INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY: AN EXPLORATION IN MAINTENANCE

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HONOR CODE UPHELD

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Collective living is not a new phenomenon. People have been living in and dependent upon community for centuries; "...the family, religious association, and local community... cannot be regarded as the external products of man's(sic)1. thought and behavior; they are essentially prior to the individual and are the indispensible supports of conduct" (Nisbet:1962). Community is the basis from which we derive as individuals; it is a necessity.

These social institutions have in the modern world been subsumed under the state and replaced by the market. This process has served only to detach the individual from them. The modern day is characterized by a strong sense of individuality (as opposed to a more community oriented consciousness) and a false sense of power. One way in which we have learned to describe this state of being is through alienation and anomie. These represent our experiences of helplessness, meaninglessness and most importantly, dislocation from other human beings.

Conversation in regards to the disintegration of the role of the family and other such communities and the increasing phenomenon of anomie, centers around the obvious malfunctioning of the state in its attempt to replace these roles. "The dislocations and deprivations that have driven so many men .. to the quest for community..lie in the realm of the small, primary, personal relationships of society- the relationships that mediate between man and his larger world.."(Nisbet:1962). The state cannot fulfill the function of the local community; this disjuncture is a root manifestation of alienation.

The role of the market also functions to produce a state of alienation. It has attempted to replace many of the community's functions. Employers offer substitutes for health care, leisure and even, in some cases, group solidarity. The attempt falls short. Because workers are alienated from the product, the process of production itself and from other workers, the market cannot adequately replace local community institutions, and workers are left with unmanageable responsibilities. With this severe separation of community and workplace the individual is unable, alone, to replace the services and necessities the market has failed to provide. It is in this sense that Marx talks about alienation; it is structural. The individual is left powerless and without community, lacking the means to retrieve what's been lost and pitted against others in an attempt to survive.

Community is defined by Robert Nisbet as,

> "..the product of people working together
> on problems, of autonomous and collective
> fulfillment of internal objectives, and of
> the experience of living under codes of
> authority which have been set in large degree
> by the persons involved."(Nisbet:1962).

Therefore, within the context of community, modern alienation can be defined as "...the individual's relation to social function and social authority."(Nisbet:1962); where the individual has no real or legitimate function nor no real power. She/he is unable to authentically affect the larger social whole. The rebuilding of community depends upon a renewed sense of power and of purpose. This does not mean there is some era in the past filled with complete communal well-being, camaraderie and a total sense of purpose, which we can romanticize and rely

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on for 'solutions' merely by returning to this previous state. Rather, to focus on the present state of individualism and its disadvantages is to search out an 'alternative route' based upon resources (intellectual and physical) of <u>this</u> day and age.

> Whether or not communes become permanent entities, legitimate and institutionalized "families" and settlements, they are important to examine and experience. The assumptions they make about what is possible and desirable in social life challenge the assumptions made by other sectors of American society..they innovate with new forms of social organization, they imaginatively construct their own kind of collective being, and they strive for different and closer forms of human relationships. They attempt to repersonalize a society that they regard as depersonalizing and impersonal.(Kanter:1972)

There have been numerous experiments in recreating community, in building smaller social structures in which the individual has a "social function" and plays a role in developing "social authority". These experiments have taken many shapes and are based upon diverse intentions. The most common form of intentional re-creation of community in the United States, is the commune.

Communes have been a part the North American scene for centuries. Of course, we refer to "communes" as of European origin. The communal lifestyles of other groups of people (ie. the American Indians who lived in community for centuries and the Latin Americans who live in semi-communal settings within the United States) compose a much more complicated and larger phenomenon. The "communes" of the United States, as they have been called, are for the most part (and this has been a primary,

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historical characteristic), seen as attempts to build community separate from the larger society of which they were originally members. The "commune" or "intentional community" is an attempt to develop an alternative to the structures and institutions of the larger social whole. "Commune" (or "intentional community") is defined here as a deliberate and conscious residential living situation.

In order for intentional community to survive it must at least maintain itself over a long period of time. What are the factors which contribute to the maintenance of community? Common beliefs, intentions, world views, and common ideology2., these most definitely form a base out of which a group of people can identify an alternative lifestyle. Yet, common belief alone will not suffice to carry the community through time, "..people do not come together in significant and lasting associations merely to be together. They come together to do something that cannot easily be done in individual isolation."(Nisbet:1962). Action is an essential element of communal lifestyles. The action of an intentional community must focus outside of itself, rather than solely focus inward, concerned only with the sustenance of the group. Work in other communities, in the "outside world", will not only contribute to the social good, but will also serve to maintain the intentional community. Maintenance of the intentional community comes as a consequence, yet without an outside focus, the community is unlikely, in twentieth century cases, to survive.

The main focus of my study is to determine, in one specific

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case, the array of elements that can be understood as maintaining one particular community. I have chosen to use the Institute of Cultural Affairs/Order:Ecumenical as a case study. The community came together out of a common concern for local church in the late 1950's. They formed a residential community in Evanston, Illinois under the auspice that their intentions necessitated living together, but the focus was to be a common "mission". Initially they worked with other individuals and communities involved in local congregations through a set of courses designed to reflect on the state of the contemporary Christian church. Eventually though, in a desire to be more involved in other communities, in a more direct manner, they began working on local community development through different community organizing tactics, still as a residential community. Their work broadened internationally and the community diversified; in 1976 they turned completely secular.

As a residential community they grew from seven families in 1962 to a height of 2,500 in the early seventies. They lived together in intentional community in different locations, coming together out of a common concern for the world. The community was always meticulously structured. There were particular arrangements for everything, from mealtimes to religious or "symbolic" activities.

There were (and have always been) two main components, that of the community and that of the organization, where "community" is defined as the internal life of the commune and "organization" as the external. The community has always been defined by

members as a function of the mission, and the organization as a device of mediation between the community and the "outside world". Both elements are intentionally structured and designed to carry out a particular mission (whether that is in local church or local community).

There are a number of reasons why this case in particular has been helpful. It is one that I have found myself most familiar with through the involvement of myself and my family. In 1972 my family moved into the residential community in Minneapolis, Minnesota. My mother became a full-time facilitator for the organization and my father worked an outside job to support the community. We lived in a house with forty other people, mostly families, and participated in all community and organizational structures until 1982 when we left the residential community to live on our own. During this time, as a child growing up in the Order:Ecumenical, I also spent time in other communal arrangements, in locations separate from my family.

A short description of the community in Minneapolis may help to clarify the structure of the community and of the organization. In 1972 there were forty people living in the house. Six or seven of these members worked outside jobs to support the work of the organization, while the other adults worked on organizational programs. There were separate structures for the children, who went to public school during the day and participated in other "community" programs in the afternoons and evenings. Everyone took part in a morning ritual, mealtime rituals and daily meetings of the community.

Anoither important reason for choosing this as a case study is its characteristic of an intentional community that has focused outside of itself. The "mission" is its reason for being. The work they do takes place in or with other communities. They are working with the "outside world", which, I would hypothesize, has served to maintain them as a community for more than thirty years. It is this characteristic that is the focus of my interest and the catalyst to choosing this particular thesis topic.

My methodology has consisted of: creating a questionnaire based on the issues raised in Rosabeth Moss Kanter's book, <u>Commitment and Community:Commune in Sociological Perspective</u> and using it to interview past and present members of the ICA/Order:Ecumenical. I interviewed three different categories of people: those who are still full-fledged members of the organization, those who are no longer residential members but work full-time with organization programs, and those who are no longer residents and are not committed in any way to the organization. In order to do this I applied for and received a Venture Grant to carry out the interviews. I travelled to Phoenix, Arizona where I met with a group of ICA/O:E members who are still members of both the residential community and the organization. I travelled to Chicago where I again met with members of the full-time staff. The interviews in Chicago were important because it is there that the foundations for the community were laid. Phoenix is a comparatively new location, Chicago is laden with the history of the community and

organization. I also spent time in Minneapolis and San Francisco
with individuals who are no longer a part of the residential
community but are actively involved in organizational programs
and with those who were at one time fully involved and no longer
have any connections. I have read through archival data, ritual
data (songbooks, rituals, etc.), community papers and manuals,
and materials from different courses offered by the organization.
Finally, other resources have been helpful to me in terms of
creating a broader base from which to study the
ICA/Order:Ecumenical, including documentation of other
intentional communities, readings on the sociology of communal
living and informal discussions with participants of other
experiments.

The first part of my thesis will consist of a description of
the model on communal living developed by Rosabeth Moss Kanter.
She focuses on nineteenth century communes in her study but lays
the foundations for model to assessing the likely success of a
communal experiment and develops a number of categories for
determining commitment. I will use these as a base in examining
one case study, the Institute of Cultural Affairs/
Order:Ecumenical. Through the examination of this particular
case I would hope to discover those elements which have served to
maintain this organization over a period of thirty years. An
organizational, historical description of the
ICA/Order:Ecumenical will serve to highlight the case study, to
be followed by an in depth discussion of particular issues which
have most differentiated this community from others. I will then

evaluate the organization in terms of Kanter's model: how the ICA
fits the model and what elements have led to "failure" for the
community. Finally, I will examine my own methodology and
results.

KANTER'S MODEL ON INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

In her book, Commitment and Community:Communes and Utopias
in Sociological Perspective, Rosabeth Moss Kanter develops a
model for assessing the success of nineteenth century communes
and for comparing their methods of obtaining and building
commitment. In order to fully understand her definitions of
commitment and thus the categories with which she identifies the
manifestations of commitment it is first necessary to understand
her definition of utopia and the context out of which it arises.

Communes in North America have grown out of a critique of
their society and its social institutions, religious, politico-
economic and psycho-social(Kanter:1972). These critiques all
stress the "..rejection of the established order as sinful,
unjust or unhealthy,..the possibility of perfection through
restructuring social institutions,..the recreation of a lost
unity,.. and the immediacy to achieve such harmonies
now"(Kanter:1972). This is the development of the utopian
community. By establishing a community which is "unaffected" by
society, separated from those social institutions which it
critiques, the utopian community assumes the ability to create a
better society.

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A utopia is defined in the first instance by the notion of human perfectibility. "Utopians believe that tension, conflict and disharmony derive from the environment, from social conditions outside the individual, not sources within him"(Kanter:33). In a controlled environment, human beings are able to reach a level of perfection hindered under normal circumstances by social forces. From this description of human perfectibility it follows that utopians believe that in accommodating conditions, men and women can have total control of their lives. What they attempt to create in building a separate community is basically a "heaven on earth".

Another characteristic of a utopia is order: "...conscious planning and coordination whereby the welfare of every member is ensured"(Kanter:39). Community life is structured, meaning comes from "..the knowledge that all events within the community have a purpose in terms of the beliefs and values of the group"(Kanter:39).

The relationship towards the utopia on the part of each member is all-important. There is an attempt to dissuade any exclusive or external relationships. The group, the community, takes precedence over the individual. Kanter refers to this characteristic as "brotherhood". It is, in part, the attempt by the community to hold constant any outside influences and to control the internal development of the individual, while at the same time assuring the overarching importance of the group; "..group involvement is often conveyed through rituals in which the whole unit participates, symbolically affirming the

commitment to their joint endeavor"(Kanter:47). Ritual is an important part of group affirmation, of rehearsing group ideology.

An important aspect of the utopia is the attempt to rehearse ideology through many means. Its importance is demonstrated not only through 'intellectual' means (as in ritual) but through physical means also. The type and amount of physical work, the way in which it is carried out and organized is as fundamental; it is the attempt at a "unity of body and spirit"(Kanter:49-50). The most obvious shape this takes is in construction projects in which the entire group participates.

"Experimentation" (Kanter:51-52) is another characteristic of utopia. This aspect speaks of the constant creating and changing that the utopia goes through in its search for perfection. Experiments are an integral part of utopian life. They are carried out in every area, from the organizing of chores and work that needs to be done just to survive, to rituals and rule-making. The utopia must be willing to try out different ways of operating in order to find the most rewarding and effective.

Finally, the utopia is defined by its boundaries, both geographical and mental;

> "..members of utopias are highly conscious of
> themselves as a community and of their role in
> history...people who live in a utopian community
> explicitly know that they do belong, what the community
> stands for, how it is distinguished from the outside
> and who else belongs"(Kanter:52).

They identify themselves as being a part of a unique community
They are very conscious of the way in which their community is

creating a new way of life and has a unique contribution.

The definition of utopia is composed of the elements described above: the idea of human perfectibility, order, brotherhood, rituals, uniqueness, experimentation and the unity of body and spirit. Utopia then, is an intentional community, a commune more finely defined. The manifestation of these elements within a particular group is evidence of more than an economic bond based on convenience; ideology and action are given shape in an ongoing interaction. With this understanding in mind, we can begin to discuss the criteria Kanter uses to measure the "success" of an intentional community. Her study focuses on nineteenth century utopias and thus these criteria were developed with that time frame and study in mind. However, I do find these categories of success crucial as a base in defining the successful elements of more contemporary intentional communities because her study was so well-defined and substantiated. The relative importance of particular elements as "successful" may change over time, but overall the elements raised in Kanter's study are still applicable as measurements of "success" today.

CRITERIA OF SUCCESS:

The first criterion of success is longevity. Kanter defines successful intentional communities as having a duration of thirty years or more. There are a number of questions raised about the issue of longevity as a valid measurement of success. I will come back to these further on. Let it suffice to say that I have chosen to use this as a criterion in choosing a case

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study.

The second criterion of success is more complicated. This
is the element of commitment,

> "The primary issue with which a utopian
> community must cope in order to have the
> strength and solidarity to endure is its
> human organization: how people arrange to
> do the work that the community needs to
> survive as a group and how the group in
> turn manages to satisfy and involve its
> members over a long period of time"(Kanter:64).

Only a group of people with a commitment to the community will be
willing to experiment with different forms of human organization;
without it there is no base upon which the community can stand,
it is the foundation.

According to Kanter, there are six categories of human
organization for which commitment is imperative to success.
These are: "...1.how to get the work done, but without coercion;

> 2.how to ensure that decisions are made;

> 3.how to build close fulfilling relationships;

> 4.how to choose and socialize new members;

> 5.how to include a degree of autonomy, individual
uniqueness and even deviance;

> 6.how to ensure agreement and shared perception
around community functioning and values"(Kanter:64).
These are all a function of commitment. Members must want to
participate in every aspect of communal life and must believe
that it is worthwhile or the community will not withstand
pressure (internal and external).

Commitment "...in sociological terms, means the attachment
of the self to the requirements of social relations that are seen

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as self-expressive"(Kanter:66). It is the dynamic in which "..both what is given to the group and what is received from it are seen by the person as expressing his true nature and as supporting his concept of self.."(Kanter:66). Success of intentional communities is dependent upon the nature of the commitment, its strength and its authenticity.

Kanter talks about three different types of commitment which parallel three aspects of any social system, in this case the commune or utopia. The three areas in which commitment manifests itself are: in the retention of members, in social control and in group cohesiveness (Kanter:62). Each of these aspects represents a particular function of the community. These are, respectively, continuance, conformity and cohesiveness, without which the social system is unable to effectively operate (Kanter:67).

In defining a social system as comprised of these three aspects, Kanter also defines the three types of commitment which support them. There is instrumental commitment, affective commitment and moral commitment(Kanter:69). These represent three different orientations towards a social system, and "...the value of a system in each of the three dimensions defines a person's behavior toward it"(Kanter:68).

An instrumental commitment assures continuance (the retention of members). A person who is thus committed has what Kanter describes as a "cognitive orientation", an orientation towards the social system which discriminates among objects for gratification and attempts to avoid deprivation.

An affective commitment assures group cohesion. It is that commitment in which the individual has a "cathectic orientation" towards the social system. It is "...an emotional state with respect to objects, the kind and amount of feeling they generate"(Kanter:68).

A moral commitment assures social control through the "evaluative orientation" of the individual. It supports a particular "standard of judgement", an agreed upon set of values for what is good and what is bad.

In her discussion of commitment, as it is manifested in distinct types, Kanter describes six different social arrangements which she defines as commitment mechanisms. Each of these arrangements is a mechanism for shaping one of the particular types of commitment. They are a factor for "...how strongly [a community] will build commitment"(Kanter:64). The six "commitment mechanisms" are sacrifice, investment, renunciation, communion, mortification and transcendence. Her model becomes clearest in its analysis of these aspects.

Each type of commitment-instrumental, affective and moral involves both a process of detachment (most often from the "outside world") and a process of attachment (to the group). Both attachment and detachment are necessary for the commitment building process. Each commitment mechanism is either an arrangement which detaches the individual from the "outside world" or functions to attach her/him to the community. Only when working in tangent will these mechanisms serve to build commitment.

The two mechanisms involved in building instrumental commitment are sacrifice and investment, "...the individual who makes an instrumental commitment finds that what is profitable to him is bound up with his position in the organization and is contingent on his participating in the system; he commits himself to a role"(Kanter:72). The process of detachment is the individual's sacrifice made through "abstinence and austerity". In many cases it is symbolized through vows of poverty, etc.. Sacrifice "...involves the giving up of something considered valuable or pleasurable in order to belong to the organization"(Kanter:72).

Investment, on the other hand, represents the process of attachment, the formation of instrumental commitment. This is a process "...whereby the individual gains a stake in the group, commits current and future profits to it, so that he must continue to participate if he is going to realize those profits"(Kanter:72). Investment comes in the form of time, energy and money. The individual attaches him/herself instrumentally to the group through investment of these elements. It is an irreversible process where the individual is unable to return, both financially and mentally, to a former state(Kanter:81). Sacrifice and investment are the mechanisms which give the individual a stake in the community.

Renunciation and communion are the mechanisms for building affective commitment. This is a "...commitment to group cohesion and solidarity [which] requires the attachment of a person's entire fund of emotion and affectivity to the group;

emotional gratification stems from participation in and identification with a collective whole"(Kanter:72). Renunciation is detachment from all relationships outside of the 'group'; renunciation with family, the "outside world" and even within couples who are a part of the group. This is the process of creating emotional boundaries, of creating an obvious community where a distinction is made between the outside world (viewed as negative) and the community (viewed as positive). Symbolically, this is carried out in the form of dress and jargon particular to the group; through "geographical isolation"; "institutional completeness"(Stincombe:Kanter), that is, self-sufficiency and the ability to provide for all or almost all of the group's needs; and through control of the boundaries (both physical and psychic)(Kanter:82).

Communion, then, is the process of attachment to the group, through increased group consciousness. This mechanism "...involves bringing members into meaningful contact with the collective whole.."(Kanter:73). Communion builds group cohesiveness through several media. First of all, homogeneity of group members is necessary in developing one group consciousness. The social arrangements which are characterized as "communion" are: the communal sharing of goods; communal work, not only does the community live together but most tasks are carried out in groups rather than by individuals; regularized group contact, through the aforementioned arrangements, and through conscious affirmation of the community, the group, in the form of ritual; and finally, "social vaccination" of all

"outside" influences, a type of cleansing against ideas from the "outside world"(Kanter:92). The group becomes all-important. The model emphasizes this element, most importantly because, "...group cohesion...enables the community to withstand threats to its existence"(Kanter:72). Renunciation and communion work together to build boundaries, both geographical and mental, to define member and non-member.

Social control is built through the mechanisms of mortification and transcendence. Moral commitment,

> ...involves securing a person's evaluative orientations, redefining his sense of values and priorities so that he considers the system's demands right and just in terms of his self-identity and supporting the group's authority becomes a moral necessity(Kanter:73).

The individual must agree to the terms of the community and must be assured that the morals of the group are correct, whether they are differentiated or not from those of the "outside world". This is the process of securing the individuals beliefs so that they coincide with those of the groups.

Mortification is the act of detachment from previous beliefs (if they happen to be incongruous with the present beliefs of the group). "...It involves the submission of private states to social control, the exchanging of a former identity for one defined and formulated by the group"(Kanter:74). This takes place most often in formal structures created specifically for this process. One of the elements of mortification is confession and mutual criticism. This is the common practice of making known the individual's faults or "sins". Simply by understanding that which is a subject or act worthy of

confession, and then by the act of confession itself, the individual is making a commitment to the morals of the group.

Mortification is also apparent in acts of punishment, sanctions placed on particular acts of deviant behavior. Definitions of deviance are made by the group, not by the "outside world" (although they may be in sync). By punishing an individual for a particular act, criteria and standards for moral behavior are set.

Spiritual differentiation is another form of mortification. It is the creation of a spiritual hierarchy within the group which rewards certain members for 'obedience' to community rules by allowing them greater spiritual status than a member considered more deviant. It is the carrots and sticks of community life.

All of the elements of mortification are what Kanter calls "de-individuating mechanisms". They are processes of detachment from a larger social and moral framework, which is necessary if individuals are to attach themselves to the group through the process of transcendence.

Transcendence is the ultimate belief in the power and moral validity of the group. This is the process "...whereby an individual attaches his decision-making prerogative to a power greater than himself, surrendering to the higher meaning contained by the group.."(Kanter:74). The group becomes more important than the individuals that compose it. It is an entity above and beyond just the combination of its parts. The group is all-knowing and all-powerful.

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Transcendence is manifested, in one instance, in the form of an ideological conviction which implies that the group is in "...possession of special wisdom"(Kanter:113). It is the notion that the group has something to offer in its ideology that no one else has access to and that the individual cannot acquire under other circumstances. Power and leadership patterns are indicators of this element of the transcendence mechanism. This notion of "special wisdom" is actually implanted in the structures of power within the community, so that a certain amount of mystery is placed upon those in leadership positions. The goal of the individual is to discern or 'discover' the mystery by giving in to the group an by aiming for leadership positions. Included in this category most assuredly is the charismatic leader.

Often there is what Kanter calls an "irrational basis for decisions.."(Kanter:114). This element of transcendence allows the "awe" of the group to supercede. It is the implantment of mystery into supposedly rational decision-making processes, such that the final power remains the power of the group and not the power of the decision.

Transcendence is also created in daily routines, through a particular set of guidelines. There are guides for work and for leisure; every act is in line with the ideals of the group. (Kanter:121). There are structures for every activity so that individual decision-making is overrun by the wisdom of the group. These guidelines are often derived from certain traditions in the community which help to strengthen their validity and

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unquestionable place in community life.

A summary of the six commitment mechanisms will be helpful
in reviewing Kanter's model. In doing this I will name the
particular elements of each category which aid in maintaining
community:

> Sacrifice: abstinence
> austerity-how the community chooses to
>   live, its physical space.
> community work projects
>
> Investment: financial arrangements
> arrangements of time and energy
>
> Renunciation: boundaries
> arrangement of relationships
>
> Communion: social backgrounds of members
> property and work arrangements
> amount and nature of group contact
>
> Mortification: practices of confession and criticism
> ways of handling deviance
> ways of according status
>
> Transcendence: ideology
> leadership patterns
> basis for decisionmaking: both short and
>   long range decisions
> charismatic leaders

The importance of these six commitment building mechanisms
lies in the notion that "...to the extent that groups develop
concrete strategies around these processes- commitment
mechanisms-they should generate a stronger commitment than can
those without such strategies"(Kanter:74). Particular social
arrangements are put in place to give shape to these mechanisms
which in turn give shape to instrumental, affective and moral
commitment. Overall commitment to the group comes from a tri-
lateral orientation; all three of the sub-groups of commitment

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must be present and apparent.

There are several issues that Kanter raises in her discussion of the "success" of an intentional community. I will mention them now with the intention of focusing more directly on them later, as they arise as issues in the analysis. In her model she does not label these as determinants of failure, but stresses the importance of analyzing how a particular community handles the issues when they arise. The ability of a community to resolve these contradictions is a good indicator of their relative "success".

One of the simplest issues Kanter deals with is that of longevity. Her question about this issue is, can longevity be used a measure of success? In her model she uses thirty years (or longer) of survival a an indicator of a successful community. Can a group be "unsuccessful" for thirty years? Does such a long 'life' necessarily mean the community has been successful? In choosing my case study I did make use of this indicator as a criterion under the premise that after a particular time period a community will have undergone several challenges to its well-being and survival, simply to have overcome these seems proof enough to me that they have been "successful". Kanter uses a time period of thirty years. The community, in this period of time, has been able to experiment with a number of different social arrangements aimed at building commitment. I would hypothesize that after a period of thirty years, such a community is no longer 'experimenting', but living.

Another issue Kanter raises is the contradiction between

"freedom" and "order". There is a need for balance between the
two: the freedom of the individual, necessary for a feeling of
contribution, and the order of the group, necessary for effective
functioning. This is the issue of balance between the individual
and the community. The community becomes all-important but
not so much so that the individual loses all relevance. The
individual must continually feel like he/she has something
personally invested in the community, or they will eventually
lose interest.   She describes this as "Gemeinschaft" versus
"Gesellschaft", the emotional versus the rational, the
individuals of the community versus the function of the
community. It is a delicate balance that must be struck between
some remaining autonomy of the individual and whole-hearted
involvement of the individual in the community. The contradiction
becomes most apparent in the attempt of a community to develop
social structures separate from those of the larger social
community, "... structures which resist larger, encompassing
structures through opposition and separation nevertheless repeat
the forms of these structures"(Kanter:130). One set of
restrictions is replaced by another. She herself resolves this
contradiction with the suggestion that the second set of
restrictions, as constricting as they may be, are self-imposed,
there is a choice involved in the latter case that is not there
in the former.

One last issue is that of a strong central leadership
actually having more control than the perceived control of the
democratic membership, the ideal of participation versus a

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hierarchy of decisionmakers. It is the task of the community to actually rely on decisions made by the entire group, to develop a method for group decision-making that is reliable and as effective as the decision-making of a select few.

Kanter also defines "failure". The variables she uses to measure it are mostly helpful in more clearly defining "success". I will not spend as much time describing these categories.

To begin, she defines a community with a lifetime of sixteen years or less as "unsuccessful". The most basic element of communal living is staying together. The inability to even hold the group physically together over a particular time period is a sure sign that commitment mechanisms have been undermined in some way.

The second measure is the community's boundaries. A large contingent of non-resident members is an indicator of unclear or uncontrolled boundaries. If the community is unsure of exactly who its membership consists of, then the boundaries are not adequately defined. One way in which this manifests itself is through high turn over rates of pseudo-members of the community.

A very clear measurement of failure is the inability of the community to survive external and internal crises(Kanter:139). These crises may take the shape of disasters (natural), debts, disagreements between members over the correct functioning of the community. Changes in the external environment may also affect the ability of the community to survive; such as, a change in political or economic climate of the larger social whole.

Internal crises are as influential. The inability of the 'second generation' to carry on is a sign of failure. An indicator of this is revealed in the inability to recruit new members. The inability of the community to survive the death of a charismatic leader is also evidence of failure. Internal changes which may lead to the disintegration of the community are not only marked by loss, but also by gain; for example, the increasing prosperity of certain groups has lead to their downfall and relative loss of concrete values.

Kanter points out that all of these lead to or are a factor of the undermining of commitment. Instrumental commitment is undermined through imitation of the same sorts of structures that are found in the "outside world"; affective commitment through the loosening and unclarity of boundaries; and moral commitment through the indeterminacy of values- where actions have nothing to do with the given set of values(Kanter:150).

The above is the substance of Kanter's model for defining "successful" and "unsuccessful" intentional communities. These are definitions as applied to a nineteenth century set of case studies. I will use her measurements and indicators of "success" and "failure" to discuss the relative survival of one twentieth century case, the ICA. There are a number of new elements which come into play when discussing twentieth rather than nineteenth Century examples. Kanter does take these into account and begins to discuss what these new factors are.

In her study of more contemporary communes (1960's-1970's), Kanter engenders new elements of critique, the makings of a

slightly altered foundation for analysis. She discusses the development of two types of social organization in contemporary communes: retreat and interactive(Kanter:165). The retreat commune is based on the notion that a group of people can return to an idealized past. It is a retreat from the modern world and all its complications. They are not built upon any foundational ideology other than a belief in the 'simplicity' of the past. The characteristic Kanter relies upon most in defining these communities is that of a "negative boundary". Those "...groups with boundaries based on negation come together out of rebellion, to move away from perceived ills or discomforts rather than to share a positive vision"(Kanter:178). Rather than working towards or for something they are 'simply' working against.

Interactive communes on the other hand have a positive or "affirmative" boundary,

> "...they are either urban or rural, tend to
> have a strong core group holding the community
> together, and incorporate in their structure
> ways of coping with the mobility and turnover
> characteristic of today. They may also be
> larger and more enduring than retreat
> communities"(Kanter:175).

Communes with affirmative boundaries, are attempting to work with the "outside world", not to negate it. The boundaries are "affirmative" in the sense that they are open to different kinds of participation, based on a common service, and "positive" in the sense that they have a common vision.

It is true that both communes with retreatist and interactive boundaries have a particular critique of the larger social whole. Both create boundaries in an attempt to

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distinguish themselves from other structures and institutions, and in part to create a "utopian" prototype. The main difference is revealed in how each recognizes their boundaries. Retreat communes, because they deny the inescapable interdependence of the world, are reactionary only. They remain dependent on external structures because it is no longer possible to function entirely independent of them, while believing they have actually disassociated themselves completely. Interactive communes, on the other hand, are free to directly confront issues which arise about boundaries because they recognize the interdependent nature of their situation. They are more likely to control their boundaries even though they may be more geographically indistinct.

A particular type of interactive commune, that which will become the focus of my study, is the commune with a mission or a "service commune";

> ...service communes define themselves by their
> values, and by what positive steps they take to
> implement those values. They tend to have
> elaborate belief systems and integrating ideologies
> and to insist that all members share them. They
> are clear about who they are and what they are
> doing(Kanter:195).

The mission is all-important. It is the intent of service communes to focus on social structures larger than and outside of themselves. I am inclined to believe that by so focusing they will survive. This is one of the most important elements in the "success" of contemporary intentional communities, "...to the extent that a commune can define a special way in which it helps or transforms the larger social environment, it may gain added

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strength to and ability to endure"(Kanter:175).

Other indicators Kanter uses to measure "success" of contemporary communes are as follows:

Communes with missions define themselves as serving society; they seek engagement and involvement in the "outside world"; yet they must retain strong boundaries (strong enough to build commitment towards the maintenance of the community)-these boundaries may not be physical, but rather mental; they have a strong core group of participants and a transient group who participate on a smaller scale; and they maximize the collective by focusing on the group rather than on separate individuals.

There are, in this type of commune, a number of tensions which arise. It is imperative to understand these and the ability of the community to handle them without destroying the group or the mission. This ability is the final measurement of their success.

One tension is that of creating boundaries that allow for accessibility to all kinds of participants, yet strong enough to withstand external and internal crises and develop firm affective commitment. Many service communes are urban based, this creates an especially hard task of creating boundaries. No community in this day and age can remain totally isolated from outside influence, and especially a community whose intention is to immerse themselves in service to the "outside world". Service communes attempt to reconcile the dual reality between community and service through the organizational arm of the entity. A boundary is created between the community and the

organization, so that the community is based on separate social arrangements. The organization provides a service to external social structures. The community interacts with larger social structures through the mediation of an 'organization'.

Service communes "...need to maintain simultaneously an organization and a community"(Kanter:198). The mission is the focus, yet there must also be a way to build commitment to the community itself. Both the external (the organization) and the internal (community) life of a service commune must feed off of one another. This raises another issue, another tension, that "..between applying values in a new way and functioning in an existing world"(Kanter:147). This is a tension common to all types of communes, but most especially to those attempting to apply these values from within the "existing world".

Understanding the issue of interaction (how a commune interacts with the outside world, how the organization and the community interact, how boundaries are created in an interactive commune), is fundamental to a discussion of service communes. This will be the major focus of the case study and analysis.

It is obvious from Kanter's discussion of nineteenth century and contemporary communes that the determination of a particular commune as "successful" or "unsuccessful" is dependent upon an examination, in detail, of how a community operates in light of the above indicators. The main difference between the nineteenth century model and her discussion of twentieth century characteristics is that the communes in the twentieth century with as strong an ideological base as those in the nineteenth,

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are the service communes, who focus out instead of in. The
twentieth century communes with strict physical boundaries, who
are inwardly focused, have very weak ideological structures,
having succumbed to a false belief in total independence from
external structures. The foundations upon which they 'act' are
simply reactionary. I will use criteria from both the
nineteenth century model and the twentieth century discussion to
analyze my case study, with a focus on those issues which most
differentiate this community from others.

CASE STUDY: ORDER:ECUMENICAL/INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS

In carrying out the case study and analysis I will begin
with an historical description of the community which includes
the development of ideology and practice, major watersheds and
the growth of both the community(Order:Ecumenical) and the
organization(ICA). Let me make it clear here that when I refer
to "community" I am talking about the Order:Ecumenical, the
internal life of the group, and when I refer to "organization" I
am speaking of the Ecumenical Institute or Institute of Cultural
Affairs, the external life of the group. In this endeavor I
intend to emphasize those elements which most characterize the
case study as an interactive commune and which I would consider
the strongest devices in its maintenance.

In the early 1950's an organization on the University of
Texas campus at Austin called the Christian Faith-and-Life
Community made up of students and faculty concerned with the role
of the church in social change began an experiment in theological
pedagogy. It was their intent to develop methods and seminars
that focused on the practical role of the local congregation in
society.

At the same time, in Evanston, Illinois, the World Council
of Churches met and formed a training center called the Institute
of Ecumenical Studies, headed by the Church Federation of Greater

Chicago. They were involved in much of the same work as the group in Austin. In 1962, the Institute of Ecumenical Studies invited Joseph Mathews of the Christian Faith-and-Life Community to be its new director. Mathews, along with seven other families from the Austin area, moved to Evanston that same year. Mathews took the position of director and the seven families worked (voluntarily) as teachers for the Institute. The time between 1952 and 1959 is described as the laying of the foundations for the Order:Ecumenical. Through the Faith-and-Life experiment and various church renewal courses the base was made.

It was during this time that the philosophy of the "Spirit Movement" was generated . Much of the philosophy here comes from the radicals of the German Protestant church (Tillich, Bonhoffer and others). Their ideologies reflect a desire to re-mystify the Protestant church, to bring the spirit world back into the mortal. The Order:Ecumenical and the Ecumenical Institute saw themselves, "...as a response to the trends of the Spirit Movement"(O:E, 1:nd). This was the ideological base upon which the life of the community was initiated.

THE SPIRIT MOVEMENT

> "The Holy Spirit begins in history by
> bleeding humanness in the deep recesses
> of this man and that man-out of which
> bleeding, erupts great upheavals in the
> historical process..there's another tremble
> of the leaf. And that's when self-conscious

> people begin to be aware of the seeping
> forth of new humanness that is way down
> underneath the cataclysmic upheaval in
> the historical hour..this is the beginning
> of what I like to call the Spirit Movement.
>   (Mathews,1:1970)

The "Spirit Movement" was the term used to describe all those engaged in social change within the context of the Order:Ecumenical(O:E) and the Ecumenical Institute(EI). It applies to a more encompassing group of people, those who care about the future of the world, but referred most directly to those who had made a conscious commitment to this particular movement. The Spirit Movement is the group of people who see themselves as a part of "..all of the awakened and aroused people of the earth who live in the indicative and imperative of the radical transformation of humanness, both in its social and religious dimensions"(O:E,1:nd.). They felt obligated to participate in some movement for social or religious change, as if it were some sort of "calling". This was the story they created and told for themselves, a necessity to shaping the community.

The context out of which the Spirit Movement (and thus the ICA and O:E) arose is important to understand because, as the story goes, the Spirit Movement formed in response to this era. Almost as important as the task they decide to carry out is the crisis for which that task was developed. This is the "...universal crisis in human identity and vocation,..the world-wide economic tensions and political strife which have marked our

century are but symptoms of this depth eruption"(O:E,5:1967). It is a crisis with indicators similar to the anomic descriptions of nineteenth century sociologists. The crisis, most simply, is one of no clear self-images. Individuals lack the external symbols and images to tell them who they are and which give their lives meaning and purpose. It is the assumption that we create who we are and perceive ourselves through symbols (stories, images, etc.), and in the present state of "anomie", we have lost all common symbols and are unable as individuals to create these of our own accord.

Human identity, our self-images, have been transformed in the past century. This transformation is due to "...the present world-wide scientific revolution, the world-wide urban revolution and the world-wide secular revolution.. This inseparable trinity comprises the cultural upheaval"(O:E,6:1967). These three dimensions of social life have radically changed the way humans think about themselves and how they perceive their role in society. It has resulted in unprecedented cultural changes.

The scientific revolution represents the immense changes that have been made in relation to the power of science. For example, we have an ability to keep people alive for prolonged periods of time, or to destroy ourselves entirely. Human beings have taken these powers into their own hands to such an extent that we are now the creators and destroyers. Changes made through science have altered our lifestyles completely.

The urban revolution represents the incredible move into the

cities. We have developed an urban mindset that is not only

fast-paced and hard-edged, but a perspective on life that is now

somewhat more diverse, an acceptance of a larger array of

lifestyles. Through the urban revolution we have become more in

touch with the rest of the world; global problems and events

cannot be ignored nor denied. The most obvious development is

our increasing interdependencies. We can no longer act

independently of other nations, neighborhoods or individuals.

The secular revolution is the denial of the organized church

as the only legitimate and validating symbol or image. Our only

alternative is no religion, the undoubted awareness of how

little we actually know. What is apparent, the manifestation of

the secular revolution, is the striking consciousness of what we

see in our daily lives, our realities;

> ..a new report sears into our paroch-
> ialism forcing us to wider vision; alert
> youth tear from us our anachronisms and
> push us out into the uncharted future..
> The center of life appears to us as
> transparent, illumined by fresh conscious-
> ness, and this transparency burns us(O:E,7:1967).

We are no longer 'enlightened' by religion but rather by everyday

realities and events. In one respect it is a turn away from the

de-mystified foundations of the Protestant church and a re-

cognition of the 'mystery' that exists in our world. The

secular revolution is the change that has been made in our

consciousness, of ourselves and of the world. The result of

these changes, these 'revolutions', in our thinking and being has

been "anomie" for the majority, and for some, a demand to live in

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new ways.

According to those who consider themselves the Spirit Movement, there has also been a revolution in twentieth century Christian theology. The Movement was critically aware of the problems of the contemporary church.   It seemed apparent that "...as administrative burdens consume her leadership, dominate her congregational life and consequently cripple her social mission, the need of radical renewal has become evident"(O:E,2:nd). They felt that organized religion in the U.S. was not practicing in "deed" what was being said in "word". Most members of the Christian church were no longer living according to its pretensions, they no longer authentically cared for the world and its people. The need to transform the church and what it meant to be the church was crucial.

Their task, as they saw it was to rebuild the church on a local level, to change the church through changing the images of the people within it.   This could be possible through the creation of a new theology, "...a vision interpreting the total situation of man in the historical moment.."(O:E,10:1967). This 'new' theology was intended as a re-creation of Christian doctrine in its original form. That is, as an "historical religion"; Christianity as a primal religion, unfettered by bureaucracy and corruption, would be the base for a more action-oriented religion and the symbol of a group of truly religious people.

This "historical" or primal religion is tri-lateral. It is

composed of the three elements: Knowing, Being and Doing.
"Knowing" is manifested in "..allowing people to perceive and
experience their own humanness"(Mathews,5:1970). The role of the
church (and of the Order:Ecumenical) is to enable people to
create their own symbols and images and to then act upon them.
The church is the catalyst. "Doing" is represented in the focus
on a common mission and is manifested in dedication to the same.
"Doing" is dedication which "...is corporateness..[and has]
always got to have the pole of the mission utterly
clear.."(Mathews,4:1970). The focus is consistently outward, and
corporateness is what allows it to be this way. "Being" is
demonstration; "...the Order is nothing but the sign of the
depths of humanness..people of the Spirit Movement are always
outside the camp for their function is to be a sign of
presence"(Mathews,4:1970). The role of the O:E, the Spirit
Movement, in creating this new theology, is to actuate theory in
practice through empowerment, dedication and demonstration.

The Spirit Movement saw their task of rebuilding the church
as a way of "forging new patterns of social relations and
creating new symbols of personal meaning"(O:E,5:1967). This
would be their means to attacking the crisis of human identity.
From the start, they were concerned with having only one mission,
being clear of what that mission was, and initiating it through
common tactics.

It was their intention to operate out of three dynamics:
local, regional and global. The local church was to represent

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the local dynamic; the training institutes set up by the E.I. represented the regional dynamic; and the global dynamic was reflected in a perspective that continually tried to be aware of the rest of the world. The importance the three dynamics have on each other is one of balance, "...the regional dynamic enables the Local Church to be utterly comprehensive and the global social vehicle to be locally and relevantly grounded"(O:E,7:nd). In everything they did, there was an attempt to make these three dynamics present.

The people who see themselves as the Spirit Movement consider their participation as the taking on of a particular responsibility. In coming through the cultural revolution, "...[humans are] ..no longer privileged to escape into the stance of victim, but are required to take charge"(O:E,9:1967). This new understanding of the world, as they see and interpret it, leaves no option but to fully participate in building something new, to take on this social responsibility. This is what it means to be the Spirit Movement;

> In this hour of global injustice, the people
> of God are those who know they must, and do,
> rebuild the economic and political design for
> the planet. In this hour of total cultural
> revolution, the people of God are those who
> know they must, and do, rebuild the structures
> of urban community life. In this hour of
> inadequate and demonic religious forms, the
> people of God are those who know that they must,
> and do, rebuild the manifest structure of
> religion(O:E,11:1967).

They are members of local churches and therefore have an investment in a religious community. They are concerned with

social change and see the church as a viable route for instigating it. Most forms of the Christian church in its present shape (bureaucratic and hypocritical) are for them in need of drastic revamping, yet, this is still the arena in which they want to attack even larger 'social ills'.

The Spirit Movement is the name this group of church people gives to themselves. It is that around which they build symbols and images to tell the story about who they are and what they are doing. The Spirit Movement is the foundation of ideas and people for the community, the Order:Ecumenical, and the catalyst to the work of the Ecumenical Institute. This represented the creation of a new theology to justify their stance and legitimate their action.

THE COMMUNITY:ORDER:ECUMENICAL

The move in 1962 to Evanston symbolized the beginning of the family order. The eight families made a decision to live together and focus on a common mission, to be the Spirit Movement, based on a set of commitments similar to those of the religious orders. The founding of this "historical third order", as it has been called, was based on many of the same principles as those of the monastic orders, the vow of poverty and austerity, the vow of service to the church and to the world.

The vow of poverty is manifested in the notion of "common goods", for example, "..the family stipend is the amount below the actual poverty level..it illuminates the vow of poverty as the detachment from all goods for the sake of mission"(O:E,5:nd).

Similarly is the notion that the community must be self-sufficient. Certain members are "assigned" to work in traditional jobs in the "outside world", the income of which they in turn use to support the community and the organization.

The vow of chastity is represented as "..single-mindedness with the principle that "all time is assigned time". Assignments are based on the missional imperatives rather than on individual talents"(O:E,7:nd). This includes equal and full participation in tasks such as, cooking, cleaning and leading the symbolic and study activities. These tasks are called "enablement", those tasks that enable the community to get done what needs to be done. All enablement tasks of the community are done in teams that rotate from week to week so that everyone participates, in every task. It is representative of the demand to be present and accountable at all times, at meals, at rituals as well as in your enablement assignments.

The vow of obedience is not dissimilar from that of chastity. It is the element of the community that keeps discipline intact in the form of obedience to the mission. Everything is for the sake of the mission. The structure of the community is set up solely to accommodate the mission. The same set of structures are put into place in every location, so that the community is the same regardless of the diversity of individuals and preferences. One way of creating this sort of structure is through decision-making methods, the consensus method, "...a means by which the whole body builds a corporate

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mind and arrives at a common decision"(O:E,6:nd). This type of
polity is "...an acting out of the vow of obedience"(O:E,6:nd).
One decision is made for the entire community; one action is
carried out across diverse locations.

They called themselves the Order:Ecumenical;

> ..the Order was founded on the assumption
> that these were a group of people who were
> attempting to live in faith in twentieth
> century life and the theology was a very
> twentieth century one...the important part
> was to have a global vision of the world
> and to be on the edge in devising solutions
> to the problems that could be tackled in
> the world and in the church(Interview,12,1989).

The intentions of this group of people were to work together
in the most effective manner possible. The communal arrangement
came as a necessity of the mission, "...the corporate body is
functional..the community gains its power from the task which it
is intended to accomplish, and not the other way
around(E.I.,14:1967).

The internal life did have a structure and a function. In
the first instance they saw themselves as a demonstration of
effective community. They lived in intentional community not
solely out of economic necessity, but more so out of missional
necessity, to demonstrate community in covenant with the world.
As they saw it "...the Order's internal form is intended as a
prototype for future society...in its corporate life the O:E aims
to signify political, economic and cultural care.."(O:E,9:nd).
In this sense, they were out to show that an intentional,
committed and structured community was possible. Its intention

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was not only to create viable alternatives to the disintegrating
nuclear family, the bureaucratic local church and the onslaught
of mainstream mono-culture, but to create something new.

The community was structured to accommodate the mission. In
part this meant that even the living arrangements were to be a
reflection of their commitment. Members lived in houses of ten
to a hundred individuals. Families had their own space but the
majority was for the community. There was one corporate eating
and meeting place and one kitchen, office space (for the work of
the organization), ritual space, and special eating and playing
areas for the children. Particular time arrangements were made
for everything so that there was certain time devoted to the
family and the rest was time for the community. Everything had a
meaning, space, time, output, and it was all a part of the
mission. They were communal, but in a very urban sense. No one
grew their own food or spent excessive amounts of time building
their own housing, although these were not events unknown to
occur.

The main function behind the Order:Ecumenical was to build a
new awareness of the possibility of change;

> ..it is convinced that at every critical
> juncture in history those people emerge
> who perceive the hidden depths of reality..
> who articulate the human question with new
> insight..rather than retire into mystical
> solitude, these people move out to provide
> humanity with the reflective tools with which
> to care for the world(O:E,9:nd).

There are three main arenas within which they operate in order to
carry out the above. These tasks formed the foundation of the

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community's mission and the work of the organization. It is within these areas that the community and organization truly merge. They are: contextual re-education, community reformulation and spirit remotivation. It will become clearer what each of these areas consists of as we move through further historical description of the community and organization.

THE ORGANIZATION:

The Institute for Ecumenical Studies developed two distinct sectors of curriculum, one religious and one secular; they became the Institute of Religious Studies and the Institute of Cultural Studies. The Ecumenical Institute grew out of the former, (the latter sector eventually became known as the Institute of Cultural Affairs). Its emphasis was to transform the church and local community through an organizational approach, which took the shape of a series of courses ("contextual re-education"). Religious Studies One (RS-1) was a course developed to do just that, "...through revitalization of symbol and style of corporateness and intentionality"(O:E,3:nd). The purpose was to re-acquire the traditional symbols of the church, in order to create new images for what it meant to be members of the church.

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It was not unusual to have 150 participants at a single course.

The Ecumenical Institute was understood as being an organizational way of embodying the ideas of the Spirit Movement. Initially they were almost wholly involved in the creation and facilitation of the above set of courses. Their 'student body' was originally made up of strongly religious, ministerial families or people who were in some way already involved in local congregations. These were the people they were concerned with influencing, with the intention of changing local church through changing its members.

The years 1960-64 represented what was described as an "embracing of culture and community". It was during this time that the project on the West Side of Chicago was started. The first major watershed of the organization and community came in 1963 when "...it became clear that change was not going to happen only in courses and training; something had to be demonstrated, put into place, that would be visible..Interview:1989). The community moved from Evanston to the West Side of Chicago in order to be more directly involved in community development.

The year 1963 was representative of critical changes, especially in the history of community development in the United States. Out of the Civil Rights Movement came the community oriented projects developed by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee primarily in the South and the move by students in the North (with S.D.S.) to break into community organizing. There was a plethora of activism rising from the universities and from youth in general. It was within this context that the Ecumenical Institute (originating itself from a university campus) would take initiative in moving into the city.
5TH CITY

The major change within the E.I. which initiated the move to the West Side was the decision that the most effective way to reform the local church, to transform what it meant to be the church was to actually <u>be</u> that demonstration. This meant adapting "...end-run strategies"- temporarily going around the church in order to eventually involve the church"(Interview:1989); to be a demonstration to the church of what it meant to be the church in the twentieth century.

The Ecumenical Institute's intent on the West Side of Chicago was to build a model for "Community Reformulation". This was to be "...the development of a practical operating model as a demonstration of what serious, responsible and significant mission for the local congregation could be"(E.I.,7:1967). There was no original model. The experience of the E.I. on the West Side was what built it. The organization went there as an experiment and created a theory for community development from

what they learned.

The O:E/E.I. settled and began to work in a predominantly black, low-income neighborhood. The community was one of many that had been plagued by unemployment and mis-education. Many of the neighborhood's residents came to Chicago looking for jobs in heavy industry and were left without work. The neighborhood was fairly typical of others in the Chicago inner city. Left to its own devices by the city government and others, they lacked many of the basic resources for survival in an urban environment. Pushed out of other parts of the city, by more wealthy residents and developers, individuals congregated to the West Side.

The project called itself "5th City". The name came as part of a re-claiming project of a particular geographical location within the West Side. 5th City is the name given to that part of the city which is neither the gentrified ("1st City") nor the destroyed(3rd City), it is that to be created. This was a large part of project strategy. They wanted most "...to develop a strong sense of community identity and pride"(E.I.,3:1967). Symbols, like the re-naming of a specific location, were a critical part of this process.

The Ecumenical Institute operated under certain presuppositions in carrying out the 5th City project. They organized these into five categories. They are helpful to understand because they make up the foundation for almost all of the work the organization continues to do in later years. Even through eventual secularization of the community and organization these remain fundamentally the same. They are as

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follows:

1. "The Community Reformulation project must be conducted in a limited geographical area"(EI,8:1967). The area within which the EI chose to do the project was eventually confined to a very particular space with acutely defined boundaries. The presupposition was that a group of people can forge a clearer identity for who they are, the smaller the space (as opposed, for example, to simply identifying oneself as a "Chicagoan"). This gives the community an identity. A de-limited geography allows you to identify precisely what problems exist and allows for realistic development of realistic solutions.

2. "Community Reformulation must deal with the depth human problem to be found in the area"(EI,9:1967). The 'depth human problem' is indirectly an effect of other institutions in other places(outside of the particular neighborhood), but is directly a problem to be found in the location, a problem of negative self images. One way in which they talked about the phenomenon of "self-images" was through a process called "Imaginal Education". This was the assumption "...that images change behavior and if you change peoples images of themselves you will change behavior"(Interview:1989) It was this method that carried the project and upon which most EI/O:E programs were based. To have a negative self-image is to be surrounded by images that promote negative self-understandings and therefore, negative behavior. These images must be transformed, which can happen only if they have been addressed.

3. "The key to the identity building phase of Community

Reformulation is the intentional use of symbols"(EI,10:1967),
symbols which represent the community. For example, in 5th City
one of the major symbols was an iron sculpture erected in a
central neighborhood location. It was the "iron man",
representing the strength and endurance of the community. This
symbol comes "...from the Old Testament scripture Jeremiah: This
day I make you a fortified city, a pillar of iron, a wall of
bronze, to stand fast against the whole land"(Ulrich,84:1976);
Imaginal Education at work. There are two processes present.
One is to re-claim symbols and re-name them for yourself, your
community and the other is to create an entirely new set of
symbols. The point is to have symbols which are an authentic
representation of the community and which promote positive self-
images.

4. "Community Reformulation must deal with all of the
critical problems of a community simultaneously"(EI,11:1967).
This means addressing the issues of education, health care,
violence, drugs, identity, etc., at the same time. It
acknowledges the interrelatedness of these issues. By only
addressing one, you fail to substantially create effective
structures to replace it. By addressing all you are able to work
towards a more comprehensive solution.

5. "Community Reformulation must deal with all age levels in
the community"(EI,13:1967). Everyone has some way to participate
and a contribution unique to their position in the community.
These should be taken advantage of as a resource of the
community.

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5th City was thus the prototype for a Community Reformulation model. Throughout the development of the project, it became increasingly important to have community members be the leadership. The E.I./O:E transferred power through the process of Imaginal Education.

The Ecumenical Institute was also still involved in course work with church members. They had created a "national program in theological education" which consisted of sixteen courses of study(EI,3:1967). They held the courses in their 5th City location, bringing white, middle class church people into the inner city. They focused primarily in these two directions: "Community Reformulation" in 5th City, the development of a model for community development projects. And "Contextual Re-education" in the courses, the work they had originally done from the Evanston location.

During the first years in 5th City the community grew substantially. Religious Studies One (RS-1) , the most substantial of the courses, was the main factor in recruitment. From 1964-1968 the community and organization began to take on a much larger and more diverse shape. Each summer the organization held research and training sessions. It was during one of these sessions that much of the O:E, Spirit Movement "ideas" were developed. The summers were a way to pull information and reflection together, to clarify the mission and write it all down. It was during this particular summer, for example, that the first preschool curriculum was developed(Morril,2:1985).

By 1967, over 14,000 people had participated in the RS-1 course(Morril,4:1985). This peak lasted through the early seventies. It was very apparent that there was a growing number of people who considered themselves a part of the Spirit Movement. Many of these, mainly those who had some history in the church and had been through RS-1, were interested in forming communities in diverse locations. So, in 1968, a network of "religious houses" was started. The first were in Atlanta,Georgia; Boston,Mass.; Rockford, Ill.; Los Angelos, CA.; and one in Indonesia. This gave a very different shape to the community and to the organization.

The decision to form the first four "religious houses" was based on the desire not only to expand, but to also play out the "regional dynamic" discussed above. The years 1965-1968 represented an effort of networking, the creation of a cadre. The formation of other O:E/E.I. locations was the culmination. The function of the religious house was, as the O:E understood it, "...to discern the regional mindset in which the house is located and invent the stylistic response that will radically alter the stance of the members of the Movement throughout the region"(O:E,8:nd). As is apparent within this statement, the community was expanding beyond the initial 'commune'.

The expansion necessitated an even greater effort on the part of those within the community to continually articulate the mission. Dialogue around the role of the Spirit Movement and what they saw themselves as was constant. It was a way of rehearsing and of creating one story, a dynamic imperative to

creating one mission, to be taking place in several locations.

In 1969, seven more religious houses were formed. Four of these were located outside of North America: in the Marshall Islands, Sydney, Singapore and Osaka(Morril:1985). The first recorded non-North American cadre was formed in Pakistan. A health outpost and a legal aid office were set up in 5th City at the same time the inner city riots of '68 were still taking their toll; the West Side of Chicago was right in the middle.

In 1971 the Kemper Insurance Company donated an eight-story building to the Ecumenical Institute in the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago. This facilitated a move to the Northside. A turning point was coming in the work of the organization. The community had grown in incredible proportions, by 1972, there were over 1,000 adult and youth members, and there had been 15 community weddings (all within the same year). The international staff was growing; there had been an International Training School in Seoul and 18 of the faculty were Asian(Morril:1985). It was then that the concept of the four global centrums emerged, the creation of four continental bases, with the intention of pulling the center of the community away from Chicago.

These experiences resulted in the refinement of a method for corporate planning. It consisted of naming major contradictions in cultural, political and economic areas and creating a set of social proposals to deal realistically with them. It was the base from which practical tactics towards change were created. The organization developed four major tactics for themselves: "...Impact, Demonstration, Research and Training"(Morril:1985).

The intention was to impact local community by working as catalyzers of change and demonstrating that change was possible; researching the many ways in which this could happen and then training local community members in the methods the organization used to go through this process in the first place. These were to be the next areas of organizational focus, not dissimilar from the original three of spirit remotivation, contextual re-education and community reformulation where the emphasis shifted from a purely church-oriented focus and community to a focus on local community, regardless of religious preference. These were the foundations of models for Social Demonstration and Community Development, the next major phase in organizational and community history.

The next major watershed came in 1975 when the E.I./O:E began the first Human Development Project(HDP) Consult in Majaro in the Marshall Islands, as part of,"...a renewed decision that geography is the key to revolution"(Morril:1985). The only way to really affect change is to cover a broad range of geographies. The years 1970-1974 had been characterized by an effort in social research, a study of community development practices and the development of a model/method of their own. Then in 1975, 12 HDP Consults were held, including the one in Majaro. The next era, 1975-1978, was characterized by an effort in practical implementation of the Social Demonstration and Community Development models that had been created. The substance of the Social Demonstration model and later models anchored in local Community Development, was the same as the 5th City model: an

emphasis on a particular geography, dealing with the depth human problem, use of symbols (Imaginal Education), dealing with all of the problems at the same time and taking advantage of all the diversity in ages. The model built on the 5th City experiment and later refined seemed adequate enough without ever needing complete overhaul.

The structures of the organization were changing drastically, specifically because programs outside of North America were expanding. In 1976, the community and the organization took a major shift. As the Order:Ecumenical "... began to work with other cultures..some of the earlier principles that went with being the Order were either loosened or changed"(Interview). It no longer seemed appropriate to be the Church as practicing Christians in non-Christian cultures. The mission was rearticulated as "...the task under the task, the awakening of every human being to his/her full humanness, the creation of primal community"(ICA:1977) (rather than primal religion). In all actuality, the mission was the same as it had always been. Underlying this form was still the shape of a 'religious' people and underlying the more directly religious, church-related mission was the shape of a 'secular people'. It is the same mission, different means and different stories. In 1976, both the Order:Ecumenical and the Ecumenical Institute focused all of their energies into secular programs of community development. Both internally and externally they took on secular ideology and action.

Initially the Spirit Movement moved in three directions,

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Spirit Remotivation, Community Reformulation and Contextual Re-
education. Through all the structural changes it underwent in
deciding to be a secular community, these fundamental focuses did
not change and did not need to change. Spirit Remotivation still
happened under the premise of awakenment, but rather than an
awakenment to the power of action in the local church, it was
awakenment to the power of local community; and instead of
reformulating local church, Community reformulation was happening
in the guise of Social Demonstration, community organizing and
development; finally, a new series of courses was created that
replaced the RS-1. They were an attempt instead to re-educate
and train local community members in the art of model building
and planning. This was the era of the Town Meeting in North
America and the Global Community Forum on other continents, most
especially India and Africa. The Ecumenical Institute became
better known as the Institute of Cultural Affairs(ICA), with the
change in focus. The O:E continued the task of holding intact
and articulating the mission for Movement members.

The transformation to secularism is seemingly inevitable.
It was necessary in the first place because of the organization's
expansion into communities of diverse religious backgrounds.
Yet, it also seems, in examining the true nature of the mission,
that its 'essence' was never purely secular nor religious in an
acute definition of these words. The turn to secularism was
merely a redefinition of religion and what it meant to be a
'religious' people. It was a necessary progression for the
community to move beyond strict definitions and labels.

One of the most important principles to originate in this era (and an example of the small extent to which real change was made) was that of "profound humanness". It is the term used to describe a state of secular enlightenment to everyday phenomena. The individual is awakened when he/she comes in contact with profound humanness. What makes this especially important is its quality of 'mystery'. It is the return of religion in a secular guise.

Profound Humanness shows up as "consciousness", where, "...everything seen before is seen in a different light and is then seen through to reveal that which is utterly new"(ICA:1977). This is the revelation. It does not represent the appearance of a heavenly apparition, but rather, the development of a new critique with which we view the world.

Profound Humanness is "totality"; "...the more particular we have become, the more global we are internally..globality is not the opposite of locality, it's the opposite of reductionism"(ICA:1977). We begin to see the whole global picture from a local perspective and vice-versa. Totality is seeing everything, from the perspective of the particular.

"Declaration" is another form of profound humanness; "...proclamation of the spoken word has the power to change the situation..but its not just saying something..it is getting out there and being what you say that alters things"(ICA:1977). This is demonstration, not unchanged from its original interpretation. Profound Humanness as "Care" is fundamentally linked to this; "..I am care, you are care..You don't have it, you don't earn it,

but you <u>are</u> it..not to care is not to be alive"(ICA:1977).

These are examples of the ways in which the community understood profound humanness. They are substantially similar to many of the original ideas that came out of the Spirit Movement talks, dialogues and ideological foundations. Fundamentally, the ideology upon which the O:E and the ICA supports itself and its mission are unchanged in this 15-20 year period. Self-understanding is discussed in many different stories that in all actuality end up sounding alike. What drastically changes is not how they decide to <u>be</u> the mission, but instead, the element of action, the ways in which they decide to carry out the mission.

During the time period, 1977 to 1983, the work of the ICA diversified in unprecedented amounts. In 1977 Joe Mathews died and the community spent great amounts of time recuperating. The clearest focus was on community development. The work of the organization began to take precedence over the role of the community in securing the mission.

In 1984, the last big watershed arrived. It came in the shape of the International Exposition of Rural Development to be held in India. Organized in part by the ICA and other organizations concerned with community development in rural areas, it was a conference focused on hearing from different rural development projects around the world. The IERD signaled for the O:E and ICA, the end of an era and the beginning of something totally new.

This can safely be termed to have been the most drastic change within the community and within the organization. It was

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symbolized by a substantial change in the nature of the mission and in the structure of the community. The catalyst to this was the realization that "...what were revolutionary principles we turned into moralisms. We became isolated like a nuclear family"(Interview:1989). The intentions of the mission grew progressively more 'external' and diversified in their focus. It was only necessary that this change would come about. They hadn't lost the "service" dimension so integral to who they are, but had increasingly begun to loose their perspective of the necessity of continual change. They had become so big and so diverse that the notion of "one mission, one set of tactics" was suddenly obsolete.

There was no longer <u>one</u> mission. Locations gained more autonomy and took charge of creating the mission according to particular local idiosyncracies, rather than simply carrying it out regardless of these particularities. This necessitated a change in the structure and function of the community. A distinct separation between the organization and the community was formalized. Not everyone who worked for the ICA was necessarily living in intentional community. The economic structure of the community changed entirely so that everyone became responsible for supporting themselves. The remaining consistency is that the community is still in sync with the needs of the mission.

The community is no longer a necessity to carrying on the mission (or missions), although there are those who still choose to live together. And the importance of other types of members,

for example, those who work with the organization but live apart, has become increasingly important. Boundaries are now based entirely on the work of the mission; the type of work an individual does, in addition to her/his intentions is more a mark of inclusion than anything else.

CASE STUDY AS AN INTERACTIVE COMMUNE

The most striking characteristic of the "service commune" is its focus on social structures larger than itself. Its intent is to provide some type of service to other communities while creating an alternative lifestyle for its members. The Order:Ecumenical/Institute of Cultural Affairs is one such community. It is necessary to define it as such according to the definitions of "service commune" provided by Kanter in order to address the most enticing issue, that of the O:E/ICA as an interactive(vs. a retreatist) community. This is the central issue in discussing the factors that distinguish this community from others.

The actions of the O:E/ICA have from the start centered about a particular mission which provided the sole impetus for the development of a community and an organization, and for increasingly substantial involvement in community development. Without the common vision, common desire to provide a particular service, the community would not have come into being. This is the crux of the issue of interactive communes versus retreatist, the mission that focuses outward rather than in.

In discussing the case study as an interactive commune, an intentional community with an outside focus, several issues are raised. These are illuminating in bringing to the fore characteristics of the organization and community that have helped to distinguish it from others. The issues which I have found to be most revealing are: the types of boundaries built and used (most especially jargon), the fallibility of retreatist

communes in relation to the interactive, and the dual characteristic of the interactive commune.

Recall the discussion that described these issues in detail. The main argument focused on the difference between interactive and retreatist communes, where the former is characterized by "affirmitive" boundaries and the latter by "negative". Both types of commune are based on particular critiques of the larger social whole. Yet, in the case of the interactive commune there is another element involved, a focus towards and on the "outside world". The essential difference between these types of communes is focus. The need to control boundaries based on dependence upon structures larger than themselves is recognized by interactive communes. The retreatist communes refuse to recognize inevitable interdependencies with other structures. This serves only to weaken their foundations for authentic communality. Because the interactionists admit to the contingency of their relationship with the "outside world" they thus enable themselves to control the nature of the interaction. The ways in which the interactive communes form and maintain boundaries is essential in understanding the difference between interactive and retreatist communes and in defining a community as interactionist. This understanding will become increasingly important as the discussion turns to focus on how interactive communes effectively participate in the "outside world" while maintaining community.

There are several ways in which the O:E/ICA has sought to define, control and maintain its boundaries. One of the most

obvious and effective means has been the use of a 'jargon' particular to the community and organization. Jargon functions to both detach the individual from other social structures and to attach him/her to the community. It is a manifestation of both the renunciation and communion mechanisms for affective commitment.

Jargon as renunciation demonstrates itself in the exclusion of individuals who cannot, in real terms, participate in decisionmaking processes, planning methods or conversations of the community because they are not familiar with the terms and lingo that the community uses to communicate. Over time the community developed a particular style and vocabulary to describe specific events, to tell their story and to explicate and legitimize their ideological foundations.

As a device of communion, jargon functioned to build group cohesion. Community members learned to communicate in a specific fashion and essentially created another language. It was in part the process of building the belief that the group was in possession of special knowledge, that a different jargon was simply a necessity of newfound wisdom. Boundaries were formed by inclusion and exclusion based on the ability of an individual to participate. It was a very straightforward means of determining who was a member and who was not.

Boundaries for interactive communes are partially defined in the interaction (with the "outside world") itself. For example, an integral part of O:E community life was "common study". The main objective of this practice was to create and

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sustain a common vision, "...to ground its members in common
operating images to maintain a corporate thrust under diverse
conditions"(O:E,6:nd). The community developed the vision out of
these studies that maintained the mission and the story about who
they were. The community interacted with the "outside world" on
an intellectual/textual level through study. This allowed them
to control the interaction and to create the type of boundary
deemed necessary, the development of clarity in terms of who they
were and what they were doing. There were particular social
arrangements set-up to enable corporate study time. These
ranged from very structured study sessions to more informal
conversations at mealtimes.

Boundaries in interactive communes must remain fluid.
Unlike the strict geographical and mental boundaries of
retreatist communes which set in stone the definitions of what it
means to be a member, interactive communes must have boundaries
that define who is a member while allowing them to do the work
that is a part of the mission. Because many interactive communes
are in urban areas, geographical boundaries are much harder to
set. Therefore, the mental boundaries must be strong enough to
distinguish the individual from others who are not a part of the
community. The O:E/ICA emphasized intellectual and educational
tactics alongside action. These are a form of mental boundary,
learning how to communicate and dialogue effectively.

The dichotomous nature of interactive communes is
revealed fundamentally in the tension between effectively
participating in larger social structures and maintaining a

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separate 'alternative' community. The group lives two realities. While working within other social structures they must attempt, at the same time, to remain outside of these. In order for the commune to legitimately carry on the work of the mission, there are two entities the group must keep intact, that of the community and of the organization. The means to this is an emphasis on an external mission, where the organization acts as mediator between the community and the "outside world".

The Order:Ecumenical/ICA recognized the tension between the roles of the community and the organization, between working within while living without. As the community grew in size and diversity, the boundaries of the community became less defined. It became increasingly important to rehearse who the community was and to strengthen their stand of working within local community while remaining outside. One way in which they talked about this phenomenon was through the philosophy of the "Other World".

> ...in the midst of authentic and very necessary
> struggle, a considerable portion of the Church
> experienced what might poetically be described as
> a fall through time into spirit space..the
> emergence of spirit space in the midst of our
> everyday living might be called, "the other
> world.(O:E,1:1974).

The Spirit Movement visualized itself as standing outside of, while remaining within, social structures of change. They were definitely a part of existing social structures and worked from within these, while at the same time saw it as their role to be catalyzers of change, not the change itself. This is one way in which they sought to deal with the tension between being an

active participant in society and retaining, at the same time, some sense of community.

Evidence of this idea reveals itself in the attempt by the organization and community to work locally while retaining a global perspective. Another example shows up in the structure of the community and of decision-making processes. Structure was manifested in, "...holding the tension between internal life and moving it, moving it, moving it"(ICA,3:1976). The community could be a positive force for its members and not let that factor outweigh the mission, the outside focus. Structure meant controlling the tension, not alleviating it. One decision was made for a variety of locations so that the mission remained internally consistent. In so doing the community was enabled to work within a particular location while retaining a global and missional perspective.

COMMITMENT MECHANISMS

The community and the organization have maintained themselves over a thirty year period of time. How is this so? One way in which I would like to examine this is through Rosabeth Moss Kanter's model on the maintenance of community. The level and potency of commitment is directly related to the "success" of an intentional community; without commitment, a community cannot survive. I will use the model of the six commitment mechanisms to analyze the O:E in terms of social arrangements that were created to build commitment. The arrangements are not necessarily intentional (as commitment building mechanisms), but we can make the assumption that they would probably not have lasted had they not been mechanisms which supported commitment building. It would seem that certain mechanisms (social arrangements) that are no longer 'useful' would disintegrate, be taken out of use or replaced by a more appropriate structure. In my examination of the Order:Ecumenical as an intentional community in terms of the six commitment building mechanisms, I will also take into account the ways in which particular arrangements change in aid of the structure of the whole, change so that the community will maintain itself.

INSTRUMENTAL COMMITMENT

Instrumental commitment is built through two mechanisms: sacrifice and investment. Social arrangements built as a function of these mechanisms serve to strengthen the retention of members.

SACRIFICE

Sacrifice is the process of detaching oneself from the "outside world", it has to do with what you give up in order to be a part of the community. In examination of the community, the Order:Ecumenical, we find a definite set of "sacrifices" that have been 'required' of its members. Obviously the first major sacrifice of the first seven families who moved to Evanston was to leave behind, in Austin, friends and extended family, community and some amount of personal possessions. These families made a physical sacrifice. As other people began to join and work with the community, they were also expected to make certain sacrifices. As one member put it, "..we were expected to give up the accumulated material possessions we had...not to turn over money.."(Interview:1989). Many people gave up what had once been important to them. Most people who joined in the early years were white, middle class families that had not been without many personal conveniences and possessions for years. The sacrifices they made in joining the O:E were substantial enough to detach them from a previous lifestyle.

The community and the organization operated out of the philosophy that, "..nothing they own is simply theirs, but all of their life, including their goods, belongs to all the

earth"(O:E,20:nd). By joining you were deciding to live a much more austere existence. Examples of this are the vow of poverty and the vow of service which require sacrifices of not only possessions, but of time and energy, away from the individual and towards the group and the mission. This is evidenced in the following testimony: "...all of our free time, all of the space we had, all of that was for the sake of the mission"(Interview:1989).

INVESTMENT

The attachment of the individual to the group develops through the investment of time, energy and resources. To have a stake in the community is to make an investment, the next step necessary in building an instrumental commitment. The most basic type of investment is economic. In the O:E economic investments were made by certain people, those 'assigned' to work in "outside" jobs and contribute their full salary to the organization. All funds were then equally distributed across programs and staff.

Other investments came in the shape of time and energy. It was common knowledge that "... the Movement reckons the time of each member and unit as resources and each occupation is evaluated for its missional potential"(O:E,20:nd). The investment a member made was for the mission, almost anything could be expected. "All time is assigned time", a phrase often heard, explains quite clearly the type of investment of energy and time that was expected. Everything was an investment into the work of the community. It was insurance that decisions would

be made because members had nothing outside of the mission, a factor of irreversibility.

Investment also shapes instrumental commitment through individual participation in community work projects or participation in the everyday tasks necessary for living. This was all a part of the mission. As one member put it,

Sometimes that 'making it happen' was through mundane kinds of stuff, like washing dishes or moving furniture around or building walls, sometimes that was the most satisfying way(Interview:1989).

An investment of time and energy is a contribution to the community, the individual gains a feeling of purpose, their participation seems worthwhile.

Evidence of sacrifice and investment as commitment building mechanisms is available. Especially in terms of the above categories of time and energy. Here are some examples:

The more I did things like that [serving others, for example, 4:30 breakfast preparation] the more I was committed and excited about what I was doing(Interview:1989).

It was not unusual to go with just five or six hours of sleep..I'd work all day as a librarian and come home and we'd have evening meetings and planning meetings and what not that would go until fairly late at night and then you'd get up at 4:30 or five o'clock and have your daily ritual and then have another meeting before we went to work...(Interview:1989).

There are two important factors raised here. One, is the element of immoderateness, extreme involvement in any task for the sake of the mission. The philosophy that all you did was for a mission was the basis for doing everything, for deciding when and how certain tasks would be done. This meant that anything and everything was expected and performed. This external factor upon which the member based all of his/her decisions ensured that

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decisions were made because there was no other source to appeal
to. It was specifically because so much was expected of each
individual that he/she made a commitment. Two, is the element of
'cause'. Finally these individuals felt like there was a cause
worth putting an investment into and worth sacrificing other
things for.

AFFECTIVE COMMITMENT

Renunciation and communion are the mechanisms which build
affective commitment, the commitment to group cohesion. It is
the creation of boundaries through rejection of the outside and
increasing affinity towards the group. In the case of twentieth
century "service communes", there is no direct rejection of the
"outside world". They are not attempting to remove themselves
from it, but to distinguish themselves. In the case of the O:E,
they were also trying to be a demonstration without cutting
themselves off. Different sets of boundaries were created.

RENUNCIATION

Renunciation is the mechanism which separates the individual
from the larger social whole of the "outside world". It is the
creation of boundaries both emotional and physical. Some of the
elements of renunciation found in the O:E are as follows. The
community is in most ways "institutionally complete". They are
self-sufficient in a very urban sense, providing all the funding
they need to do programs and to maintain the community. By
"assigning" certain people to non-organizational jobs, they are
assuming responsibility for accruing income. They also provide
all of their own intellectual and symbolic life.

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Family arrangements are such that certain time is assigned family time and all other time is assigned towards the mission. This is a major element of renunciation. Individuals are to put the mission above personal and 'private' issues, including those of the family, both immediate and otherwise.

The most obvious boundary formed by the O:E, the community and the organization, the EI, was a particular dress, the wearing of the blue. Blue symbolized for the community, "..awakenment, engagement, fulfillment, prowess, nurture and community.."(ICA:1976). The creation of this type of boundary through distinguishing themselves by a certain color clothing was intentional. They were out to be a demonstration, therefore, they had to attract attention to themselves as a community, but not as separate individuals.

COMMUNION

Communion mechanisms (social arrangements) function to attach the individual affectively to the group. They work to socialize individuals so that a bond to the community is created on an emotional level. Indicators of communion are: the social backgrounds of the members, property and work arrangements, amount and nature of group contact, the group's concept of itself as a community, the types of rituals which bring the group together and the socialization of members, including children. All of these function with the overall intent, along with renunciation, of strengthening group cohesion.

Social Background

The great majority of the early members were involved in

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local church congregations. They were mostly white, middle class
families who were looking for a more meaningful way to
participate in some sort of social change within their context of
the church. As one woman with whom I spoke put it,

I was a churchman and participating in this community was
the most radical form of Churchmanship that I was aware
of(Interview:1989).

Originally the people that became a part of the community had
some previous concern or criticism with the state of the
contemporary church. The background of people who later became a
part of the community was, in most cases, a factor of the type of
work the organization was involved in and the sorts of issues the
work was addressing. Specific individuals with a concrete
interest were joining.

Communal Property

As was mentioned in the section on Sacrifice, individuals
were expected to give up completely or give up to the community,
personal possessions which exceeded two suitcases. Most people
sold their private homes and property to join the community. The
buildings in which the O:E lived were either communally owned or
a temporary establishment;

The idea was we wouldn't own houses in order to be mobile,
get housing that was free.. in cases where we bought houses they
were community property(Interview:1989).

Group Contact

The community lived, ate, worked and made decisions
together. Group contact was arranged through meetings, meals,
work assignments, corporate study sessions and the corporate
symbolic life. Coming together as a group was important to

rehearsal of the mission, but also as reassurance of the necessity of the community.

One manifestation of group contact came in the form of daily morning "collegiums", meetings after breakfast at which a particular topic was discussed. These sessions usually focused on planning and organizational issues. The same topic was discussed in every location. The importance of this type of group contact was that these were the times when much of the group's ideology came into being and when many of the practical tactics and models were created.

For particular locations there were daily meetings, the collegium after breakfast and usually evening meetings also. Everyone in the house was expected to participate. For the entire community, spread across many locations, there were quarterly and annual meetings and reflective sessions at which many of the community's members were present. The annual summer sessions were probably the largest and most important of these. They were a way of keeping track of the mission, of aligning the particular with the whole.

Common study, as described above, was another social arrangement of group contact. The intention was to come to a common understanding of important intellectual figures for the community and in the work of the mission.

The work of the organization was carried out in groups through assignment to particular tasks. The level or type of skill had little to do with the task at hand. Everyone was to be available for any assignment necessary, at any time.

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Rituals

The symbolic life of the community is considered to be one of the most important elements. Every corporate gathering was an event in symbol, an opportunity to be the community.

Originally the symbolic life was Christian in form. With the secularization of the group, rituals and symbols were either exchanged or given different meaning (or were never blatantly Christian to begin with). Symbolic life remained an integral part of community life. It is only in the most recent era that the symbolic life has held much less importance on a corporate level, as the work of the organization has far outweighed the role of the community.

The clearest way to explain the role of the different aspects of the symbolic life is to describe how and where different rituals took place. The most important daily ritual was the "Daily Office". The O:E envisioned "...the morning office as the community heartbeat. Each morning at 6:15, six days a week, the community gathers to participate in worship"(EI,4:1967). Its purpose was to ground individuals in the community and the mission, first thing each day. The Daily Office was a type of church service, with scripture readings, a witness, accountability and absolution. At the end of the ritual there was a "passing of the peace" where one member would begin to pass to another through clasped hands, peace, and so on until everyone had participated.

Every meal had a series of rituals to accompany it. Each gathering started with singing. Songs were an integral part of

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corporate life. These were either written or found by the
community to reflect their values and the mission. The
importance of singing was one, to celebrate, and two, to bring
the group together. By actually participating in one activity
simultaneously, individuals found themselves involved in the
group.

The children also sang a series of songs before each meal
and at all corporate gatherings. Some examples of these point
directly to the types of philosophies the adult members found it
important to transfer to the children. One which portrayed the
global dynamic went like this, it is a new rendition of "This
Land Was Made For You and Me:

> We are the white man, we are the red man, we are the black
> man, we are the tan man, we are the brown man, we are the
> yellow man, this world was made for you and me..

Or, another which focused on the ideology that came out of the
Spirit Movement era at its peak,

> I am always falling down but I know what I can do.
> I can pick myself up and say to the world, I'm the greatest
> too. It doesn't matter if you're big or small, I live now
> if I live at all.....

There were songs to symbolize every aspect of O:E life. You
can almost make an historical description of the community and
the mission solely based upon the songs that were being sung at
the time.

Every meal and corporate gathering also had a ritual to open
and close the event. And rites for sending someone to another
location, rites of greeting, marriage, for funerals and a rite of
passage.

One of the most important elements of symbolic life was the

symbols themselves. These ranged from table centerpieces, which every house had, to O:E community symbols. Each family and single person also had a symbol to represent and tell a story about themselves.

Socialization

The structures of socialization of members are implanted as commitment building devices. Either people are socialized to participate, which is the intention of the mechanism, or they react in a contradictory manner, refusing to adhere to community mores. Socialization is an important process to understand because it emphasizes the organization's intentions and points to the ability of a community to make its 'cause' believable.

Most members early on were intentionally socialized through RS-1, or other courses. The Academy was a three-month training program which taught many of the methods used by the organization and ideologies inherent in the mission. Socialization of those already within the community came in the form of all the structures built around corporate life, study, worship, play and work.

The socialization of children is as intentional as that of new members and all adults. There is a structure in which all children and youth participate. There are four phases which represent four different time periods in peoples lives. The first is from the ages 0-20. It is the phase from childhood into youthhood into adulthood and the rites of passage that accompany these changes. Basically it is the process of socialization into the adult community.

Phase I formation begins in the preschool under a curriculum designed by community staff. It is based on Imaginal Education, on the creation of symbols. The intent of these first years of development is to create some sort of selfhood in the preschoolers.

The next set of years represent growth as the Emerging Generation (the name given to those in the Phase I). This is parallel to the years spent in elementary school. The E.G. are taught how to work with and use corporate planning methods and models for corporate living. The sixth grade year then marks the end of this era as a year of rite of passage into youthhood. They are expected to participate more in adult structures and to take more responsibility for the rest of the children. This year is symbolized on a trip that all the sixth graders participate in during the summer months. The intent of this trip is to "...facilitate an actual rite of passage through creating a sense of personal power, encountering wonder of life, exploding sense of mission..."(ICA:1980).

During the seventh and eighth grade years all O:E youth participate in an experiment in corporate living in Uptown, Chicago. The intent of these years in the Phase I timeline is to build responsibility and a strong sense of corporateness. This is imperative to the next year in development because all the youth then spend a year in one of the overseas projects, as full adult members. The intention is to "...concretize the decision to be Those Who Care as youth of the 15% who embrace the giveness of who they are and the necessity of responding to demands of the

future"(ICA:1980). This is the process of inculcating the youth with the value systems necessary to participate as adults in the community and work with the organization.

Upon returning to their home country they are then expected to fully integrate into the religious houses. After this point their largest responsibility is towards their studies and creating a vocation for themselves, making a decision about how they want to live their lives and whether they want to be a part of the community and in what way.

Concept of Community

The concept of the community was created through, first and foremost, a common mission. The community was there for the sake of the mission. The mission gave the community meaning; "...there is one team and one task, the whole team is responsible for the whole task"(Interview:1989). Secondly, their concept of community was created through the notion that in community they could make a difference, there is "...a certain lure to community living..it gave you an opportunity to be really involved in something that felt significant"(Interview:1989).

The community became increasingly important as individuals invested more in it, as they formed more sincere and lasting bonds. This had an incredible effect on creating affective commitment. Individuals became committed not only to the mission but also to the community of individuals like themselves:

> That became my community of people over the years and I felt all along like I was making a difference, that what I was doing was making a contribution to the health of the planet... the most compelling was the people..in working you became part of a network of people that we began to call "Those Who Care(Interview:1989).

MORAL COMMITMENT

Mortification and transcendence are the mechanisms to building moral commitment. Fundamentally this is the process of assuring social control.

MORTIFICATION

Rules, sanctions, de-individuating mechanisms and other such social devices are mechanisms of Mortification, the detaching mechanism involved in building moral commitment. The issue here is how to build a belief system that appears to be the correct and valid one for the individuals involved. What are the mechanisms for building commitment to this system of beliefs as opposed to any other, especially that of the predominant social set? This is the creation of social control through the delegitimization of the belief system of the "outside world", or at least the detachment of oneself, morally, from the larger whole.

There were a definite set of rules and social mores to be upheld within the community. Most of these were set up in light of the mission, and functioned solely to ensure the smooth functioning of the mission. To begin with, each member made a covenant to the community and to the fulfillment of the mission. This was a definite way of ensuring moral commitment; "...the integrity of each member and unit rests on their decision to articulate and bind themselves to a covenant and so order their lives"(O:E,20:nd).

There were also administrative structures set up in a semi-hierarchical shape, which induced participation. The highest

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level of participation was the "elders". These were the permanent staff. Next in line were the "Catechumens"; these were people who were not fully involved in organizational or community work but played a semi-important role in supporting the group. And last were the "Novitiates", the interns who were in the process of initiation into the community. This structure functioned as a subtle form of persuasion to take on more and more responsibility, depending on your position in the hierarchy

TRANSCENDENCE

Transcendence is the attaching mechanism which builds moral commitment, through which social control is the outcome. Social arrangements which contribute to increased social control serve to build support for community values and to strengthen the notion of the importance of the community as compared to that of the individual- the power of community is greater than the sum of its parts.

Ideology

In addressing the issue of how ideology contributes to social control we are addressing the issue of belief. In the instance when ideology is based on the mission, it is the mission that individuals actually believe in and are committed to. The mission becomes the "Word". The mission comes before all, "...it's not the community so much as the mission that holds the community together..which was very much a part of our self-understanding"(Interview:1989). It is the notion that the mission is even more powerful than the group, which in fact it is

if the group really is dependent upon it for its survival.

One mechanism for ensuring the power of the 'group' above that of the individual for the O:E has been to instill the philosophy of the "nobody";

you are nobodies in history; you are solely out to release new life...never take yourself too seriously(ICA:1976).

There is a task for which the group has come together and that, above all else, takes precedence. This is most clearly reflected in the statement,

It does not make any difference whether I live or die. What makes a difference is whether the life and consciousness I have is engaged and re-engaged at the point where history is turning...(ICA:1977).

It is the <u>participation</u> of the individual that is important, and effective participation can only come through the group. As this belief has been shown to be manifested in the above statement, we can say that this is a mechanism for building moral commitment. And moral commitment in this case is a factor of how veraciously the individual believes in the group;

You've really got to <u>trust</u> to allow participation to happen, trust that everybody is going to work together, that the sum of the total is worth more than the individual pieces put together(Interviews:1989).

All of this is an indication of the belief, on the part of the group members, that they have a claim to some sort of special wisdom. If this notion weren't so strong, neither would be their commitment.

There is an element of mystery which is important to creating a convincing ideology, such that, the power of the ideology does not rest on a simply rational basis. Other factors must be employed, for example, mystery and awe. "...No revolution

in humanness can be grounded in man's spirit deeps unless it
employs common religious instruments: symbol, style and spiritual
methods"(O:E,16:1967). This is related to the notion that,
therefore, there exists an irrational basis for decisionmaking,
which is a mechanism to building moral commitment. An example is
found in the following statement:

> During RS-1, you slept in a church basement, and for most
> people coming from where ever they were living, which were pretty
> middle class people, this going and sleeping in the church
> basement and eating together and doing something called Daily
> Office...was really very different for people..and every single
> person in the RS-1 I went to eventually joined the
> Order(Interview:1989).

Commitment is shaped, in this case, specifically through
irrationality; by deciding to participate in something that at
first makes very little sense, you must attribute the "sense" in
it to something larger than the event or task at hand. The
individual will decide to do odd tasks at odd hours based on the
rationality of the mission, not on the rationality of the task,
it is this that shapes moral commitment, the belief in the moral
validity of the mission.

Decisionmaking Processes

Participation in the decisionmaking processes of the
community and the organization was based on "authentic dialogue".
The method they used was consensus,

> ..the most adequate method of decsionmaking for local
> community organization is that of consensus. It enables full
> participation by all persons and it allows new leadership to
> emerge at any point(EI,13:1967).

All decisions were made around the table, with the presumed
egalitarian participation of each member. The most poignant

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example of this came out of one of the interviews:

I experienced being affirmed and having something to contribute and that my intellect was appreciated.. it was empowering to be asked and to be listened to(Interview:1989).

Tradition

One of the last elements of the transcendence mechanism is

tradition. When the community has a foundation, a history, there

is a relationship with the past that is created and in turn

helps to build moral commitment to the present community. This

is definitely the case in the O:E.

"All the things we were in the past created a kind of discipline, repore, understanding, bondedness...not unlike a huge extended family...you're closer to that dynamic than any other"(Interview:1989).

ELEMENTS OF FAILURE

There are three areas which address the issue of failure; the inability of the community to deal with particular watersheds, internal and external crisis; the inability of the community to resolve certain fundamental tensions, such as, the tension between retaining some individual autonomy while building group consciousness; and finally, the existence of inherent problems and contradictions in the community and organization, which undermine commitment.

WATERSHEDS

Watersheds are crisis which manifest themselves both internally and externally. In the case of the O:E/ICA, there were major watersheds which I have defined as such, based on conversations and interviews with community members (or ex-members, as the case may be). I will list the events and changes which are defined as "watersheds" and then focus only on those which I see as having been more difficult to deal with.

The first watershed came in 1963 when the O:E/EI moved to the West Side of Chicago. This was initiated by a desire to work in local communities rather than solely through the church. As a realignment of values it was an internal crisis. The move to 5th City was the resolution. The watershed, the move and the partial change in mission were in reaction to an internal crisis (a change in values) which was resolved through fairly straightforward means.

In 1968 the first four "religious houses" were opened. I would consider this the second great watershed. The community

was branching out into diverse locations. This change came about not as a result of crisis but as a necessity for individuals wanting to become a part of the community. It seems the religious houses developed just as much out of a desire on the part of non-community members who wanted to form community as through the push of community members in Chicago.

Global expansion was the next big change within the community. There needed to be a way to keep the mission intact over distant locations and a way to incorporate members of diverse cultural backgrounds. The Movement did have a global perspective, and seemingly global values, but in practice they have been accused of cultural imperialism by ex-members who were part of the international staff. This is the claim that international staff were never fully incorporated, on an equal basis, into the organization and community. First of all, there was an unfair and unequal economic base; "...the Americans already had a credit base, internationals had no support..could never depend on the stipend"(Interview:1989). The international staff were more economically vulnerable. Secondly, the international staff were more often held accountable for mistakes made by the organization, "...the national staff [mostly in 'third world' locations], took the blame while the American staff took the praise..we were foot soldiers in the villages"(Interview:1989). This is a crucial inability to deal with global expansion.

The next big watershed came with the secularization of the community. In some ways this was an attempt to deal with the

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danger of religious impositions on non-Christian cultures where the O:E/ICA found themselves working. As was discussed above, this change did not have an enormous nor very disturbing effect on the story and work of the organization and community. The element of crisis which did appear was the eventual dispersement of the community. Some members claim that with secularization came an overwhelming diversity and lack of one consistent story. The question here would be, was the value of having one mission still necessary? If so, then the community was actually unable to effectively deal with the change, and vice-versa. Another issue in relation to this watershed, is that secularization (and expansion), caused the organization and community,"...to become unsuccessful because there was diversity but no global or international leadership"(Interview:1989). Diversification occurred on a segregated basis.

The death of Joe Mathews was most definitely a turning point, a significant event in the life of the O:E and the ICA. For many, this indicated a definite end of an era, and for some, it was the end of the community. In my interviews, it is interesting to note, that all those who mentioned the death of Joe Mathews as a watershed in the history of the organization, have since left. Those who acknowledged this as a turning point and subsequently left may have had a greater commitment to the man than to the mission, or could only see the mission as it was embodied in the persona of Joe Mathews; those who were able to deal, remained. It is apparent that as a community they were able to make it through the crisis.

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The International Exposition on Rural Development marked the most contemporary watershed. The turn away from massive efforts at community development and a focus on a diverse and separate set of tactics has actually been one of the most drastic changes in the life of the community. For the most part, changes in the past were marked by a change in mission. There is no longer one mission, and the boundaries that made up the community during those eras have markedly changed shape. One consistency is that, like always, with a change in mission, there comes a change in community to accompany it. The issue here is, does this radical change in the shape of the community signify an end or is it one more watershed. The answers vary. Some feel that, "...the extent of its uniqueness has diminished..whatever its unique contribution was, has been made"(Interview:1989). While there are those who feel this is merely a state of transition where, "...people are less pushing it down peoples throats..it is more evocative..its just different in every place and that will add to the richness"(Interview:1989). The ability of the community to deal with this 'crisis', this transition, has yet to be seen in its full exposure.

TENSIONS

There are a number of tensions that show up in any social group attempting to change the greater social whole. Kanter talks about these in her model. One of the most difficult to resolve is the tension which develops between acquiring individual autonomy while at the same time building group consciousness and group importance. In the creation of an all-

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important mission, where all individual time and energy is focused solely on that,

> It's easy in that type of environment to lose your own
> selfhood, unless you're an extremely strong human being..over
> time the boundaries get blurred between self and
> group(Interview:1989).

When this happens, commitment diminishes. The individual, as an individual, has no personal emotional, physical or moral investment in the community. I think that the O:E did reach such a strong point of group awareness and awareness for the mission that individual problems and issues were subsumed.

Another tension, which came up in O:E life, was the tension between an existing set of values and the contradictory behavior which parallels those. My notion is that this was felt most strongly on the part of single individuals (women in particular) and the international staff. Because the mission was so prioritized, this justified sending people all over the world at any time, regardless of personal preference or need. Many staff were not adequately cared for in the sense that they were mistreated or discriminated against. The contradiction lies in the fact that,

> ...ideology is meaningless without interpersonal
> relationships...we're supposed to be caring for the rest of the
> world when we can't even take care of those next to
> us(Interview:1989).

One of the greatest exemplifications of this contradiction was the, maybe unintentional, irresponsibility for children. Because there were structures set up to take care of them, especially in the Student House years and later, some parents withdrew all responsibility and the youth were meant to fend for themselves.

There were many (youth and children) who were able to do well with this new found responsibility they had for themselves while others were not.

OTHER

The last area in which I have found elements of 'failure' is in an array of miscellaneous problems inherent in the workings of the community and organization.

The first has to do with the structure for gaining income, "permeation". Certain people were assigned to work full-time jobs outside of the community and work of the organization, and then contribute their income to the community. The problem which arises here is one of commitment. These individuals must have other mechanisms for building commitment, or particular mechanisms must out-weigh the others. For example, their moral commitment must be strong enough to replace their lost affective commitment because they are not interacting as much with other community members. This may not have been a major determinant of failure because there are those for whom the support of the community was a stronger persuasion than the "..professionally unrewarding positions.."(Interview:1989), they found themselves in. The issue is resolved.

Another issue is that of the "second generation". First of all, there was, "...no way of symbolizing the decision of an order youth to become an adult, self-conscious, decision to become a fulltime member"(Interview:1989). There was a rite of passage ritual for all other phases, but none to symbolize this type of decision on the part of O:E youth. There was no outright

incentive to become a part of the adult community. In fact, the socialization of children was based on instilling in the O:E youth a sense of possibility to be caring human beings, but no sense of _having_ to be this within the context of the Order:Ecumenical. There was no overt nor subtle pressure to "carry on" the mission from within this particular context. Alas, very few individuals who grew up in the community are now adult members.

The issue which arose around the philosophy of "one mission, one set of tactics" was that decisionmaking was carried out in one central location and then dispersed to the others. The decisions were very general and did not reflect the specific needs of specific locations. In some ways this is a reflection of the contradiction (which Kanter talks about) between an ideal of democratic decisionmaking processes and actual hierarchical arrangements. An example is that, "...local projects [were] always subsumed to 'global issues'-being accountable to people who didn't know what was going on"(Interview:1989). Even though the individual people within particular positions rotated, nevertheless, those positions were ones of higher authority. There were also, very seldom international staff or single women in these higher decisionmaking positions.

The issue of the treatment of international staff is a very important one. Many of them have felt like they were used as "typical villagers", even though they were also urban, educated individuals. Often times the international staff were used as, "...added credibility, used as a good development

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tool"(Interview:1989).

One issue that has become more and more apparent as the community has become more diversified, especially within its most contemporary stage, is that,

> ...as a community..it has perhaps have been attracted
> to people who are somewhat dependent, for one
> reason or another..and who wanted to live in community
> ...to be taken care of economically or
> spiritually"(Interview:1989).

This may initially have been an unmanageable problem, but in part, the change to a less structured community has facilitated its resolve.

CONCLUSION

In exploring the elements that have served to maintain the
Order:Ecumenical/Institute of Cultural Affairs over a period of
thirty years the issue that has risen to the fore is that of
creating distinct boundaries. There is no doubt that the
community and organization were able to effectively control and
maintain various boundaries throughout time. Yet recently a new
development has come into play. There has increasingly been
involvement of both residential and non-residential staff in the
work of the ICA. Does this mean the community is no longer a
necessity for the work of the organization? And, if so, does
this imply that this group of people, working towards the same
vision, are no longer an intentional community and the
'experiment' is no longer successful? Have they failed to
maintain themselves, or can we begin to re-interpret the
definitions of intentional community?

The boundaries built by the O:E/ICA are solely a function of
the mission. When they found them too restricting (with a focus
on community rather than on mission) they re-defined them. The
boundaries are continually changing, what worked twenty-five
years ago is no longer appropriate. The mission determines all,
to this they have remained faithful. The community and
organization function only to carry out the work of the mission,
without which they would have no meaning. Therefore, when the
mission changes focus, parallel changes are necessitated within
the community. As the mission has been progressively
reinterpreted throughout the years, the community has grown to be

less and less of a necessity. Some would call this a natural transformation and others would claim that the group has merely run its course.

I would suggest that the development of the mission to a point where it no longer necessitates the community is yet another marker on an inevitable progression. Because of constant interaction between ideology and practice the mission is continually reinterpreted to fit the needs of its focus, local community. The 'commune' necessarily complies. The question now is, without the community per se, can the mission be effectively carried out? The mission no longer depends upon such close geographical proximity of members; because there is a diverse array of elements which make up the mission, no one decision needs to be made and followed through.

The boundaries have changed shape entirely. Members are no longer determined based on clothing, one type of commitment, nor even on jargon. They have opened up to include individuals who have never been in contact with the communal aspect of the mission, but are concerned nevertheless with similar tactics for social change. Its as if the community and organization are now authentically being the Spirit Movement, encompassing a much wider range of people than those directly involved with the ICA and O:E.

END NOTES:

1. I consider the use of "sic" in delineating gender exclusive language to be very important. However, in light of the possibility of its multiple uses throughout citations, it would become laboriuos to read. Therefore I intend not to cite each example of exclusive language but rather to emphasize that I have not overlooked their necessity.

2. The term "ideology" is that which I use to refer to the theoretical/intellectual element of the ICA/Order:Ecumenical. It is the group of philosophies, the school of thought, upon which the group has based itself. Ideology is made up of that which is written about, discussed and taught, a theoretical foundation for action. It is that which the group is attempting to attain and aspire to.

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