist messianic elite of Israel's leadership - including that of the kibbutz movement.

The generation of Shimon Peres and Itzchak Rabin, which inherited the Labor Zionist leadership mantle in government and on the kibbutzim, were rooted in practicalities.

They were not molded in the pressure cooker of ideological conflicts, national and social, which rocked the Jewish (and non-Jewish) world during the era before the rise of Hitler.

A personal memento. When this author joined a kibbutz in 1963, the provinciality, the narrow horizons, the kibbutz youth of that period, especially those whose parents were Israelis, was striking. On the other hand, one could not question their rootedness and love for the country or their outstanding performance in the elite units of the Israeli Defense Forces. However, they were neither capable nor interested in relating to their grandparents' cultural Zionist vision.

The end of the Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies witnessed additional changes that impacted on the kibbutz. Television came to Israel in 1968. This represented a major incursion into the relatively isolated world of the kibbutz - and of Israel as a whole.

A more dramatic impact on the youth of the kibbutz were the waves of volunteers that came to the kibbutzim in the years after the Six Day War of 1967. In part, their coming was an expression of youth and young adult turmoil in the late Sixties. The interaction between these volunteers and the de-ideologized kibbutz youth was a major factor in stimulating kibbutz youth to question their way of life and identity. This de-ideologization of the kibbutz has been summarized by this author elsewhere.

**6c. The kibbutz and Judaism**

Perhaps one of the tragedies in the internal development of the kibbutz movement was the failure to develop a rationale in dealing with its Jewish heritage. One might say that the rejection of Orthodox Judaism by the founding fathers and mothers was so total that they 'threw out the baby with the bath water'. Although, there was a rejection of form and symbol associated with Orthodox Judaism, there was an effort to emphasize the agricultural symbolism embedded in many of the Jewish festivals. Shalom Lilker explored this relationship of the kibbutz to Judaism in the Seventies.

As Maurice Samuel noted, the founding generation was totally immersed in Jewish culture. Its Jewish identity, commitment and concern for its Jewish creative continuity lead that generation to the decision of self-realization in Turkish Palestine. That personal commitment did not wane. However, the atheism of the founding generation of pioneers and its determination to create a new type of Jew established a commitment to the land of Israel, but not to Judaism. It also raised barriers to possible understanding with the masses of traditional Jews from North Africa and the Near East who immigrated to Israel after the establishment of the state. The 'Jews of the East' were to be molded in the image of the secular Israelis. The backlash came in the elections of 1977.

This author is a member of one of only two kibbutzim associated with the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (Reform). There is hope that a liberal egalitarian form of Judaism might strike root in Israel and the kibbutzim. However, this stage of the Reform Movement is only beginning to have an impact on Israeli society.

## 7. **After 1977 – ideological and economic crisis**

The atrophy of the Labor Zionist elite and the coming of political age of the mass immigration of the Fifties (in particular those from the Arab countries) led to the Labor Movement's defeat in the elections of 1977.

> *"The political 'turnabout' of May 1977 exposed the ideological disarray of the kibbutz movement for all to see – but in fact the kibbutz movement has been in an ideological quandary since the establishment of the state ... the unceremonious toppling of the Labor regime suddenly exposed the kibbutz movement to the true extent of its ideological isolation both within the Israeli Labor Movement and within the Israeli public at large".*

With the advent of a right wing government, the weakening "marriage of convenience" between kibbutz and the government establishment ended. The kibbutzim did not internalize this fact and related to the new reality as a temporary aberration. The "ideological anemia", a term coined in the late Seventies by Stanley Maron of Kibbutz Maayan Zvi, also made the kibbutz movement vulnerable to the inflationary policies ('cheap' money) pursued by the new government in order to fuel development. Borrowing money at negative rates of interest because of inflation came to an abrupt end in 1985. The kibbutz movement had over extended itself and there was no realistic relation between its assets and its accumulated liabilities. (Daniel Rosolio dealt with the subject at this conference.) The kibbutz debt became so great that it threatened the stability of the kibbutz's creditors, including the major banks in the country. The humiliating negotiations for a bailout of the movement with an indifferent and sometimes hostile government devalued the kibbutz image even further in the eyes of the public. The effect of the ideological vacuum compounded by the economic crisis has characterized the kibbutz movement for the past fifteen years.

## 8. Perspective and prognosis

The kibbutz movement is down but it is not yet out. From the point of view of the international communal movement, the semi-privatization of the majority of the kibbutzim simply aligns those kibbutzim with the majority of contemporary communities in the communal movement. The majority of these communities are not collective. Of course, those kibbutzim that have opted for more privatization, including the registration of residential property in the name of the individual are really, in this author's opinion, in a gray area.

Unfortunately, the above observation while true is probably not relevant. After all, the cardinal success of the kibbutz in its heyday was the impact of its vision (and the partial acceptance of that vision) by a majority within the surrounding society – including the elected government.

It is in this sense that there is no historic parallel in modern history between the kibbutz movement and other communal movements. The particular historical circumstances that

led to the partial realization of messianic cultural Zionism were specific to the impact of modernity in Judaism and the emergence of the Zionist movement. The kibbutzim were at the epicenter of this phenomenon – both as a means for political Zionism and as an end, exemplifying a particular option within cultural Zionism. The kibbutzim had a vision and saw themselves as instruments of Jewish Zionist destiny. Even though their daily life was bereft of many material comforts – life on the kibbutz had meaning. It is the internal loss of vision which has lead to an emphasis of life in the here and now and on the material, neo-liberal norms of contemporary western society. "Where There is No Vision, the People Become Unruly" (Proverbs 29:18).

**9. Against the stream – the unknown future**

There are three identifiable foci within the kibbutz movement which may have the potential for sparking modest renewal.

**9a. The collective stream**

Some 80 kibbutzim are still collective. Of these, 28 are formally affiliated with the cooperative stream of the kibbutz movement. Its goals are:

> i) To ensure the continuation of the cooperative ideal and its implementation in changing conditions.
> ii) To help kibbutzim and kibbutz members to maintain a cooperative way of life.
> iii) To function as successful partnerships and to provide a living example of a way of life based on the principles of the equal value of all members and their equal contributions as well as comprehensive mutual aid.

As a member of Kibbutz Lotan, which is one of the kibbutzim affiliated with the collective stream, this author has attended a number of the collective stream's meetings. Is the stream a rear-guard action or a harbinger of a possible future? The question remains open. There is currently (2004) a good deal of internal tension in the kibbutz movement between the collective stream and the privatizing kibbutzim. In the opinion of this author, as of this writing, the collective stream has been mainly reactive. It has not yet proactively formulated a Zionist vision for the Twenty First century.

> See this author's presentation at this conference: Case Study: Kibbutz Lotan: Eco-Zionism and Kibbutz.

**9b. The orthodox kibbutz movement**

Of the 260 kibbutzim in Israel, 15 are organized within the framework of the Kibbutz Dati – the religious kibbutz movement. Significantly, the Kibbutz Dati did not partake in the financial adventurism of the early Eighties. Thus it avoided economic crisis. They serve as a control example that the economic crisis was preventable.

A majority of the religious kibbutzim are collective. Their concept of community was always based on their interpretation of Orthodox Judaism rather than on an interpretation of socialism. While most (not all) of the orthodox kibbutzim are economically stable,

their potential outreach is limited to those who observe Orthodox Judaism. Their youth is very much affected by two totally opposed tendencies. On the one hand, they are affected by radical nationalist orthodoxy (the 'Land of Israel' movement), which opposes a Palestinian State. On the other hand, many decide to leave Orthodox Judaism. The internal tension within the movement limits it potential even more.

**9c. The new urban kibbutz framework**

The first urban kibbutz, Tammuz, was established in the development town of Beth Shemesh in 1985. Its founding members were predominately second-generation kibbutz members who rejected their veteran home kibbutzim because they felt that they were no longer relevant to Israeli society. Today a few hundred young people live in such urban kibbutzim. All are engaged in some type of educational outreach as part of their economic program. The Israeli youth movements are attempting to organize their graduates in such settlement groups.

**Conclusion**

As Yaakov Oved, founder of the International Communal Studies Association noted in his closing address at the Eighth International Conference "There will always be those who seek to realize the communitarian vision. This is also true for Israel".

The open question remains: Will those communities who are going "against the stream" succeed in generating a cultural Zionist vision (or visions) that will impact significantly Israeli society?

The ancient Hebrew sages said:
"Everything is foreseen; but free will is given". (Ethics 3:19)

## 3.2 Youth movements and the search for community

# Idealists in search of the commune

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**Abstract**

For more than a decade, the creation of communal groups in Israel has escalated into an expanding phenomenon, particularly for young people in various locations in Israel, particularly in under-privileged suburbs.

The research presented here focused on seven communes, exploring members` motives and intentions, and daily life as a commune or at least as an intentional community.

Content analysis formed the research method, based on in-depth interviews with several members from each commune as well as a comprehensive discussion in an open meeting of all members in each commune.

The four main findings of this research are:
1. This phenomenon, among others, is an expression of the stage of liminality and role-moratorium in the life of these youngsters, as a stage to adulthood.
2. Their motives are a combination of expressive and instrumental ones.
3. The majority of members in these communes are inner-directed individualists with an altruistic tendency, in contrast to selfish and other-directed individualists.
4. These communes are an expression of anti-globalization and anti-capitalistic trends in the contemporary western world.

For nearly a decade, in various locations in Israel, particularly in under-privileged suburbs, many communes and intentional communities have been founded by young people in their early twenties. The sum of members in each commune ranges from less than ten to approximately fifteen to twenty members. Many of these communes and communities were established by graduates of Youth Movements and kibbutz youngsters who did not accept the process of change and privatization surfacing in the 'traditional' kibbutz, and also criticized and rejected the capitalist methods that are spreading throughout and dominating the Israeli economy and society. These changes in the kibbutzim and in society at large, manifest the changes occurring in Israel, as it moves from an idealistic, cohesive and collective-oriented society to a cynical, egoistic individual-oriented society.

This research focuses on seven communes, a sample taken from dozens of communes. Members motivations and intentions are explored, as well as the daily life as a commune or at least as an intentional (small) community. Fifty youngsters are living in these 7 communes – 27 women and 23 men.

Content analysis formed the research method based on in-depth interviews with several members from each commune and a comprehensive discussion in an open meeting of all members in each commune.

These young people are not only living a life style opposed to what is expected to be 'suited' to the surrounding conditions and zeitgeist, but rather are a type of individual whose values are completely different. Their life style is based upon collectivism under conditions of material modesty – out of both choice and necessity, commitment to the mission-service through social and public involvement, openness to the other and a great measure of altruism. These are sensitive young people, aware of public issues, living collectively and idealistic. The types of values guiding them are: universalism, generosity, spirituality, self-instruction (following Schwartz's categorization, 1994: 22-23). These motivating values are substantively opposed to the prevailing values of today in western society. From here arises their awareness that they must oppose the current: if they don't succeed to divert the direction of the main stream, at least they will not be dragged along with it. In this way they are parallel to some extent to groups of young people in western society whose 'rebellion', claims Glass (1993: 276), is not only against society, but also against the post-modern zeitgeist, which harms the individual (quoted by Cote, 2000:196). Glass argues that many individuals become more and more dependent on others' opinions, and today, many are confused, with less knowledge about the past, with a hedonistic and instrumental orientation toward the present and little awareness/sensitivity toward the future (Glass, 1993: 92). The young people of the communes that are presented here are the reverse of this.

**Motivation:** The motivations of these young people involve a combination of expressive and instrumental factors. The instrumental factors have two directions: inward – their group, realization of a collective way of life; and outward - the general society – taking on service to improve or change society. A member of one of the communes explained tersely the reason for his joining the commune and in this way summarized everyone

else's motives:

*"The reason why I am in the group is divided into a number of levels:*
*1 The security that the group offers me – I am not alone on my journey".* {This is an expression of individualism that comprises an affinity to the collective: a combination of expressive and instrumental motives}*;*
*2 My mission, the way in which I want to change the world: I think that the group is an alternative to a society that I do not agree with."* {Commitment and criticism of society; instrumentality};
*3 "My friends live with me, and this is marvelous."*
{Intimate friendship; expressiveness}

**Individualism:** An additional and central component of these young people, who chose the commune, is individualism. The paradox, seemingly, between the individualistic personality and membership in a commune, settled by the uniqueness of individualism characterizes this social type: an altruistic and task oriented perspective, in contrast to the egotistical and pleasure-seeking orientation. This individual is not narcissistic, as Cote defines his/her counterpart individualist in Europe (Cote, 2000: 91-98); his/her choice of a collective group is not escapism, therefore he /she is involved in society and sees as his/her personal and collective task the participation and service in society.

This is a "psychological individualist", a type described by Waterman (1984) as a person with an independent identity whose self-realization, inner-directedness and behavior operates according to an inner moral command, in harmony with the needs of society that initiate integration and reciprocity of its various components. The inner/other-directed trait was proposed by Riesman (1954) as a tool to distinguish between human beings. He recommended two characteristic personality types in our time: those who behave through an other-directed method or inner-directed. Merser (1987, cited in Cote, 2000: 91) expands Riesman's concept and claims that human beings, motivated by the other are under the influence of qualities of those alongside whom they work as well as the personalities of strangers who often have an agenda determined by their own independent interests.

Having inner-directed personalities, and the altruistic orientation of each of them motivates their task directed actions, their individualism dictates the choice of mission and its character, so that it will suit the personality of each one. And the framework they have chosen – the commune – is a result of their empathy with the values of equality and the negation of the individual's alienation in society.

**Liminality and Moratorium:** All the young people in the communes exist in a condition of liminality – of being between one state and another - between leaving the definite and strict army framework (and previous to this the school and the parents' home), and before establishing themselves in a permanent location such as a commune or any other social form. For some, even continuing to belong to the present social framework that is prolonged for longer than the near future, is not at all certain. These young people have come from the stage of childhood; they are still in a youthful stage –

adolescence. They have matured, but have not yet reached the stage of adulthood.

Recognition and assistance, even the most minimal, from the systems in which these groups operate – schools, community clubs, branches of the youth movement and others – have allowed the postponement of decision-making regarding the future, and receiving the yoke of an adult 'role', in other words - role-moratorium to take place. The surrounding society does not demand that the young people rush to make their decision, because the personal needs of youth at this stage of their life journey are related to the needs of the society to be assisted by their educational services in the society.

In this study, sayings gathered from interviews and group discussions, indicate that this period of deferral in the commune fills, for many, the role expected of moratorium: offering members an opportunity to experience independent living and fulfill social roles, learning, and gaining knowledge of life in a community, personality development and formation of awareness and consciousness. Moreover, this occurs during the liminal period. The avoidance of members of the commune to determining regulations and institutionalizing authoritarian rules and standards of life organization, points to an opportunity to learn about the nature of transience and rejection of adopting stringent commitments.

Even though this involves dozens of groups and hundreds of young people, it still remains marginal in scope. If the liminal stage results from the need of youth and if the voluntary framework and life in a commune promises to be a relatively comfortable 'time-out period', how can one explain the fact that few young people have chosen this option? It seems that one answer does not offer sufficient explanation. Unquestionably the Zeitgeist has a definite influence; certainly a specific type of personality is necessary so as to go against the mainstream, to rebel against convention and to choose a collective framework during a time of extreme, egocentric individualism. Indeed, these were the conditions – the nature of the society and the distinctiveness of the altruistic individual type – that were also mentioned in the present study as an explanation of the motives of those who made the choice, even if only for the time-being, of the task-oriented, collective way of life.

**Weltanschauung:** Ideology, as a set of values and consolidated attitudes, is formulated and develops in the communes through intra-societal interaction between the groups and the surrounding social and public system. A dialectic process occurs in the groups in which the collective and task-oriented way of life influences their social and political attitudes and social theories are studied together in a distinctive manner, being consolidated into a view of the world that affects style of life and actions. Moreover, to a great extent, political-party identification amongst the members is absent. Possibly an additional expression of the period of liminality and moratorium, perhaps also abhorrence of party politics, detached from pure politics, as they believe politics ought to be.

A picture of the future as a group and personal is still missing. A final consolidation and a dynamic personal commitment to an examined style of life is still absent – this is associated, amongst most, with collective life, in a small, intimate group. The emphasis

placed on intimacy and as a result, on size, reflects the apprehension toward a large society that alienates the individual such as they recognize from the external society. They are not encouraged to imitate the example of large communes with hundreds of members, similar to the development of the older kibbutzim. A source of inspiration for the young groups are the urban kibbutzim and the new, small kibbutzim that do not develop an economic base, but rather a system of education that is their main focus and purpose and source of income.

Trepidation regarding mass society carries with it the understanding that there are also advantages to size, and from this arises the communal idea of two groups who intend to establish an educational settlement, to organize a structure that will integrate the advantages of size with preservation of the intimate group. This solution is a cluster-structure: a geographic and community unit as one, having a shared mission and an acknowledged level of collective collaboration. Within this structure will be a number of intimate organic groups that are reduced in size.

The concept of the future of a collective life within a small intimate group framework in which informal personal relationships occur, arises from the weltanschauung that is initiated and develops during the experimentation with life in a commune. This is an initial period of experience, study and training toward the stage of a mature individual.

**A Social Movement:** Criticism of the surrounding society in Israel and also outside of the Israeli circle, is expressed by all the groups. This rational judgment is accompanied by sentiments of abhorrence and disdain: the logic and emotion focus on motives that are brought to the creation of one alternative life style that is to represent a suitable model for imitation, therefore, 'stepping outside' of the immediate society and being involved in the surrounding society is a way of changing it. The major tool selected by all the groups is education – self-education through learning and communal experience, and education and instruction of youth and adult groups in the surrounding society. Education is the long-term process – the results are not immediately apparent. It is doubtful whether education and the personal example of life in a commune are sufficient to bring about substantial changes in society.

Whoever wishes to shake the foundations of society and disturb the standard allocation of resources and is not satisfied by demonstration and correcting weaknesses, must create a social movement that reflects a wide public stratum. These types of movements burst forth and are established when conflicts become apparent (Melucci, Cohen, Touraine, Offe). A social movement is a form of collective action based upon solidarity, bearing conflict and destroying the boundaries of the system in which its action occurs (Melucci, 1985: 795).

An examination of the positions expressed by these groups and their way of action enables one to determine that their members are involved in an ideological and value disagreement with the general society, however, they have not reached the stage of aggressive action within it and against it (in particular, their action, as it were, is 'pacifist': in the field of education). Being satisfied with offering services to the society,

in this case educational services, even if they are solving problems, it does not agitate the existing order of the society. Perhaps the opposite occurs – they prove the integration in the existing order. Moreover, in the young communes there exists a potential of conflict with the society, a necessary requirement for the creation of a social movement working toward social change.

This is not the place to prophecy the nature of such political-public-organizational development. There are parallel lines between these Israeli communes and groups active in anti-globalization movements, however the point of agreement of these groups is not demonstration and destruction, but rather construction and improvement – repair of society and recovery of the individual. The absence of a tight network of communes that determine goals and directions for the public struggle through 'recruiting' wide circles of support outside of their 'pastoral' islands does not yet permit them to be viewed as social movements that answer classic definitions. Only the buds are visible.

The great effort to maintain existence, to protect the commune and to remain dedicated to their goals, utilizes the majority of their physical and emotional energies. Therefore, it is difficult to reply to the question whether or not they will be able to stabilize into an alignment that will be able to increase the conflict, still latent in Israeli society and struggle toward profound and comprehensive social change or is the major portion of their concern to be invested in assisting the adjacent society and presenting an alternative life-style model.

It is still early to determine the fate of these communes when their members will be requested to commit themselves to continuing their efforts, after they have moved out of the liminal and moratorium stage that enabled them to delay decision-making regarding their lives in the future has ended. Only then will we know if this phenomenon will bring news of the renewal of collective communes in Israel, or is it only an example of young people's short term idealism.

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## 3.3 Communities and the future

# Transformation of qualities of communal life

# The new plans for ECU-village Almere, Netherlands


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**Abstract**

Within less than thirty years, the informal settlement Ruigoord, located in the west of Amsterdam, evolved into a livable green oasis and a cultural hotspot of the Netherlands. In the middle of the 1990s researchers from the DIOC `The Ecological City`(Delft Interfacultary Research Institute) started to analyze the village in terms of social, spatial and environmental qualities. By this time the village had been under attack by a company planning to expand the harbour in Amsterdam. After some time of resistance, the inhabitants of Ruigoord had to accept that they would have to leave.

Therefore, along with the study of the existing village, people of the DIOC started to support the Ruigoorders in the search for new possible locations. Finally the municipality of Almere showed interest and offered a site.

A group of the former inhabitants of Ruigoord established an association, and they officially assigned the DIOC to make the planning for a new ecological – cultural village (ECU-village). In the following year the core group of the initiative, inhabitants, researchers and architects of the DIOC went through an intense process of transferring knowledge. The aim was not to make an ultimate plan for the people, but to show all the possibilities with their advantages and disadvantages. An ECU-village has several scales such as village, cluster and building, which go along with the social structure of inhabitant, neighborhood and community. This gives a broad range of possibilities for solutions. Such as the water concept with a collective reservoir on village scale, a water purification for each cluster and measures for reduction in use at the building level.
By choosing this approach, the knowledge on which decisions are based, will stay inside the group living in the ECU-village and is available in the future process.

*1. Aerial picture of Ruigoord with destroyed green area around*

*2. Artist on the summer festival `Landjuwel`*

**The story - Historical context**

The initiative for the new ecological-cultural village in Almere started when the inhabitants of Ruigoord had to leave their village. Ruigoord was a small settlement to the west of Amsterdam, which was left by its inhabitants because of expansion plans of the harbour of Amsterdam. Due to the energy crisis in the seventies the plans were not realized. This gave an opportunity to a group of artists and free minded people, who were searching for a place. They squatted in Ruigoord in the beginning of the seventies and in the following twenty-five years the place developed into a national and international well-known cultural hotspot. The new inhabitants of Ruigoord started to build their own houses and many of them exhibited their art around the village. A lot of activities were organized in the Church, the first one not used for clerical purposes. The green in Ruigoordand the surrounding area could develop freely and gave the place its own green, natural characteristics. Ruigoord was a recreational area with high biodiversity, which attracted many visitors each weekend from Amsterdam and beyond.

In the nineties the economical situation became better and the harbour company again started to make plans for an extension with a new harbour basin. In this plans Ruigoord had to be destroyed. The fight lasted years. The inhabitants tried to safe the green area around and also their village – their living and working space.

During this struggle the inhabitants made the contact with people from the Delft Interfacultary Research Center `The Ecological City´(DIOC). In the following years the researchers analyzed the village and published their results in a rapport. This was one step in order to help the officials to understand what Ruigoord was and which qualities it had. Due to the two main aspects of the village, ecology and culture, our research team came up with the term ECU-village.

After the official decision that the people would have to leave, some of them formed a group. Together they searched for another place to start again. People of the DIOC organized workshops to get to know people's wishes, needs and dreams. They visited and analyzed potential locations and helped the group to start negotiation with the municipality of Amsterdam. Unfortunately there was little understanding from the official side, and they didn't see the potential of a settlement like Ruigoord, which combines culture with an ecological way of maintenance of the green in an unique way. In Dutch understanding there is hardly any green left in the west of the Netherlands. The dense populated urban areas put high pressure on the few green areas left. The officials want to protect the green landscape and do not allow building there. For them there is no difference between a conventional residential area and an ECU-village.

After several attempts there was no hope for a new location in Amsterdam or the surrounding area until a deputy of the municipality of Almere showed interest. Almere is a young city built in the seventies on man-made land to the east of Amsterdam. It is the fastest growing city in the Netherlands. Due to its short history, it has the image of being boring. So the municipality of Almere is open for special initiatives and they offered a spot in a green area of a big urban sprawl, which is planned.

At this time the inhabitants cooperated with the housing corporation ´Het Oosten´ [`The East`], which was willing to help them to develop the new village. The financial situation of the inhabitants has never been that strong. Beside that, it is not common in the Netherlands to buy and build a house by yourself. So the group needed a partner to realize their dream.

Together with the housing corporation the group applied for subsidies and with the money they received, the actual planning process could start. ´Het Oosten´ had the role of project leader and regulated the whole project. The DIOC was officially asked to make the urban planning and the environmental technical concept.

A period of intensive communication started. The people from DIOC decided to show the wide variety of solutions instead of taking the decision alone. Each step was considerably discussed by all parties. The people involved were to be more open and patient. This was important for several reasons.

Because an ECU-village was still not a model known by the majority, the housing company needed to understand, which principles are behind an ECU- village. Just by knowing this, they could be a real partner and help the group in the official proceedings.

On the other hand, Ruigoord was a grown place and the people already found a spatial structure they could use, when they squatted in the village. On the site in Almere there is not more than a few trees and grass. To build there required a new approach. Inhabitants needed to know why and what they wanted their ECU-village to be. The DIOC and Het Oosten could help to check if these ideas were possible to realize.

An ECU-village is a never-stopping process. It will grow and sometimes shrink. People will come and some will leave. Houses will be extended or built new, and some will be demolished. Therefore it is very important, that the knowledge behind the planning process stays deeply inside the people's minds. They needed to understand why techniques were chosen or spatial models were realized, to consciously keep them or

adapt them if necessary.

Because this project was going to be the first ECU-village planned in the Netherlands, the process was unique in many ways. Instead of an architectural office a research institute was asked to make the plans. The advantage was, that people from our research team had different backgrounds ( in architecture, urban planning, biology…). In this way the knowledge from different fields was brought together in one place. Beside that we from the DIOC already knew the group and we had done studies on Ruigoord and other communities before.

The knowledge of the three parties which were involved was a good base for the planning process: the housing company having know-how about finance and building, our research team knowing the important spatial and social principles and the group of future inhabitants having experience in communal life and self-building.

Something which often could be seen in the workshops that the DIOC organized was that people first wanted to know how and where they would build their houses. At the beginning, they are less aware of the cluster and village scale. So it is necessary to show them the different levels, the possibilities and needs to build an ECU-village.

**Qualities of Ruigoord – a base for the new ECU-village**

*Social awareness*

When the DIOC team analyzed Ruigoord, they found an interesting social structure, or the opposite of a structure – a high grade of freedom. People were used to taking action, if necessary. If something had to be done, someone would start and persuaded people to join. For all of them it was clear that the village was depending on the inhabitants` responsibility. Sunday Meetings were held in the Church in order to discuss important issues concerning Ruigoord.

The freedom to act made people free to use the space, to live and to share their creativity. In Ruigoors fantastic things could happen, because there was free space (literally and mentally).

Ruigoord stood for a special way of living and this was also what fascinated the visitors. In Ruigoord their dreams came true. Society needs these kinds of places to have a mirror for reflection. The ECU-village in Almere will be a different place, but the spirit will be similar to Ruigoord. It is going to be the experimental kitchen of Almere.

*Spatial awareness*

In the study we noticed interesting spatial solutions. The inhabitants had used the buildings of the old village, which were basically structured along the two main roads crossing in the middle of the settlement. Beside these brick houses the inhabitants built new houses by themselves. Mostly they were placed in a ´second row´, parallel with the original buildings with more distance to the roads. The plots around the houses were big and the green had grown as a visual buffer between the houses. Parts of the village were accessible by small informal paths, and generally there were restrictions for cars.

Due to their artistic background the self-built houses were in all different shapes and materials. There were caravans and constructions that were movable and easy to disassemble. The flexibility and creativity of the people reflected in the houses with

unique floor plans, perfectly fitted to the users. Often the spaces were used for living and working. This multi-functionality in use is an important characteristic of an ECU-village.

*Self-built house*

*Self-built house*

*Nature awareness*

The green areas in and around the village were maintained in an ecological way. An unwritten code was that nothing was built higher than the trees. The green principle determined the size of things in the village.

On a greater scale the nature of Ruigoord formed a connection among other green areas around Amsterdam. An ECU-village has the potential to be an ecological link for plants and animals.

*Ecological awareness*

Due to the improvised character of some technical solutions, people were more aware of the water and energy they used. They didn't treat them as commodities. The inhabitants knew the connection between the uses of biodegradable cleaning soap, necessary for the survival of the plants in the waterways, which kept the water quality high. The people in Ruigoord saw themselves as a part of nature. Recycling and taking care of their surroundings was a part of common sense.


*Urban plan Alminde, DIOC*

**Almere – the new site**

In the West of Almere a big urban sprawl is planned, called ´Almere Hout´. The new ECU-village is going to be a part of it. The site is located in a green band along a canal crossing the whole area. A part of the green stroke was planned by an artist and is called the green cathedral. Characteristics of the landscape are straight lines and long view axis.

The site, which was offered to the ECU-village group is 9 ha (22 acres). It is the shape of a pentagon. A broad canal runs along the south edge. On the land are four woodlands with poplar, oak and fir trees, originally planted to raise the quality of the soil. In the middle of the site is a small waterway to transport the groundwater to the canal. In general the groundwater level is very high in this area. This causes problems to heavy and deep constructions. The site is flat and until now in agricultural use.

Generally the site doesn't have obvious characteristics at the moment. In terms of natural quality it lacks biodiversity.

**In process**

*With the municipality*

The urban planning department of the municipality made several restrictions. They were afraid that the ECU-village would be a closed community with anarchic tendencies. For their planners, bike routes guaranteed public access. For the rest, the village had to hide behind the existing trees because the site was next to an important access road for the new urban sprawl.

Due to these problems the housing company chose not to involve the municipality in the early stage of the planning. They decided to present the results to the officials when the internal process was in advanced state. The planning was an internal process among the housing company, the ECU-village group and us researchers. This strategy went together with our ideas to discuss all the important aspects and to make decisions together with the

group. An early participation of the municipality would have asked much more explanation and it would have been more difficult to keep the focus on the needs and wishes of the future inhabitants.

*With the planning team*

Before the actual planning the researchers tried to find out what wishes and needs the future inhabitants had. They again wanted to have a central area like the Church in Ruigoord, with bigger spaces to organize events and to expose their arts. Also workshops were needed and other people wanted to integrate their studios in the private houses. In comparison with Ruigoord, this time, sustainability was one of the main issues. This had to lead to alternative environmental technical solutions fitting the way of living of the people.

The housing corporation, Het Oosten, was responsible for the financial side of the project. They tried to calculate the monthly costs that people would need to pay. For many of them this was a crucial factor, to enable them to join the project.

As part of the process the group searched for a name of their new place and came up with ALMINDE. This refers to ´all mind´, the open spirit of the people.

**Alminde - The urban plan**

One result of our studies at the DIOC is, that there are several scales which have to be taken into account during planning: the private house, the clustering which it is part of, the communal scale with a clear center and the region around, which the ECU-village will interact with.

In the planning process we showed the possible solutions for each scale. Together we decided that there should be a center at the north edge of the site providing space for the inhabitants to work and to expose. This area would be the main contact point between the inhabitants and the visitors. The idea also was to keep the big flux of people visiting, away from the more private areas. In the village in principal everything would be accessible for the public, but through different ways of materialization and dimensions people would feel the grade of privacy of an area. For example, the paths through the site would become smaller and less visible to where they lead. Through this visitors will hesitate to use this paths.

The scale in between the building and the village level – the clustering – should bring people together who share certain interests. There are examples as a certain way of building, or social interaction, like having kids and watching them together or sharing a business. Each inhabitant will have different circles he or she is part of – beside their own family, his direct neighbors and thematic groups of the village. Possibilities for interaction have to be in balance with individual space.

The houses would mainly be built by the people themselves. The experience of Ruigoord times will help. For inhabitants not able or interested to construct their own home, the housing corporation will provide basic structures, which will be filled in individually. For the buildings there are few restrictions in height and expansion, aiming for the same modest spirit as Ruigoord. Recycling and growing housing types will be found. The artistic backgrounds of the inhabitants will guarantee a diverse picture.

As in Ruigoord, nature will be provided with lots of freedom. There are people wanting to work with permaculture, which will be a good way of raising the biodiversity of the place and together with this, the visual qualities of the green. Again the green will be an important factor for privacy regulation. An example of the multi-functionality of the ECU-village will be the water system, providing water for the household, spatially structuring the site, offering recreation areas also for visitors and providing good conditions for animals and plants.

**Alminde - The environmental technical plan**

Also for the technical part of the project the DIOC made overviews for the solutions for each scale. It was important to let the people know the connection not only among the scales, but also between social, spatial and technical aspects. The technical solutions also will have a direct effect for comfort that people would have in their living and working space. A clear decision was that there would be no connection to the conventional sewage system. Composting toilets would be used instead. Another radical idea was to collect rainwater and to use it for the households. Drinking water will be provided in bottles from a central spot, connected to the public water-net. This concept asks certain behavior and knowledge of the inhabitants.

Wind turbines and solar panels will provide electricity, which will be ´stored´ in the public electricity-net, because the available batteries at the market now are not very efficient and give problems with toxic waste later. Also the inhabitants decided to be more radical with the water concept, but they wanted to avoid shortage of electricity. Energy for heating has to be solved at the building level with passive principles or heat pumps on the cluster scale.

**State of affairs in 2004**

After running through all the scales and aspects, the DIOC made a booklet summing up the results and explaining the urban concept. With this material the group opened further discussions with the municipality in order to make them understand the phenomenon of an ECU-village. As a result of the intensive process before, both of the people from the housing company and the people of the ECU-village knew enough to explain and to argue with the officials.

For communication with new people interested to join the ECU-village, it also was helpful that the knowledge about all the scales and solutions was deep inside the group.

In this sense the aim of the DIOC was reached. It was that the future inhabitants will know the important principles, and this provides a base for the future process, because an ECU-village is never finished but is an on-going, living process.

**Conclusions**

In the beginning of an ECU-village project one or more persons take the initiative. All their ideas and wishes are the base of the communal vision (which can be spiritual, ecological, cultural or another aspect or combination). Their abilities and their will are the motor of the process. This core group has to guard the aims of the process, but also must be open for suggestions. This is a vulnerable equilibrium.

There are also inhabitants of Ruigoord who like the foresight of a new ECU-village, but

are not taking part in the planning process. The complexity and the duration of the process do not fit for these practical people who are used to acting directly and spontaneously. They would prefer to start living at a place before (re)building the whole village.

Depending on the knowledge within the group, they need help from different specialists (lawyers, planners etc.) to realize the project. In the case of Alminde the group had no members who were architects or environmental engineers. This is why they asked our interdisciplinary team of the DIOC to join the planning process. Another advantage of involving external specialists is their regulating role in the group's process. Critical topics are better addressed by outsiders and future conflicts within the group can be avoided.

The officials representing the municipality mostly were landscape planners. They are used to thinking in terms of view axis and are more interested in the quality a street has for the people passing by, than for the inhabitants who live there. In their interest for access to the public space, they have difficulty in allowing people to create their own private space. Instead of a bottom-up strategy they follow a top-down approach. National regulations are based on this way of thinking and restrict local and more integrated developments.

In the planning process of the ECU-village we saw that it is necessary to have enough people to carry the ideas of the project. On the other hand it gets more complicated, if there are too many parties involved it can be difficult to keep the focus on main principles. For a good ´transportation´ of the ideas from the core group up to the officials, there needs to be a balance among the groups involved. Each profession has its own ´language´ and philosophy. So it is helpful for the process, if there are ´translators´ between the parties. The DIOC for example was the mediator between the ECU-village group (´ideal´) and the housing company (´reality´). Later on in the process the housing company negotiated with the officials and because they had adopted the ideas behind the concept, they could explain the qualities of an ECU-village.

At the end of the process all actors involved must be inspired by the same ideas and be aware of the tendency of multi-actor planning to become mediocre.

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Machiel van Dorst is environmental psychologist and environmental designer. He is in the final stage of his PhD researching sustainable and liveable neighborhoods. Both are working for the DIOC, the Delft Interfacultary Research Institute `The Ecological City`, which is now integrated in the Faculty of Architecture.

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# Living and learning centres –
# ecovillages and intentional communities as models for the future

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## Learning

Learning needs to return to its root in the whole community of people and no longer exist in separate institutions. In this way context, methods and personal development will happen all at the same time for all ages. This is a living, evolving learning system that embraces global considerations alongside local concerns. This system is geared to plant seeds for the next seven generations.

'Sustainable plus' living means putting more into the environment than we take out.
Education for sustainability has three dimensions:

- Ethical/Cultural dimension
- Ecological dimension
- Social dimension

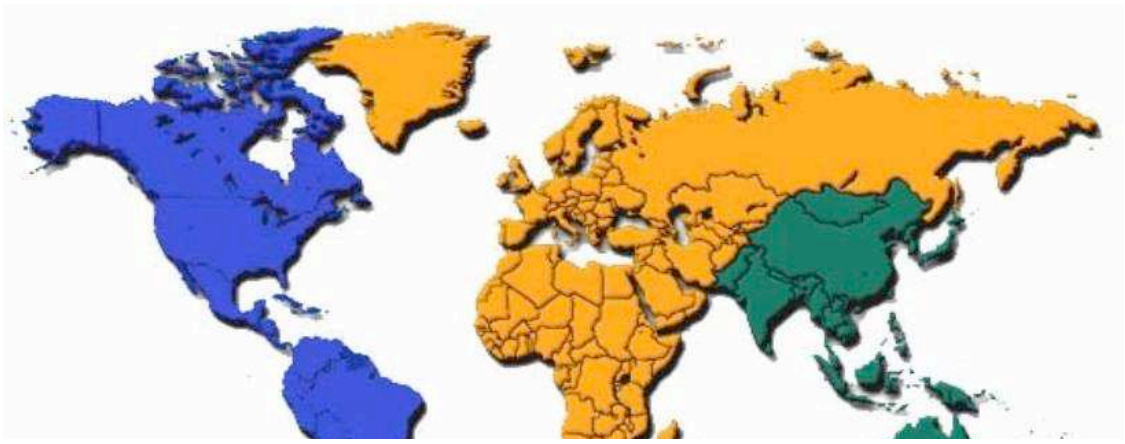
Our vision of a sane world includes:

- Land conservation and Earth restoration
- Poverty alleviation through food security
- Meaningful livelihood
- Renewable energy use
- Protecting indigenous cultures and species diversity
- Trust, truth and meaningful contexts for youth and all human beings.

## Global Ecovillage Network (GEN)

Three geographical regions (see graphic below):

- ENA Ecovillage Network of the Americas
- GEN-Europe, Middle East and Africa
- GENOA Oceania and Asia



Our Vision:
All life united in creating communities in harmony with each other and the Earth, while meeting the needs of this and future generations.

Our Mission:

- We are creating a sustainable future by identifying, assisting and coordinating the efforts of communities to acquire social, spiritual, economic and ecological harmony.
- We encourage a culture of mutual acceptance and respect, solidarity and love, open communications, cross-cultural outreach, and education by example.
- We serve as a catalyst to bring the highest aspirations of humanity into a practical reality.

GEN contributes to the worldwide transformation toward sustainability by supporting ecovillages, joining with like-minded partners, and expanding education and demonstration programmes in sustainable living.

Our objectives are to:

- Support the development of ecovillages around the world;
- Build strong international, national and regional networks of ecovillages;
- Create an organizational structure capable of linking grassroots ecovillages and projects into a strong, participatory worldwide movement;
- Develop centres worldwide;
- Promote hands-on, participatory education in sustainable living;
- Support worldwide development of whole systems and experiential learning;
- Advocate for sustainable communities in public forums;
- Partner and collaborate with organizations and people who share our vision.

**What is an ecovillage?**

An ecovillage can be seen as a modern settlement where humans live in harmony and co-operation with nature, testing new experiments, new technologies and new skills designed to create a more endurable, peaceful and diverse way of life.

The following aspects are part of ecovillage life and design:

- Celebration and ritual
- Environmentally friendly production of goods and food
- Ecologically benign jobs and working conditions
- Ecological building - creating buildings that enhance our health
- Space for personal development
- Service and education to the larger surrounding community

Ecovillages are holistic, full-featured communities with:

- Clean water
- Trust and cooperation
- Renewable energy
- Ecological building practices
- Organic agriculture
- Environmental restoration
- Healthcare
- Education
- Community-based decision-making
- Sustainable lifestyles

**Living and Learning (L&L) Centres:**

- Create local replicable models of sustainable community that provide people with a sense of belonging.
- Show people how to protect, restore, and learn from nature.
- Honour indigenous people and keep them from becoming beggars on their own land.
- Protect rural life and create new urban models.
- Show how renewable energy and effective waste systems work.
- Create partnerships and give youth a mandate.
- Encourage a child-friendly world.
- Create trust between living beings.

Living and Learning Centres are central to GEN's strategy. They are community-based demonstration and teaching centres that offer people the opportunity to come and learn about sustainable living through practical experiences that can be replicated throughout the world. They are local planetary models that can be powerful catalysts for change. See it, do it, take it home, share it with others, and recreate something new.

It's about training trainers through inspiring on-the-ground programmes because what works in one part of the world often works in another. It's not about reinventing the wheel, but creating effective new ways of working together. The challenges ahead of us require real co-operation, fast action, and deep insights.

Living and Learning Centres are just a few of many diverse sites where people in the world are living *Sustainable plus* lives and learning from each other and the environment. These models can be replicated because they are easily adaptable to different cultural and social contexts.

Living and Learning Centres are community-based education facilities to train the trainers and multipliers.

The vast variety of outreach programmes reach from business tools such as small-enterprise development and micro banking to conflict resolution, eco-tourism or spiritual transformation.

L&L models realize cross-cultural exchange programmes.

**Existing L&L Centres:**

**Auroville, India**

Auroville is a multicultural eco-city that has been endorsed by UNESCO. Programmes exist in low cost building technology and sustainable living, food security and organic farming, training in architectural applications and town planning, environmental education, seed banks, medicinal plant gardens, traditional botanical knowledge, medicine and healing. Forestry group works on land restoration and can serve as a training center for programs like the International Earth Restoration Corps.

Auroville dream:
There should be somewhere upon earth a place that no nation could claim as its sole property, a place where all human beings of goodwill, sincere in their aspiration, could live freely as citizens of the world, obeying one single authority, that of the supreme Truth; a place of peace, concord, harmony, where all the fighting instincts of man would be used exclusively to conquer the causes of his suffering and misery, to surmount his weakness and ignorance, to triumph over his limitations and incapacities; a place where the needs of the spirit and the care for progress would get precedence over the satisfaction of desires and passions, the seeking for pleasures and material enjoyments.

In this place, children would be able to grow and develop integrally without losing contact with their soul. Education would be given, not with a view to passing examinations and getting certificates and posts, but for enriching the existing faculties and bringing forth new ones. In this place titles and positions would be supplanted by opportunities to serve and organize.

**Crystal Waters, Australia**

Permaculture design; environmental restoration, and community work. UN Habitat Award winning ecovillage features housing in rammed earth, pole structures, mud brick, domes, and straw bale. Demonstration sites exist for water harvesting, waste water use, rainwater collection, swales, dams, artificial wetlands, biolytic treatment, compost toilets, stand-alone and grid connected solar power systems, heat pumps, cell grazing, land restoration, reforestation, orchard culture, wildlife corridor and rainforest applications.

**Tlholego, South Africa**

Tlholego is a Swetsana word meaning ‘creation.’ It is a small, rural Living and Learning community that offers certification courses in permaculture, sustainable building

technology, and ecovillage design incorporating local African traditions. Programmes are being planned to train trainers in science, solar technology, biology, sanitation, herbs, ecology and household food security, in order to respond to the growing challenge of prosperity and poverty living side by side.

**Eco-Yoff, Senegal**

A sub-urban community development programme that protects natural resources and village wisdom, insures long-term survival, and alleviates poverty. It includes preserving mangrove ecosystems, wastewater recycling, solar cookers, conflict resolution, and micro-enterprise ecotourism.

Endorsed by the Senegal Ministry of the Environment and the UNESCO Chair of the Environment at the University of Dakar.

**Findhorn, Scotland**

It includes holistic education, an annual EV training programme, permaculture workshops, courses in personal development, spirituality, arts and crafts.

Ot has an organic CSA scheme, its own currency and bank, uses renewable energy systems (solar, wind and biomass), and recycles waste. Findhorn includes community-based enterprises, and is creating a village of eco-sensitive houses. Findhorn promotes an ethic of voluntary simplicity.

**ZEGG, Germany**

Centre for Experimental Society Design, sharing a common idea of peace, free love and sustainable living. Organic gardening, permaculture design, arts, social communication, conflict resolution, strategies for peace, environmentally sustainable enterprises. Summer camps offer courses on everything from child rearing to countering global consumerism and resolving planetary crises.

**Damanhur, Italy**

A community with its own currency, a diverse social structure, the temple of mankind, many successful businesses, organic farms, solar installations, experiential school for children. It offers courses in the healing arts, communication, personal and spiritual transformation, community building, and the arts, especially in mosaics, ceramics, painting, tiffany glass work, and weaving. There is research in fields such as color therapy, plant response to music, and subtle body acupuncture. Work exchange programs exist, especially on Damanhur’s farms.

**The Farm, USA**

In Tennessee since 1971; a low-cost, high satisfaction community living and self-reliance community. Examples of solar building design, micro-enterprise, large-scale composting, food production, regenerative hardwood forest management.
Ecovillage Training Centre and Outreach programs in Central and South America. The goal is: Biodiversity, with human as part of nature.

**Tamera, Portugal**

Is peace possible? The Experiment 'Monte Cerro'. From May 01, 2006 until April 30, 2009, 200 people from different parts of the earth - women and men, children and youth, scientists and artists – will begin a future experiment in Portugal. 134 hectares of land are available for this.

The goal is to establish a pilot model that could give an answer to the ecological and political themes of our time as well as to the human themes of community, trust and love. What does it mean to live in community nowadays? Not only a community with human beings, but also a community with plants, animals and all beings.

**Another World is possible – be part of the solution!**

We can transform the world if we set our energy to doing it. Our modest efforts multiplied many thousands of times over will make for a better and healthier planet.

GEN affiliated Universities:
University of Dakar, University of Washington, Cornell University, University of Madras, Ithaca College, Pacific Lutheran University, University of New Hampshire, Kalamazoo College, University of Brasilia, University of Colorado, Environmental University of Curitiba, and others.

Awards by ecovillage associates include:
Rolex Honorary Environmental Mention,
The Gandhi Prize,
The Ashoka Award for Enterprise,
The United Nations Best Practices Award.

Welcome to the Future!
It is possible that the next Buddha will not take the form of an individual. The next Buddha may take the form of a community - a community practicing understanding and loving kindness, a community practicing mindful living. This may be the most important thing we can do for the survival of the Earth. Thich Nhat Hanh

# Closing Address

# Globalization of communes
# A farewell address

**Professor Yaacov Oved**
**ICSA Executive Director**

Communes and intentional communities are today a global phenomenon and can be found, in their various forms, in most countries of the world. Fifty years ago, there was no such reality.

A review of the history of communes in the 20th century reveals two separate periods: Up to the years of World War Two it was a history of sporadic local phenomena in various countries, with no significant relationships. The second period, which began after World War Two, reveals a phenomenon which I define as the globalization of the communal communities.

Before continuing with my review of the globalization processes in the communes, I would like to address the term "globalization" which in the 1990s was accorded negative connotations following the struggle of the anti-globalization movements against the worldwide hegemony of the monopolies of the wealthy powers and great capitalist societies. Extensive literature has been written rejecting the negative connotation while highlighting the positive aspect of globalization.

Antony Giddens in his book, The Third Way, The Renewal of Social Democracy (1998), writes:

*"Globalization is a complex series of processes driven by political and economic influences. It changes everyday life, especially in the developed countries… In an overall view globalization changes the institutions of the society in which we live. In essence, it does not focus only, or even mainly, on economic interdependence, but on a conceptual change in time and space in our lives.*

*There is a groundswell of globalization from below involving many millions of ordinary people as well as organized groups of all kinds. An infrastructure of global civil society is being built by these changes."*

John Keane In his seminal work, Global Civil Society (2003), addresses this and claims that:

*"Global civil society is an ideal type. It refers to a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions, individuals, households, and social movements that extend throughout the whole world.*

*The global civil society is a network of autonomous associations that responsibility-laden*

*citizens voluntarily create to address common problems, advance shared interests and promote collective aspirations.*

*Action takes place at multiple levels… using advanced means of communication like the Internet. […] The communications revolution and the dissemination of information technology are closely linked to globalization processes."*

As to the span of time, he states:

*"The impact of the global civil society became significant in the aftermath of the Second World War. Since then there was an impressive growth of International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO)."*

I seek to argue here that globalization in the world of communes and communal communities constitutes an integral part of this globalization and has developed parallel to it, and that the processes in the communes began in the aftermath of World War Two, similar to the developments in the world as a whole.

These processes took place on several levels:

1. In a bottom-up development influenced by social groups and movements that acted simultaneously;

2. In a top-down process directed by research institutions and federative associations;

3. Under the influence of the media – the press and television; literature and ramified means of transport;

4. Under the influence of the Zeitgeist that sought the integration of individual liberty and community responsibility, which is spreading throughout the Western world, especially after the collapse of communism.

I shall restrict myself to a review of the beginnings of globalization until the mid-1980s, when international associations with which we are all familiar came into being, and whose development I see no point in reviewing in the present forum.

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From the 1950s, initiatives were commenced for the establishment of communal communities that crossed the borders of the countries in which they appeared. This was particularly notable in the pacifist communes after the end of World War Two. This trend was seen in the United States in 1948 with the establishment of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities. The membership of this association comprised communal communities of various types whose common denominator was pacifism and the desire to show the postwar world that they represented a path towards communities of peace and

harmony. Although the organization took place in the United States, the trend was international and embodied openness to the participation of communes outside the United States. Testimony of this can be found in the fact that Bruderhof representatives from Paraguay and kibbutz members from Israel took part in these meetings. During those years there were also pacifist communes in other countries, like Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia, and they had international contacts. Volunteers from Holland, England and Germany joined Riverside in New Zealand. The Bruderhof in Paraguay welcomed new members from Great Britain, the United States, Argentina and Uruguay.

After World War Two, The Group Farming Research Institute was established in the United States with the objective of international research into the situation of cooperative and communal settlements. At first the Institute engaged in the study of communes and cooperative settlements in America, and by the 1950s it extended its scope of research to communal communities throughout the world. The Institute's activities and publications advanced international cooperation between scholars engaged in the study of cooperation and communes. In 1949 the Institute launched its journal, "Cooperative Living", edited by the sociologist Henrick Infield. The journal's objective was to provide information on different communal communities throughout the world, such as communes and agricultural cooperatives in America, kibbutzim in Israel, the Ejido Colectivo in Mexico, and the kolkhozes in Russia.

During those years there were also additional international initiatives undertaken by various communes. Great Britain of the 1950s saw the establishment of the anthroposophical Camphill communities as communes combining a special needs population with a regular population in accordance with the teachings of Rudolf Steiner. From the 1960s onward these communities became a world movement and by the 1990s it encompassed some 100 communities in 20 countries.

In postwar continental Europe, the Boimondeau 'production community' was established in France, and its influence affected the organization of similar communities in other Western European countries, like Switzerland, Germany and Belgium.

The 1960s were the years in which these international linkages were expanded, deepened and reached global proportions. It is worthy of mention that, as opposed to the commonly accepted belief that the beginnings were in the United States, the initiatives for international relations actually began in Japan. In the early 1960s, relations were developed between people who initiated communes in Japan, and the kibbutz movement in Israel, which was a source of inspiration for them. These relations were initiated by the industrialist Noboyushi Tezuka and Professor of Education Zenzo Kusakari, who founded the Japanese Kibbutz Association and organized delegations of young Japanese to the Israeli kibbutz movement. These initiatives did not bring about the establishment of kibbutzim or a stable commune movement in Japan, yet a center was established that sought contacts with world communes.

There can be no doubt that the most significant development in the globalization of communes took place in the United States in the late 1960s, with the waves of protest of

youngsters and students. This social protest brought in its wake the hippie communes that constituted the biggest wave of communes in the modern era. This wave that began in the United States immediately spread to Great Britain, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

In the 1970s communes appeared in most European countries. Europe of that time had a similar background to the United States. In the communes established there the predominant way of life was one of a 'counter culture'. In the countries of Western Europe there were communes that bore a similarity to the radical wave of the hippie communes, and later, differences particular to each country were created. In general in the countries of continental Europe the political radical element was stronger that in the United States.

From the global point of view the most significant expansion took place in Australia, where there was a background similar to that in the United States, which included opposition to the war in Vietnam, the counter culture and the bands of hippies. All these were later joined by the New Age teachings that were presented at the "1973 Aquarius Conference" that was also attended by New Zealanders. It should be noted that the Age of Aquarius was presented as a global change that would herald a new era of peace and amity.

Although the wave of hippie communes waned in the mid-1970s, it did not entirely disappear. The world was then a global village thanks to modern communications and television that spread word of the communes. The communes' and other alternative groups' underground press was also a source of information on communes throughout the world.

It was at this time that Richard Fairfield and photographer Consuelo Sandaval toured world communes and published a series on communes in the United States, Europe, Asia, Japan, India and Israel in a magazine called "The Modern Utopian". These series provided information on the spread of communes throughout the world in the 1970s.

In the wake of the wave of hippie communes, the literature on communes past and present expanded and spread, and important studies appeared in the early 1970s that disseminated the subject of communes. The most notable book that gained wide acclaim was 'Commitment and Community' by Rosabeth Moss Kanter. Publishing houses specializing in literature on past and present communes also appeared (such as Porcupine Press).

The 1970s saw the appearance of international initiatives by communes in the United States, Great Britain and Japan, whose objective was to establish international relations and also to foster an international periphery.

In 1974 'The Farm' commune from Tennessee launched an initiative of global horizons with the establishment of 'Plenty'. This enterprise was designed to aid distressed areas in the United States and throughout the world. It was in the spirit of "Out to Save the

World", which had been the commune's motto since its inception. It adorned the front of the buses that had set out in convoy eastward from San Francisco to the settlement they established on the land of Tennessee. Their greatest action on the international level was providing aid to the victims of the earthquake in Guatemala in 1976. This was followed by other such activities, so much so that "The Farm" people were dubbed "The Hippie Peace Corps".

In the 1970s, the Findhorn commune in Scotland that had started with a group of Britons, became a Mecca for hippie travelers and later an international spiritual center of New Age ideas. Findhorn had wide influence on the globalization of the commune idea, and later on the communes' linkage to ecology and 'sustainability'. Findhorn hosts annual international conferences and in recent years established an international institute that gives courses on a variety of subjects in the spheres of community life and ecology.

In France of the 1970s the Longo Mai movement was founded that set itself Pan-European objectives and later established a commune in Costa Rica. In 1958 the Yamagishi Kai commune movement was founded in Japan, and later expanded to establish settlements in various countries several years later.

1972 saw the first appearance of the "Communities" magazine which in its format, the scope of its distribution and its avowed objective of bringing the word of the communes to the general public, constituted a significant turnabout in the style and character of the magazines and newspapers that the communes had published in the past. It also contained the 'Directory' section, which in time became a superb guide that disseminated up-to-date information on world communes.

A year later, the "Commumanity" magazine was founded in Japan and was active until 1985, publishing 60 issues that were stencil-printed. Its avowed intention was to provide information on communes in Japan for interested communitarians and for this reason it was published in English. At the same time it became a platform for the publication of information on world communes in general, and the kibbutz movement in particular. In early 1976 it published the manifesto of "The Communal Movement for Decentralization", which was formulated and written at two conferences held in northern Italy in 1975, with participants from different countries. The various issues of this magazine contained information on the International Association of Alternative Communes in Europe, whose vision was the establishment of a decentralist society of communal communities. The 'Centre Communautaire Internationale' was headquartered in Brussels. The association forged links with various communities in Europe and had the idea of using Esperanto for intercultural communication. This movement disappeared a few years later.

The spread of communes throughout the world in the 1970s raised the need and desire for constant relations between them. The forming of international relations began at the end of the 1970s, and between 1979 and 1985 six international commune festivals were held. The first was at the Laurieston Hall commune in the north of Scotland and was attended by 100 commune members from 16 European countries, Canada, the United States, Japan

Australia and Israel. Its organizers assessed its contribution thus: “The world commune movement has taken its first big step here towards global cooperation.” Following the festival, the “International Communes Network” was formed, which had cells in 15 countries. In the wake of the festival further annual conferences were held annually in Europe, in Denmark in 1981, Belgium in 1982, in 1983 again at Laurieston Hall in Scotland, and in Holland in 1984.

In 1976 in Israel, the ‘International Communes Desk’ was formed on the initiative of Mordechai Bentov, a kibbutz movement veteran, who set up wide-ranging relations with commune members worldwide, and to this end began publishing the “International Communes Desk Newsletter”. Its purpose was to maintain contacts between secular communes. This bulletin appeared continuously between 1976 and 1985. Bentov established a committee for relations between the kibbutz movement and communes worldwide. The relations that developed expanded Bentov’s information on communes and strengthened his belief in the need to create a world movement with an overall social mission. As a result of his contacts, visits to the kibbutz movement by members of American communes began to take place and influential relations were formed with Twin Oaks and the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. Mordechai Bentov fostered a vision of the establishment of an International Organization of world communes that would advance the realization of socialism, and to this end in 1981 he initiated an international conference of communes that took place in Israel. He hoped that from this conference would come a call to establish the Internationale, but its participants did not rise to his initiative and even dampened his enthusiasm. Following the conference this idea waned and disappeared, and only the International Communes Desk founded by Bentov continues to maintain international contacts to this day.

The history of international relations efforts between 1979 and 1985 expressed a social need for get-togethers in which the atmosphere was spontaneous and informal, and which were designed to raise morale and form interpersonal and inter-communal relations. After six years of such assemblies at international festivals, the commune membership came to the realization that this form of contact had run out of steam. In the 1980s, new paths towards international cooperation opened up.

The independent organization of and by communes came to an end in the 1980s with the founding of the ICSA, which served as a common platform for researchers, academics, kibbutzim and communes the world over, thus opening new horizons for international relations with the increased academic interest in communes on a global scale. Even the sister association, the CSA, which was a home for American researchers, was from its inception open to membership and participation of researchers from outside the United States.

In the 1990s a new dynamic of international relations appeared, with the consolidation of the Fellowship for Intentional Communities, whose declared objective was to be inclusive in international dimensions, despite its being based in the United States. Its publications, ‘The Directory’ and ‘Communities Magazine’, made an important contribution to international influence. The communes’ international contacts became

more extensive with the appearance of the 'Global Ecological Network' and 'Cohousing'. And so, at the beginning of the 21st century the communes and communal communities are progressing along a broad, firm global path.

I have chosen not to deal with all these recent developments of global relations in my lecture so as not to 'whistle in the wind' for this audience.

This lecture is my farewell address and I permit myself to conclude it on a personal note that is, however, linked to its subject. I am an Israeli kibbutz member who for twenty-five years has been engaged in the study of communes in America and throughout the world. One could ask what led me to this endeavor?

In 1949, together with a group of my fellows, I participated in the establishment of a new kibbutz on the shores of the Mediterranean. From the day I became a kibbutz member I was beset by the question of whether we had partners in the communal way of life elsewhere in the world. Since then my curiosity has led me to research, study and seek other communes throughout the world. But the demands of a young kibbutz and the kibbutz movement in the 50s did not allow me to follow this interest and diverted me to other pursuits: as an agricultural worker, youth leader, high school teacher, until finally, at the age of 40, I went to university where I completed my studies, wrote my doctoral dissertation (that was totally unrelated to communes), and afterwards joined the faculty of the History Department.

It was only 30 years later, in 1979, that I returned to the subject that had aroused my intellectual curiosity in the early days of the kibbutz, and started to be engaged in the study of communes. I decided to begin with communes in the United States that I saw as the biggest concentration of historical and contemporary communes. This subject became my principal field of research and teaching. In my first steps in research I came to the United States to search for material from the communes' archives, and quite by chance I discovered the American association that was holding its annual conference in Omaha, Nebraska. This encounter was a milestone on my academic path and led me to the decision to devote my energies to establishing an international association, the ICSA, in 1985. The rest is not biography, but the history of ICSA.

I have mentioned these personal aspects because I view them as a typical expression of the existing need among commune members to seek global horizons and to buttress the way of life of the small community in which they live. This search is not purely an individual need, but rather expresses a spiritual world with global horizons that exists in members of communes.

There is a need to be conscious of this spiritual world and nurture it, for it can make a significant contribution in various spheres: learning from the experience of others, lessons from failures, drawing encouragement from successes, and most importantly, in the interaction between the different experiences. It helps to move away from the parochialism and esotericism of life in isolated communes and enables the broadening of their perspectives. Recognition of its global scope accords security deriving from the fact

that this is something experienced by many people from different backgrounds throughout the world.

The ICSA, an international forum for the study of communes and dissemination of information on them, can make an important contribution to achieving the objectives I mentioned earlier.

The uniqueness of the ICSA is that it is not a purely professional organization, but rather an association of researchers and commune members who have an interest in research. And in the field of research it is becoming increasingly clear that we are discussing a phenomenon bearing significance to humankind. Hence there is room for a sense of mission in the association as a body fostering not only research, but also a way of life. This is the mission that our association must take upon itself. It is a mission that must be continued.

I have served as the executive director of the association for twenty years with the sense of mission and the commitment to consolidate its existence. I feel that today the association has gained a solid position among its membership, and now time has come for me to retire.

This is an opportunity to thank all my colleagues with whom I had the privilege to collaborate in all these enriching years. It was an experience of friendships, stretching beyond geographical distance and national boundaries, which I shall always cherish.