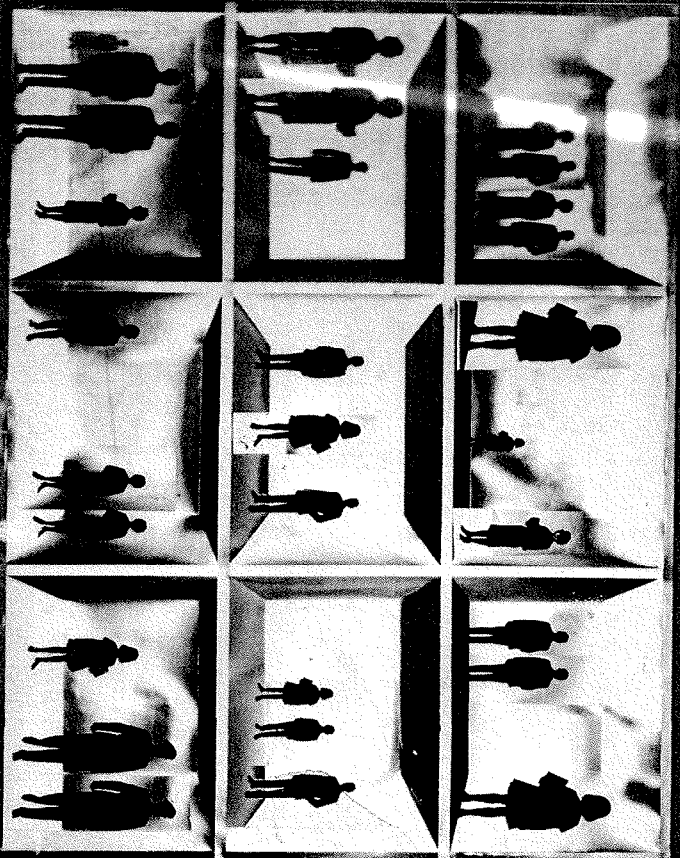


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**The Family** and Alternate Life Styles

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and Alternate  
Life Styles

Nick Stinnett  
Craig Wayne Birdsong



THE FAMILY AND ALTERNATE LIFE STYLES  
BY NICK STINNETT AND CRAIG WAYNE BIRDSONG  
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY NICK STINNETT  
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# The Family

## and Alternate Life Styles

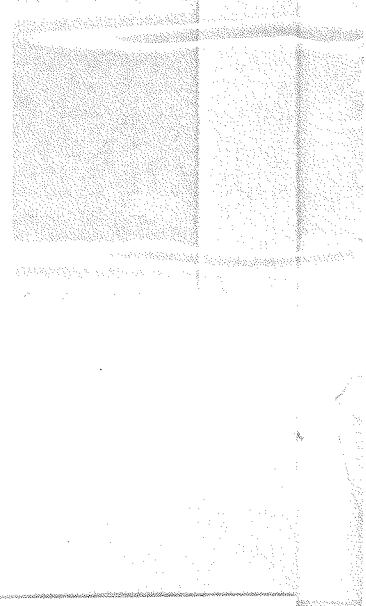
Nick Stinnett  
Craig Wayne Birdsong

This important work is the result of extensive studies dealing with six alternatives to traditional marriage: cohabitation, communes, swinging, group marriage, extramarital affairs, and one-parent families.

Forms of associations and relations between men and women that were once subject to public censure are now often hailed as the beginning of a new society of human emancipation and fulfillment. Why are we currently witnessing an explosion in alternate life styles? Is the family really dying? What do participants see as the benefits and advantages of these alternate life styles? What are the major problems experienced in these life styles?

Concerned with these questions, Nick Stinnett and Craig W. Birdsong examine some of the more popular and significant developments in the search for commitment and stability. It is the authors' belief that, through alternatives to marriage, people are largely searching for more intimate relationships and an extended family experience. Many of those who have opted for alternate life styles are trying to escape the loneliness,

(continued on the back flap)



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(continued from the front flap)

restrictiveness, hypocrisy, and materialism that they see in the Establishment.

The authors explore at length the circumstances and, as much as possible, the "results" of the various social experiments mentioned above, with extramarital affairs heading the list of alternatives to conventional marriage (although it is not usually thought of in this way). The authors remind us that like death and taxes, such affairs will always be with us, whether or not looked at by the prying eyes of social scientists.

Then, the more exotic and, until now, verboten life styles are examined. In the process, many popular myths are exploded; i.e., people living in communes do not spend 50 percent of their time engaging in group sex. And practical matters are considered, too; Stinnett and Birdsong ask the question (as many commune members have) "If everyone is doing his or her own thing, who is doing the dishes?"

On a more serious note, the authors do not fail to remind us that the fundamental question behind all of these experiments is "Can we as a people and as individuals survive the mad scrambling for a piece of the emotional rock which is becoming all the more illusive? In short, to paraphrase Freud, what do women (and men) want?"

### About the Authors

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courtship and will likely continue to increase in the future. An increasing number of individuals are experimenting with the cohabitative life style because they feel it frees them from the legal entanglements of marriage and enables them to avoid many of the common problems of marriage.

Research indicates that many individuals have difficulty terminating a cohabitative relationship, however, and that cohabiting couples experience many of the same problems as married couples. In addition they also face several unique problems directly related to the cohabitative life style.

As a result of avoiding the legal bonds of marriage, many cohabiting couples and their children face frustrating legal problems such as illegitimacy and inheritance.

There is a real question concerning the effects of cohabitation on the emotional development of individuals; much research is needed in this area.

It is possible that the nature of cohabitation, with its emphasis upon freedom from any kind of legal commitment, also tends to result in a decreased emphasis upon interpersonal commitment in general.

The possibility that cohabitation may result in decreased commitment seems to be supported by a study that indicated that cohabiting males expressed little marital commitment and expressed less need and respect for their partners than did a group of noncohabiting males who were steadily dating a special partner. In fact the findings of this study indicated that the cohabiting couples to a large extent did not reciprocate the feelings of needing and respecting each other that the noncohabiting couples did.<sup>45</sup>

That a lower degree of commitment may be associated with the life style of cohabitation is also suggested by a study that found an extremely low degree of religious participation among cohabiting couples. The researchers offered the possible explanation that there may be a relationship between a lack of commitment to a religious sect and an unwillingness to commit oneself to another person in a legal marriage.<sup>46</sup>

# 5

# communes

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### The Communal Living Explosion

Only a handful of communes existed in the United States during the 1950's. One rarely heard talk of them. Suddenly the decade of the 1960's witnessed an explosion in the growth of the communal movement. Ten thousand persons had settled in more than 500 communes across the nation by 1969. Today the number has soared to approximately 3,000 communes, and there is no estimate of the total number of residents. *Commune* has become a household word.

Much can be learned from the communal movement. If it does nothing else, this movement gives some indication of the needs that have not been adequately met in the lives of those who choose to live in communes. This information may very well offer insight into the qualities of life that have been lost in modern society.

#### Who Are They?

Most of those who adhere to communal living are in the age range of 20 to 28. Typically the people living in communes have been reared in middle- or upper-class families. Individuals from poverty backgrounds or minority groups are rarely found in communes. Possibly persons from less affluent backgrounds have had all the experience they desire in sharing living quarters with several others and, consequently, do not view this as a utopian experience.<sup>2</sup>

Communes have been composed of such diverse

groups as homesteaders, political radicals, intellectuals, hippies and dropouts, pacifists, former drug addicts, psychologists, former monks in New Hampshire, Quakers in South America, and Hasidic Jews in Boston.<sup>3</sup>

In a real sense they are Establishment dropouts, disillusioned with the dominant life styles in America; they are people who believe they can find a better way of life in a group living experience with like-minded persons. The communal movement has begun to attract a larger segment of the older population as well as increasing numbers of people in the professions. Dr. Herbert Otto, Chairperson of the National Center for the Exploration of Human Potential, stated:

... a college professor in his early thirties mentioned that he had been a member of a commune composed of several psychiatrists, an engineer, a teacher, and a chemist. When I visited New York . . . a senior editor of a large publishing house casually mentioned that he and some friends were in the process of organizing a commune. They were looking for a large brownstone close to their offices.<sup>4</sup>

There are indications that, in many respects, the communal movement has been taken over by a stable, serious-minded people. Although many commune members are viewed as part of a drop-out generation, the communal movement is not simply a composite of social radicals. Commune members generally feel there is something basically wrong with the way people live and think; therefore, they have chosen to remove themselves from the mainstream of society.<sup>5</sup>

#### Types of Communes

Communes are not easily classified. They share certain characteristics, and yet they are all different. Although any classification is arbitrary, it is helpful to identify some general types of communes. Most fall in the following types: crash pads, cooperatives, and intentional communes.

#### Crash Pads

This type of commune is generally composed of hippies or runaway preteens or teenagers. It usually involves a rented apartment financed by generous parents or by a member with a job.

A crash pad commune usually has several core members and an open-door policy to anyone who wishes to drop in and stay as long as he or she wishes. Both friends and strangers "crash the pad," stay for varying periods of time, and may or may not help with expenses or with necessary work around the commune.

There is little group decision-making and everyone does pretty much what he or she wants to do. Many crash pads are little more than a night's lodging. Some do involve sharing and intragroup relationships may be developed to the point where members derive a sense of identity and security from the group.

Crash pads are the least stable type of commune. Since persons may come and go as they please, the turnover rate is high. This tends to disrupt the relationships within the group. Some members may introduce destructive drug practices. Health problems are greatest in this type of commune.<sup>6</sup>

#### Cooperatives

Cooperatives are organized living arrangements in which the members share the expense of a dwelling and its upkeep and cooperate in doing daily chores. Group decisions are made usually by majority rule. Many cooperatives have a strong political orientation as their major generative force.

#### Intentional Communes

Most members of this type of commune are involved in establishing a life style that allows them to live as they think they should. While they may establish a commune for economic or practical reasons, they also are faithful to an

ideological principle. It is the following of an ideological principle that sets them apart. Intentional communes often have a strong political or religious orientation.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Urban and Rural Communes*

Another, and perhaps the simplest, classification of communes is the division into urban and rural, or open land, communes. Most communes are located in urban areas.

A good example of an urban commune is one that was established near the University of Minnesota by a Methodist minister named Bob. The commune was housed in an old fraternity house. This commune consisted of five families including eleven children and one single woman. All the adults in the commune had private rooms. The three preschool boys were assigned to one room. The five grade school children (three boys and two girls) shared one very large room with movable partitions. The three teenagers had separate rooms.

Seven of the adults had outside jobs. Within the commune, there were rotating teams for cooking and cleaning. Some meals were common, while other meals were held separately in natural family groupings.

All the adults shared in the discipline of the children. And how were the children influenced by the communal living experience? Perhaps it is impossible to determine that at this time. However, the founder, Bob, stated, "People who knew them before and see them now tell us they seem more stable, more poised and happier."<sup>8</sup>

Another commune was started by a middle-class, Los Angeles couple. Among the things that most frustrated the couple was that they found themselves spending \$60 to \$70 each week for babysitters. They had no grandparents or nearby relatives to care for their three children. To this and other frustrations, communal living arrangements seemed to be the answer to this couple. The Los Angeles lawyer and his wife therefore formed a middle-class commune with six other like-minded couples. The couples purchased a six-unit apartment building in southern Los Angeles. They knocked

out walls and doors and built interjoining apartments and a communal nursery. The couples worked out a schedule in which they took turns doing chores. For example, each couple would do all of the housework and cooking for one week. The husbands began to take a greater part in child-rearing and cooking and apparently enjoyed increased participation in these areas.<sup>9</sup>

Some communal groups prefer to live in a rural setting. The land is purchased, leased, or acquired as a gift. As might be expected, there is a trend among the open-land communes toward ownership of land. They attempt to be self-supporting by growing much of their food, developing their own educational systems, and establishing some basis for financial independence. Many rural communes cultivate organically grown vegetables, grain, and other crops for sale to health food stores, health food wholesalers, and supermarkets.<sup>10</sup>

The differentiation of sex roles is most marked in rural communes because the nature of the work requires more division between men's and women's work, as men of necessity do the heavier work. In fact, many of these communes are very traditional, their members' life styles having come full circle.

The open-land communes especially have sought a return to the extended farm family of the past. They attempt to combine life-support and recreational activities and to integrate the aspects of life that are usually fragmented by society.

It is interesting that rural communes lean more toward a futuristic orientation than do urban communes, perhaps because people who live off the land must plan for the future to some extent, as they must anticipate the changing seasons and work within the rhythm of planting and reaping.<sup>11</sup>

Jim, a member of a rural commune in the mountains, described the life style of his group:

There are 16 people in our family. That includes five couples and six children. We are all between the ages of



22 and 28. Three of the couples are legally married, two aren't. Concerning our sexual relationships, we are monogamous. We just can't accept the sexual sharing bit. We tried it to some extent earlier, but it created too many problems, too much jealousy. Two couples split as a result. It sounds OK on paper, but it didn't work. We all feel close to each other. I mean it's a family feeling. One of the main things that has made us feel close to each other is physically working together, working with our hands, on projects important to our survival. We helped each other build our houses. We cut logs, hauled them in and put them up together. Even the women helped some. When you do something like that together, you feel close. Generally, the men do most of the heavy work. The women do the cooking, canning, sewing, and taking care of the kids. We have established a good, big garden, and manage to feed ourselves with it and even sell some produce. We eat vegetables mostly and get food stamps. We have a little income from the crafts we sell. We make our own clothes and don't use electricity, so we don't have to spend a lot of money. Every now and then, relatives and friends give us small amounts of money as gifts. Occasionally, we take outside farm labor jobs and get wages from that. I don't think I could go back to the city. There is something purifying and spiritual about living next to the land.

### History

*"All believers continued together in close fellowship and shared their belongings with one another. They would sell their property and possessions and distribute the money among them according to what they need."* This quotation from *Good News for Modern Man*, Acts 2:44-45, is one of many indications that communes are not a mid-twentieth century phenomenon born of the dissatisfaction of our times. Their existence can be traced back into earlier periods of history.

As Margaret Mead has stated, the belief that a group of like-minded, determined individuals can build a small closed society whose members share everything has recurred in most periods of social turmoil and change. In the past many communes were formed of necessity.<sup>12</sup>

In the early 1800's the first of a long series of group

living experiments emerged in the form of religious families whose withdrawal from the world took the form of communal living. Such religious groups included the Hutterites, Zoarites, Fourierites, Shakers, Moravians, Perfectionists, Spiritualists, and Separatists.

More than one hundred different utopian communes sprang up and prospered in the United States during the years before and after the Civil War. Only a few such as the Hutterites, survived.

During the early 1930's one style of communal living came to be called Bohemian. The Bohemian life style centered in New York City. These people, though not necessarily dropouts or misfits, were artistic and political liberals, many of whom went on to make outstanding artistic and political achievements in the post-World War II period. They were transient individuals, and it was remarkable that the communes stayed intact as long as they did.<sup>13</sup>

There were few developments in communal living from the 1940's to the 1960's. However, the decade of the 1960's witnessed the rebirth of communal living. The first of the new communes was established in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco in 1964.

Within three years the communal experience in Haight-Ashbury had been left in ruin by two of the communal movement's greatest enemies: drugs and the mass media. A *Newsweek* reporter described the change:

By October, 1967, the once gentle Haight-Ashbury scene had turned into an overcrowded Miami Beach for the younger generation. When things really became unbearable, word went out from the hippie elite " . . . The Haight is not where it's at—it's in your head and hands. Gather into tribes; take it anywhere. Disperse."<sup>14</sup>

It was at this point that the current communal living movement picked up steam and began to grow.

### Goals

What are the motivations behind the communal movement? What are commune members searching for? Sociologists have identified some common goals that are sought after by persons who join communes.

*Intimate Relationships*

Close, meaningful human interaction seems to be what commune members most strongly seek from their group living experience. A major personality characteristic common to commune members is an emotional isolation in childhood that is associated with a wistful desire to obtain love and security in a new kinship environment. Such people are attempting to recapture loving, accepting family relationships, which were either lost or never existed at all. Jake Jensen, a 25-year-old leader of a commune in the southwest, stated:

Our main objective was to get together a group of people who wanted to establish very emotionally close relationships with each other. We wanted to be part of a family where members really had time for each other and really cared for each other. Most of the people here did not have that type of experience while growing up.

One 18-year-old young man who lives in a commune stated:

A commune is in reality a substitute for the family. It seems like one of the reasons that this is happening is that, in the past, the father and mother were doing one trip and the kids were doing almost identically the same trip. Like not more than twenty years ago, if the son had a hassle on his mind, he could go talk to the old man and his father was hip to what was going on and could explain the trip to him. Whereas now, like there is generally a big gap between us and our parents and just no possibility—there is very little chance for them really to understand what's going on well enough to be able to explain it to you, because you are having to explain it to them.<sup>15</sup>

The desire to belong to a larger family group has been expressed over and over. This generally is a reaction against the extremely individualistic, fragmentary type of family life that many people experience today.

That today's communes model themselves after extended families in their warmth and intimacy is evidenced by the names they adopt. For example, a fifty-person commune in California called itself "The Lynch

Family." A New Mexico commune named itself "The Chosen Family." A New York City group chose the name of "The Family."

Commune members generally believe they have found the answer to overcoming alienation and depersonalization in an industrialized society. They view their way of living as a method of psychological survival.<sup>16</sup>

There is a deep desire to understand one another better and assume a greater personal responsibility for each other. One member of a commune in Philadelphia, called "A Family of Peace", located in a big, old Victorian-styled twin house, stated:

Communes, or families, can be run without getting into each other's head. When someone feels hurt, you can ignore it. When someone is depressed, withdrawing or frustrated, you can avoid them. But in a commune, one must learn when he is inconsiderate, learn what upsets other people, learn when someone needs to be drawn into the group and when he needs privacy. It's time-consuming and sometimes painful to get involved in someone else's personal problems, but if this personal responsibility for each other is lacking, the results have to be disastrous for the community in the long run.

Many commune members extend their hopes of establishing more intimate, responsible relationships beyond their particular commune. As another member of A Family of Peace commented: "We're more oriented toward the expansion of the idea of a commune. Everyone may not be living under the same plaster roof, but we're all living under the same sky."<sup>17</sup>

*Personal Growth*

Many commune members can openly and honestly criticize and support each other in encounter and sensitivity sessions. Group experiences can be a major part of the commune's activities, as the group process is used to settle disagreements, regenerate commitment, and develop a sense of intimate involvement.<sup>18</sup> One rural commune member stated:

I have found it helpful to see my faults as others see them and to see what kind of impact I have on others. There is also a feeling of satisfaction I get from the support I received from others in these "head sessions." The "head sessions" have been sort of a combination of psychoanalysis, encounter group, sensitivity group, pep meeting, confessional, and revival. Some of the encounter group sessions have gotten out of hand and people were hurt and didn't quite get put back together again. A lot of people are too sensitive for an encounter group experience, and there are some people who are too sadistic.

### *A Spiritual Rebirth*

Several people view communal living as a way of finding themselves spiritually; they are seeking a spiritual rebirth. This is reflected by the great emphasis placed upon spiritual meditation in so many communes, many of which study yoga and various Eastern religions.

Spiritual growth is the major goal of some communes such as the Nom House Commune, located in a forest near an old Indian meeting ground. Members regularly meditate and pray. Nom House was founded by a young man who claims he has direct communication with Christ.

Members of the Road #721 Commune, near Mendocino, California, expressed the view that God is found in all forms of life, and therefore, spiritual communication with animals as well as humans is taken for granted.

In the El Centro Commune in Santa Fe, "love masses" have been held under the spiritual guidance of a Catholic priest. Yoga classes were taught daily in a meditation room, and classes were also held in psychic healing, Tarot card reading, and astrology.<sup>19</sup>

### *De-emphasizing Competition*

Many communal members want to get away from the competition that is characteristic of the Western world. As one man in a religious commune stated:

"We are holists—in the sense that each of us sees himself or herself as a functioning part of a whole that is

much greater and more valuable than the sum of its parts. We each make an equal contribution. We are totally interdependent."<sup>20</sup>

By de-emphasizing competition, communes are trying to achieve a situation similar to that which exists in Hawaii among many native Hawaiian children. When a teacher asks a child a question he does not know, the other children will not answer the question because they do not want to make another child look bad. Organized football has not been popular among Hawaiian children because they do not want to try to beat each other. The children have an attitude of supportiveness toward each other that is unusual. This supportiveness in human relationships appears to be one major goal the communes are trying to achieve by de-emphasizing competition.

### *Getting Back to Nature*

We have separated ourselves from nature; we have warred against nature, exploited it, and raped it. Trees and grass have been replaced with concrete, the air and streams polluted, and much of the wildlife has been destroyed.

It is not surprising then, that one important goal of many communes is to reunite with nature, to work the soil and grow organic food. Many commune members deliver their babies at home by natural childbirth techniques. For others the practice of birth control methods is considered unnatural.

There is, in fact, evidence that most commune members are concerned with all aspects of ecology.<sup>21</sup> A deep respect and reverence for nature and the ecosystem is characteristic. One 24-year-old rural commune member expressed his feelings:

After living most of my life in the artificial and machine-dominated world, it has been like a breath of fresh air to me to live next to nature. To work with my hands, to feel the wind hitting my face, to hear birds singing, to be able to lie down on the ground when I want to, to see something grow that I've planted, is really living

for me. This is what I had been wanting for a long time. In a real way, this close contact with nature makes me feel closer to God. When you are in a commune like this one, you are forced to have a close relationship with nature, you must respect it and cooperate with it.

### *Rebelling against the Establishment*

For many persons a basic motivation in choosing a commune is rebellion against the Establishment. For others living in a commune is a demonstration of their rejection of their parents' way of life. It is a way of saying no to the work ethic, no to competition, no to industrialism and technology.

### **Achieving Objectives**

Do those who adopt the communal way of life achieve what they seek? There are indications that many do and are quite satisfied. They feel that through group living they grow as persons, they experience closer, more meaningful relationships, as well as a greater spiritual awareness.

There is also evidence that many persons do not achieve what they seek. One indication of this is the high degree of instability that characterizes most communes.

One young investigator, Elia Katz, who was sympathetic to the counterculture in which he sought a satisfying life style, discovered some major problems in communal living. Katz toured communes across the nation and concluded that the growth of communes was a significant development in our society with implications for future changes in life styles, but, in general, he reported finding unhappy individuals who were apparently made even more miserable by living in communes. He repeatedly encountered hypocrisy among commune members.

Katz also found that in the communes he studied there was no room for individuals. Each person is urged to rid himself of the characteristics that make him different, eventually becoming almost interchangeable with other group members. As Katz noted, a person is encouraged to explore what it is about himself that he prizes, what defines him as a person, and then to get rid of it.<sup>22</sup>

### **Problems**

Although establishing better relationships is one of the major goals of commune members, it is ironic that interpersonal relationships are a major problem area in many communes. The close, intimate relationships people seek in group living are not often found.

### *Interpersonal Relationships*

Relationships are often more superficial than those experienced outside the commune. With several people living in close quarters, it is a considerable challenge to establish an intense relationship with any one person. A person's interaction, affection, and time are diffused to the extent that some individuals have difficulty establishing the intimate relationships they want.

The following conversation with a 25-year-old woman reflected a concern over forming close relationships:

Question: Do you believe that your relationships have become more loving since your experience with communal living began?

Answer: I feel that I have become a more loving person. I seem to be better able to accept people.

Question: Do you feel that you truly love everyone in your commune?

Answer: Yes. It is easier to love some more than others, but I feel that I have a loving attitude toward everyone in the group.

Question: Do you think everyone in the commune loves you?

Answer: Yes. But there is a big disillusionment here for me. After a while, it loses something, and I wonder if we're just mouthing a lot of words.

Question: What do you mean?

Answer: Well, Jim over there says he loves me. And that's just fine, but after I think about it awhile, there's not anything

special about it. I mean, so what? Jim loves everybody. I guess I'm a little confused. It's good to love everybody, but I still want to be a special person for someone.

It is most difficult for four or more persons from different families and backgrounds to live together harmoniously in a family-style situation. When a large group of individuals share close quarters, particularly if there is no authority structure, the possibilities for interpersonal conflict are greatly multiplied. Arguments, conflict, and jealousy are indeed disruptive forces in communes.

Mary K. had evidently enjoyed her stay at a California mysticism commune. She had been taken in there by Joe and his "old lady," Sally. Mary described the situation there as "great," and the people as "beautiful." She spoke sadly of the reason for her enforced departure. "Well, it was like this. I got pregnant. Sally got all uptight. She and Joe and I were real close, and all of a sudden, she blew the whole relationship. She was really angry about my being pregnant. Somebody told me she was jealous. There was something wrong and she couldn't get pregnant. Anyway, the relationship came apart. They gave me the silent treatment—Sally more than Joe; but he froze me out, too. One day another guy gave me twenty bucks and said I'd better split. So, I did."

After having lived in a middle-class commune in the northwest called The Community, David French suggested that communal life is as alienating as more traditional life styles. He reported that building interpersonal relationships over a period of time in a commune requires that a person stretch himself in uncomfortable directions, something most people are unwilling to make a genuine effort to do. He further concluded that:

... if the counterculture has rejected grades, authority, the nuclear family, it has carried over from the straight world, the fragmentation of lives, immersion in abstraction, and an atomistic version of individual growth.<sup>23</sup>

### *Authority and Structure*

Lack of authority and structure contribute greatly to the instability of communes. To survive, certain daily jobs must be performed. Someone has to cook, someone has to buy, grow, or hunt the food, and someone has to be responsible for providing the fuel to keep warm.

In many communes there is so much emphasis upon "doing your own thing" and so much anti-establishment sentiment against authority that no one in the group is responsible to anyone else, and no one is really responsible for any particular task. As a result essential tasks are never done. It creates a situation ripe for arguments and disagreement over who should do what. Nancy M. talks about a California commune:

We usually had plenty to eat. Good food. Of course, the whole place was an awful mess. Nobody really bothered to clean things up. The chicks were supposed to take turns making the food—three of them at a time. Only some of them would just wander off when it was their turn. I got so I could cook pretty good food after awhile. I even liked cooking as long as I didn't have to wash things afterwards.<sup>24</sup>

Lou Gottlieb, an entertainer formerly with the Lime Litters, established a 32-acre commune called Morning Star. Gottlieb believed that with no rules or organizations, hostilities would not arise. He did believe, however, that the land would select the people, and if the commune became too crowded, some people would leave. Morning Star lasted little more than a year.

Research indicates that the communes that are successful and permanent are those that are structured and that have definite authority patterns. These authority patterns are often of a religious nature.<sup>25</sup>

### *Lack of Privacy*

Few problems have been more apparent in communal living than the lack of privacy. A common practice in open-

land communes is for an individual to walk off into the woods or fields in order to have some privacy and solitude.

Commune members often discover the truth that B.F. Skinner described in *Walden Two*, namely that, in a world of communal living, the greatest treasure a person may have is a room of his own. It is interesting that in the Twin Oaks commune in Virginia, there was considerable debate concerning whether to expand facilities in order to accommodate more members or to give the present members more private rooms.

Associated with the problem of giving up privacy, many persons find it trying to give up their private possessions. As one commune member stated:

It was hard for me to give up what was mine. It was harder than I ever realized it would be to give up things like my television, stereo, and my car. I would not share my wife, and I never intend to do that.

In some communes each member of the group has his or her own room, but even so, group living infringes on an individual's privacy and freedom to do what he wishes when he wishes.

#### *Community Relations*

Communes often find themselves in conflict with authorities or unfriendly neighbors. One woman in an urban commune stated:

We don't have any problems with our neighbors here. We've been careful to avoid that. Most of us have been in communes that had had problems with the community. In the commune I lived in before this one, we were constantly harassed by the neighbors. They despised us and resented our living close to them. I think they were afraid of us. They didn't like our clothes, our long hair, or our use of drugs. They thought we were constantly involved in sex orgies. Anyway, the police started coming around and harassing us pretty often. We became afraid they would find the drugs. The whole business became too much of a hassle and we left.

Many commune members realize that there have been

good reasons for hostility on the part of surrounding communities toward them. Many commune leaders are attempting to correct this situation. For example, an editorial in an underground paper in Hawaii advised hippie commune members that they would do well to stop creating problems for themselves by antagonizing members of the community through such acts as leaving a trail of garbage over the land and engaging in sexual intercourse on the side of the road. Another article that was widely circulated in the underground press, stated:

. . . People in Truchas, by the way, were angry at the hippies for at least one very good reason. . . . Hippies came to Truchas and started washing their clothes and taking baths in the drinking water. . . . Unfortunately, our people have made the same mistake here that we made on the Lower East Side and in the Haight. We don't bother to get to know our neighbors, to find out the local situation, to give them a chance to get to know us as people. . . . Unless we can sit down and talk with them, work with them, bake good bread for them, then they're not going to understand where we're at, and that can become dangerous. . . . If you can't be brothers with your neighbors, then go some place else.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Lack of Stability*

Perhaps the most glaring problem experienced by communes is their instability. The turnover rate is very high. People often enter and leave at will with little feeling of commitment to the group. For example the turnover at Twin Oaks in Virginia during one year was approximately 70 percent. With this high rate of turnover, any sense of group identity and family closeness is hard to achieve. Also those who leave are often the most competent—these are the people who still expect to receive special recognition for their talents.<sup>27</sup> Feelings of not being appreciated apparently prompt them to leave.

Those communes that greet new members with open arms often must put up with the destabilizing influence of free-loaders who drop in for a weekend or short period of

time, get what they can, and leave. The situation of Anaphia Farm is one example:

There is a hippie grapevine. It passes messages far and wide—with astonishing speed. Word passed swiftly through HippieLand that there was a new commune in West Virginia. It was called Anaphia Farm—what a gas!—and the cat who owned it had plenty of bread. Everybody was welcome and everything was FREE. Within a month, Anaphia Farm had almost 40 people of both sexes. Some brought a little money. Most brought only ravenous appetites for whatever they could get FREE. During the 14 months that Anaphia Farm was in existence, there were 4 major turnovers of people living at the farm.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Financial Instability*

Though commune members ideologically de-emphasize materialism and money, financial problems persistently plague them. Trouble arises over how the limited funds should be spent, and frequently the necessities of life are not obtained because of a lack of money. Malnutrition and ill health among commune members are directly related to inadequate funds.

The basic reason for the financial problems is related to the attitudes of many commune members toward work, as indicated by the following statement of a 25-year-old male leader of a southwestern commune:

We have rejected the idea that everybody has to earn a living. People don't have to work from eight to five to justify their right to live. We believe people should do what they enjoy doing when they want to do it. We have to have some income, and it is a problem sometimes. But we just have to work it out. Some of us have part-time jobs and that helps; others do some crafts, which brings income.

Like many other communes, at Freedom Farm, a rural group, the majority of the members lived on welfare, unemployment compensation, and food stamps. A few members had part-time jobs picking apples and harvesting wheat. Some engaged in crafts, free-lance writing, making wall hangings, selling jewelry to psychedelic shops, and

raising rabbits. One member made \$50 a month from his leather work. One of the leaders of Freedom Farm believed that they could become self-supporting by growing organic grains to sell by mail order. However, there was not enough cooperation among commune members to accomplish this.<sup>36</sup>

The *Whole Earth Catalog*, a popular source book for people living in communes, undoubtedly owes some of its popularity to the fact that it offers information on how to make a better go of communal living financially. For example the *Whole Earth Catalog* lists tools and books for making furniture, repairing cars, building houses from styrofoam, car tops, or mud, and raising bees for honey. It refers readers to other books such as *How to Get Out of the Rat Race and Live on \$10 a Month* and *How to Live on Nothing*.

#### *Sanitation*

Sanitation is a trying problem in some communes. Some urban groups are housed in run-down, rat-infested buildings, though the sanitation problem has perhaps been more of a problem in rural communes, which frequently have limited sanitation systems.

At one open-land commune called Wheeler's, it was reported that six chemical toilets had been installed in order to comply with county sanitation requirements. The owner of Wheeler's Ranch stated: "I wouldn't go in one of those toilets if you paid me. It's very important for us to be able to use the ground because we are completing a cycle, returning to Mother Earth what she's given us."<sup>30</sup>

The overall sanitation system at many communes is haphazard and, as a result, the water is contaminated. Until people adjust to the water, they may suffer from dysentery, and there may also be periodic outbreaks of hepatitis or typhoid fever.

#### *Legal Problems*

Because communes lack a legal identity, they inevitably face some legal problems. One example is that of 14 youths

who formed a commune and considered themselves a family.

They had to go to court in order to answer to the application of local zoning laws which prohibit more than four persons from living in the same dwelling unless they were members of one family. The decision of the court was that simply living together and considering themselves to be a family did not constitute a legal family. The judge concluded that communes have voluntary and changing membership with no legal obligations of support and cohabitation and that they are legally indistinguishable from such traditional groups as residence clubs and religious communes. The judge further concluded that the right to form communes was protected by the constitution, but the right of commune members to live under the same roof in any part of the city which they desire is not upheld by the constitution.<sup>31</sup>

Communes also face the legal problems of property ownership. Which commune member (or members) holds the deed to property: the group may own? If they are all named on the deed, are new members names added as they join the commune? Consider an example of the case of a young woman joining an established group. She has savings amounting to \$200. The money goes into a common fund. After a year, during which time she contributes her earnings to the commune, she decides to leave. What property is she entitled to take with her? If the commune has purchased furniture or equipment during her stay, what part of it belongs to her? Also unless legal marriage has been incorporated into the structure of the group, children may face the difficulties of illegitimacy.

#### Sexual Relationships

"Who sleeps with whom?" "Do you have monogamous relationships?" "Do you practice group sex?"

Commune members indicate that they are often asked such questions by outsiders, that there is more interest in the sexual relationships than in any other aspect of communal living. Michael R. talks about sexual relationships in his very successful rural New Mexico commune:

The commune is made up of family units—couples with or without children. Monogamy is the rule—in the sense that most of the couples here, whether legally married or not, choose to be monogamous. We do not have any group sex here. There are no "love-ins" or other exhibitionistic-voyeuristic orgies or sexual activities of the kind that the media so often like to associate with communes and communitarian living.<sup>32</sup>

Many communes exercise strict limitations on sexual behavior. There is sometimes complete sexual abstinence on ethical grounds, and some communes emphasize rechanneling the sexual impulse through sublimation.

In fact some researchers have observed that erotic sex is less conspicuous and that there is less sexual titillation and curiosity in communes than among the general public. The interesting observation has also been made that less extramarital involvement, including flirtation and sexual intercourse, takes place in communes than among the more traditional middle-class.<sup>33</sup>

Sexual behavior varies from commune to commune just as it does among individuals in the larger society. Many communes practice sexual exclusivity while others have no restrictions at all. The most stable communes practice monogamous sexual relationships and reflect a high degree of commitment in these relationships.

Research indicates that a belief in monogamous sexual relationships is a norm for most commune members. Regardless of the presence of a permissive ideology that says, "If my partner wants to have sexual relations with someone else, it is better for this desire to be satisfied than unsatisfied," violation of the sexual exclusivity norm tends to cause great tensions among group members.<sup>34</sup>

Dr. Herbert Otto, in his study of communes, found that even with the considerable degree of permissiveness in some communes, there was also a high degree of pairing off and a tendency toward commitment in a continuing relationship. Nudism was observed to be casual and accepted. Contrary to popular belief, group sex took place quite rarely.



### Childrearing Practices

We believe in natural childbirth and, when a child is being born, the whole group is present and celebrates by chanting and singing. The father usually helps in the delivery of his child. We encourage this; it symbolizes his connection with the child.

This statement by a commune member accurately describes the childbirth practices of many communes. The emphasis upon natural childbirth is a basic part of the ideology of many communes. One reason for this emphasis seems to be a rejection of the idea of childbirth as an illness requiring hospitals and doctors, although a midwife or even a doctor frequently assists with the births.

Another reason relates to the identity of the child and the commune, for when "officials" who preside at hospital births are not present, there is the feeling that the child belongs more to the family or commune rather than to the State.<sup>35</sup> For this same reason many commune members also reject birth certificates. They question the process of human certification and regard the birth certificate as a method of putting a person in line for taxation, Social Security, and what many commune members believe is an indoctrination into society's values through compulsory public school education. Many commune members feel that, by rejecting birth certificates, they are counteracting the mechanized and depersonalized aspects of life in a technological society. Immediately following delivery, the newborn child is given to the mother in order to provide a sense of continuity in the birth process. The newborn rarely leaves the mother, accompanying her everywhere.

Most commune babies are breast-fed for as long as the mother is able and the child is willing. Many mothers still nurse their 2-year-old children. Many commune members feel that breast-feeding is healthier for the child and preserves the natural cycle of life.

Many feel that eating food of an organic or primarily vegetarian nature also preserves the natural cycle of life. For this reason many parents do not permit their children to eat foods with synthetic additives or artificial foodstuffs.

Commune children are reared in a variety of family settings. Various nuclear units within a commune can and do exist, including legally married couples and their children, as well as unmarried couples with and without children.

In some communes the child is considered the responsibility of the nuclear family unit within the commune, while in others the child is the responsibility of, and is believed to belong to, the entire group. In any event most communes think of themselves as extended families and, to a greater or lesser degree, most consider childrearing a responsibility of all the adult members. Ideally a child will grow up feeling that he or she has several mothers and fathers.

As might be expected, however, the biological parents are usually closer to the child and assume more responsibility for child care than do the other adults. It is beneficial to the child to have many adult models to learn from, rather than just one or two, and for the mother to be freed from the necessity of spending all her time at home.

The hope is that the children will feel that they are loved by many and that they belong to a large family group with several "mothers," "fathers," "uncles," and "aunts." In this way whatever strengths the natural parents may lack are made up by other adults in the commune. One male commune member stated:

A child who grows up in a commune feeling that he has several parents avoids being isolated in his adult contacts to primarily two people who may or may not be good for him. Also, think of the security it can give a child to know that he is loved by several adults. You've heard the example of a child at a PTA meeting being asked to stand with his parents. He stands along with seven of his "parents." That's security.

Considering childrearing a responsibility of all the commune members can pose a problem. For example when two or more members disagree concerning the discipline or guidance of a child, a situation is created that is conducive to conflict and resentment.

Childrearing practices are generally permissive. The

dominant philosophy is to allow children to do as they wish in order for each to develop individuality and creativity.

Only the lightest of pressures toward conformity are exerted. This is demonstrated by such examples as a father who refused to take a smoking pipe away from his 16-month-old son who was smoking it and would not give it up, even though he was coughing from the smoke. The father exerted very little pressure, assuming that the child would willingly give the pipe up eventually, which he did.

Permissiveness does create some difficulties. Communal parents sometimes find it necessary to sacrifice their beliefs in the natural creativity of children and the right of children to choose their own activities in order to provide necessary discipline and encourage conformity to certain values and practices of the commune, such as spiritual meditation. Communal parents seem to experience a persistent dilemma concerning guidance and discipline.

Most communes consider themselves to be an extended family, and children are deliberately indoctrinated to feel a sense of kinship with other children as well as adults in the group. Appealing to this sense of kinship is a common way of trying to settle conflict among children. For example, a parent might say to a child, "Johnny is your brother, don't hurt him."<sup>56</sup>

Educational practices for children vary, with some communes sending their children to public school systems, while others assume responsibility for the education of the children and form their own schools. Education of children may be conducted exclusively within a single commune or sometimes through a cooperative effort of several communes.

As one female member of a rural commune stated:

... We have until a child is eight years old in this area before we have to send them to school. We will not unless it is totally impossible, we will not send a child to public school. We don't know how long we will live here, we don't know. Hopefully, ideally, we will be able to raise our children pretty much on our own, we don't know. It is

possible that by that time, we will have someone here with a teaching credential, then we will probably teach the children here—or use a correspondence school.<sup>57</sup>

Communal education for children is frequently based upon practices of communal living such as folk art, organic gardening, music, and singing. In many communes there is a complete absence of television because members feel it also influences their children with unacceptable values of the larger society.<sup>58</sup>

#### *Advantages of Communal Childrearing*

Some advantages of communal living for children have been listed by several investigators as follows:<sup>59</sup>

1. Children can experience a sense of belonging to people other than their parents.
2. Children are exposed to many adult role models. They have close contact with several men and several women.
3. There is a decreased dependency on the natural parents. A child may feel that he or she has several parents, or at least several family members, on whom to depend. If one of the natural parents is absent, a child still has a number of close, caring relationships with other adults.
4. Communal children might possibly experience an easier transition to adult life as they are often given the opportunity to make contributions to the commune. They develop a sense of responsibility of having their own work to do. In this way they become a vital part of the life of the commune.
5. If the commune has its own enterprise, the child sees work and family life integrated as a whole. The child sees parents work and often works side by side with them, thus creating a strong sense of solidarity and togetherness.
6. The child is frequently well trained in cooperation since it is a necessary part of daily life in a commune.
7. It is felt that communal children do not grow up alienated from adults as do many children in traditional

nuclear families, because the communal child is constantly involved with adults.

#### *Disadvantages of Communal Childrearing*

A great deal remains unanswered about rearing children in communes. Much more time is necessary to determine the actual effects upon a child, particularly since most of the children observed in communes are age six or younger. There are some indications of some problems and potential disadvantages of communal childrearing. Conflict and resentment can emerge among the adults concerning the discipline of children, particularly when childrearing is considered a responsibility of all the adults.

There is often a problem with education. For children who do not attend a public school, what is the alternative? Correspondence school may not be adequate. Educational practices within the commune may be insufficient. Could a child be severely handicapped in later adult life because he or she did not receive an education of the same general type and quality as children attending public schools?

Childrearing practices in communes are often overly permissive. The practices are sometimes so permissive that the child does not develop the self-discipline to cope with frustration and to achieve his or her desired goals.<sup>40</sup>

The high turnover rate of communes may shake a child's sense of security and stability concerning his family. As he sees his other "mothers", "fathers", "brothers", and "sisters" leave the commune, he may come to fear close attachments to anyone because they could leave at any time.

It is quite possible that many children living in communes do not receive the care and attention they need. Research studies indicate that adult commune members tend to think of themselves as children, that they view their futures as uncertain and their lives as unsettled in childlike ways. Partially as a result of this view, the adult members of communes are generally not willing to sacrifice their own personal search for identity in order to devote full time to the rearing of their children.

Another attitude about children common among adults in communes is that all children are worthy of love and respect, but not necessarily of attention. As children grow out of the physical dependence upon adults, they are treated like any other member of the communal family.<sup>41</sup> While this view could have some positive effects, it could also very easily result in the needs of some children being ignored.

#### **Economic Support and Property**

Communes ideally seek economic self-sufficiency, yet the major source of support in most is welfare, unemployment compensation, and food stamps. Commune members are aware of this dilemma, but have no solution.

In many communes the members work at outside jobs at least on a part-time basis and give their wages to the group. Such communes operate with a common treasury, and the commune has the responsibility to support everyone economically.

As sociologist Dr. Rosabeth Kanter reported:

Many of today's communards believe that money and private property create barriers between people. Money should be thrown into a common pot and property should belong to anyone who uses it. This acceptance of common ownership is reflected in the answer of a small child in a Cambridge commune, questioned about who owned a cat. He said, "*The cat is everyone's.*"<sup>42</sup>

Some communes run businesses such as farms, crafts, and toy manufacturing, and gas stations. Still, subsistence farming and small craft industries generally do not provide enough income to meet the necessary expenses of food, utilities, mortgage, rent, or machinery.

As a result, communes continue depending upon welfare, benefactors, generous parents, or inheritances. This also pressures commune members to seek at least part-time employment with employers or institutions within what they consider Establishment culture. This, of course, contradicts some of their major objectives, such as getting away

from alienating work, fleeing congested, polluted cities, and living off the land.

There is often a reluctance among people in communes to engage in the kinds of commercial activities that might bring them the economic strength they need to achieve the institutional completeness and independence they seek. For example two commune members who were writing a book on natural childbirth refused offers from commercial publishers. Instead they insisted upon going through the difficult process of publishing and distributing the book themselves.

Persons in communes are often discouraged from developing any special skills they may possess. Too great an involvement in one's talents is regarded as an "ego trip" that may distract from the solidarity of the whole group.

Most communes seek to re-establish work as a "holy" and natural activity in which the worker experiences fulfillment, peace, and individual growth, a theory that is best illustrated by the example of religious feeling with which communal gardens are tended.

Work is usually not organized except for the necessary daily tasks, such as cooking and care of animals. Most of the other work is not scheduled, and there are no deadlines. Usually the need to get something done does not take precedence over the willingness of people to do it.

Women assume most of the traditional women's work; however, this depends more upon the skills or training a woman may have than upon tradition. For example a woman skilled in a craft is apt to spend her time doing that in order to bring in money. If she lacks specialized training, she is more likely to cook, sew, care for the children or tend the garden. She is less likely to haul lumber or do other heavy work that men are physically better able to do.<sup>43</sup> Particularly among rural communes, it has been observed that:

... While both sexes work, women are generally in a service such as waitress, masseuse, and secretary. Male dominance is held desirable by both sexes. The recog-

nized dress is in a semi-rural or western style which emphasizes sexual differences. The women tend to wear long dresses and long hair, while the men tend toward the western or frontier clothing of boots, rough woven clothes, and outdoor jackets.<sup>44</sup>

#### The Stability of Communal Life

What contributes to the stability of communes? If we can answer this question, perhaps we can gain greater insight into human nature and what it takes to survive.

Research has indicated that the most stable and successful communes share the following characteristics:

- Monogamous sexual relationships
- Large age range
- Religious orientation
- Presence of authority and structured delegation of tasks
- Respect for individual privacy
- Noncompetitive achievement orientation
- Stable source of income
- No use of hard drugs
- Good relationships with the surrounding community and local law enforcement authorities

The commune to which Jitendra C. belongs demonstrates many of the characteristics that are typical of successful communes:

Jitendra C. is a member of an urban commune in Los Angeles. It occupies two apartment buildings that are next door to each other. The buildings have been joined by an enclosed gallery and considerable remodeling has produced a number of smaller individual apartments and some communal rooms.

This is a religious commune. The religion is based on Eastern beliefs—mainly Hindu.

There are 21 adults in the commune. There are five married couples, four single men, and seven single women. Each single person has his own apartment, and each married couple has an apartment. The members range in age from 21 to 33, with the exception of one couple who are 52 and 49.

While all drugs—"hard" or "soft"—are prohibited, the

members do drink a liquid made from a mushroom. The liquid is said to expand consciousness. It is used only during certain religious rituals that occur about once a month.

About half of the commune members are employed in some capacity and earn salaries or wages. All income goes into a common fund. Five persons work within the commune doing housekeeping, cooking, repairs, etc. The rest of the commune members perform free services for persons in need. Their activities include a drug rehabilitation center, providing free legal advice to the poor, free counseling to poor families, and work with runaways, unwed mothers, and migratory workers. There is no jealousy, as each commune member sees himself contributing equally to the functioning of the commune.

The commune operates on a democratic basis. Each member has one vote. There is a three-member governing board elected for a one-year term. Another board of three administers financial matters.

At first the commune encountered some hostility from neighbors. As the neighbors' fear diminished, they became curious. Neighbors began asking questions. Commune members answered the questions courteously. When the neighbors saw the commune making property improvements, relationships improved even more. The commune contributes to charity funds, buys Girl Scout Cookies, and participates in other activities which the neighbors consider signs of citizenship and neighborliness.<sup>45</sup>

#### Similarities between the Communal and Poverty Subcultures

Dr. Gail Fullerton observed some interesting points of similarity between communal living and the poverty culture. Her observations will be considered briefly. A basic difference, as Dr. Fullerton pointed out, is that persons living in a poverty culture *do not choose* their life style.

Communal living, like the poverty culture, encourages behavior patterns that help members survive and flourish within the context of the subculture, but at the same time, they serve to prevent movement out of the subculture. This is especially true of those who become deeply involved in the use of hard drugs.

Urban communes, like the urban poor, are often

located in the deteriorated slum sections of the city. They tend to locate in these sections for essentially the same reasons: cheap rent and security from interference by police and the surrounding community.

Commune members, like many of the very poor, tend to emphasize the present rather than the future. This is in part because, in both subcultures, survival on a day-to-day basis requires all of their energies. The attitude is one of "live today and tomorrow will take care of itself."

Both commune members and the very poor tend to de-emphasize achievement by middle-class standards. People in communes often express the belief that ambition and the motivation to achieve are vices; ambition is viewed as an "ego trip." This is emphasized to the point where a commune member may feel that he or she has achieved a victory over self by failing to achieve or by not having any desire to achieve.

The communal counterculture and the poverty culture both express a sense of fatalism. The belief has been internalized that life is influenced not by an individual's effort but by fate or luck. This is illustrated by commune members' tendency to shun the traditional, scientific approach to life and by their great interest in such ancient arts as astrology and Tarot.

In communes and poverty subcultures there is a distrust of authority. One reason is that the use of drugs is common in both cultures, which provides a reason to fear authority. In a sense both cultures tend to view themselves as underdogs at the mercy of a culture represented by various authorities such as the police and political leaders.

In communes and the poverty culture cohabitation or consensual union is accepted. In both subcultures relationships are often not expected to be permanent, and males are often not able to provide financial support for a family. There is also a reluctance for individuals to tie themselves to a mate who is immature and demanding.

#### Comment

People who join communes are largely searching for

more intimate relationships and an extended family experience. The increase in communal living arrangements during the last few years has been phenomenal and can be expected to continue. Only a relatively small number of persons will be attracted to communal living, however, and most of those who do experiment with it will return to their former, traditional life styles after a few months. The family will not be replaced by communes.

It is significant that in one of the most publicized and successful communal systems, the Israeli kibbutz, there has been a return to the family. The kibbutz experiment began in 1920 and embraced the values of farming and collective ownership of property. The interests and welfare of the group were to take precedence over individual interests. It was their intent to abolish the family, since they believed it was emotionally confining for adults and children. It is interesting that, in this system designed to eliminate the family, the family bonds have survived. In fact, family intimacy has emerged stronger than ever in recent years in the kibbutz. Members are now experiencing close parent-child and grandparent-child relationships. The new wave of family orientation in the kibbutz seems in part to reflect a desire among adults to give children and grandchildren the family closeness and warmth that they did not receive.<sup>46</sup>

Most commune members are trying to escape the loneliness, restrictiveness, hypocrisy, and materialism that they see in the Establishment. Yet, many of the same problems, such as the conflict between individualism and conformity to the group, occur in the communes. Undoubtedly, many persons have tried communal life and failed because they were not suited for it temperamentally. It is interesting to note that recent studies show that children raised in communes display various negative effects with respect to social, intellectual, and emotional development.<sup>47</sup>

A contributor to the *Whole Earth Catalog* summarized his experiences with communal living. He stated that if the commune is to survive, "it must be authoritarian, and if it is authoritarian, it offers no more freedom than conventional

society. Those communes based on freedom inevitably fail, usually within a year."<sup>48</sup>

Observation of life in communes offers some insight into what it takes to survive as a group or society. The findings listed earlier concerning the characteristics of stable, successful communes, such as monogamous sexual relationships, high religious orientation, and the presence of authority and structure, have implications for our entire society.

The communal movement could act as a positive influence on traditional family life in America by making us aware of some of the reasons that have caused some people to join communes: the lack of time to spend with a family and lives that are frequently fragmented by demands, pressures, and activities.

The communal movement has brought this unfortunate condition to our attention. Such a fragmented, busy life style needs to be re-examined. Is it really necessary to live like this? If each family could find a way to decrease the fragmentation, participate in joint activities that are mutually rewarding, and genuinely enjoy each other's company, family life and human relationships in general would be strengthened.

Some of the values and goals to which commune members aspire could undoubtedly operate as a positive influence upon society in general. Examples of five such values emphasized by communes are:

- A respect for, and desire to, get closer to nature
- A desire for a brotherhood and sisterhood of close, truly family-like relationships with each other
- A need to become more people-oriented and less object-oriented
- A desire to move away from manipulation and dishonesty in relationships
- A desire to establish work as an activity in which the individual can experience fulfillment and peace.