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DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF AN
INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY CALLED
MCFARLANE'S FARM.

A Thesis
Presented to the
School of Sociology
and
School of Psychology
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In Partial
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by
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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a description and analysis of an intentional community. It contrasts individual's intentions with their obvious* behaviour and endeavours to understand how and why this behaviour is not simply a consequence of these intentions, but is modified further by the individual's cultural background, i.e. values, sentiments, life styles and continuing social relationships. In the conclusion, I offer some practical suggestions arising out of my experience which may help others who decide to lead a communal life or undertake action research on intentional communities.

Definition of the 'Intentional Community'

By 'intentional community', I am referring to a certain group of persons who voluntarily decide to associate with each other in a common way of life. This involves sharing a common home different from that previously experienced by each individual newly participating. By 'intention' I take the same meaning as that proposed by The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1964), which is "intending; thing intended, purpose, ...ultimate aim;..." The intention to live a new way of life is the important factor that is essential to the definition of the term 'intentional community'. What happened to this latter intention and other intentions of individual persons participating, is included in the analysis of the data of this thesis.

When I refer to 'the community', I mean an intentional community called McFarlane's Farm which is the subject of this thesis. It was established in February, 1972, and I undertook research for seven months until the end of August of the same year.

At its inception, the community constituted ten adults (five males, five females) and four children (two males, two females). The age range of these individuals was as follows;

2, 6, 7, 7, 18, 18, 18, 20, 20, 20, 20, 29, 32, 40.

Eleven other individuals (six males, five females) came later to live at the community. Their age range was as follows; 15, 16, 16, 18, 18, 18, 18, 20, 22, 84.

*I use the term 'obvious'; in the sense of manifest, overt.

The community was not an upper middle class white elite, but representative of society, (in the Conrad Arensberg sense).⁽¹⁾ i.e. variety in age group representation; single, married and retired people; children and elderly people; ethnic representation; variety in occupational status; variety in technical, artistic, manual, intellectual practical and aesthetical abilities; variety of personality types. Availability of persons who were willing to live in the community was more important and it was not our intention to apply a means test to everybody. We were just glad that the community approached this type of representation. For example, at its inception, the community consisted of three students, one lecturer and his wife, their four children, three full time city workers and two part time workers.

Theoretical Approach

Because many individual persons in the community had anti-organisational and anti-professional attitudes, I decided that the phenomenological approach would be best for deriving the description of the community and that participant observation would be the best method to use for collecting data. An advantage of using the methods of phenomenology and participant observation is that they are not restricted to the fields of psychology and sociology but exhibit a form that is humanistic and interdisciplinary in character. Consequently any suspicion or resentment from individuals in the community is in the main directed to the person undertaking the research, rather than being projected onto the method being used. In this way criticism can be better handled by the researcher without having to change his method in any obvious manner during the course of the research.

Spiegelberg (1965) describes seven different steps in the phenomenological method which guide the researcher. These steps are as follows:

1. Investigating particular phenomena.
2. Investigating general essences.
3. Apprehending essential relationships among essences.
4. Watching modes of appearing.
5. Watching the constitution of phenomena in consciousness.

6. Suspending belief in the existence of the phenomena.

7. Interpreting the meaning of phenomena. (2)

Bruyn (1967) (3) divides step one into three subphases: a) an intuitive grasp of the phenomena b) their analytic examination and c) their description. These actions require the researcher to become highly aware of his subject and its surroundings in order to obtain an accurate intuitive grasp of it. In this sense the participant observer uses the phenomenological approach in so far as he describes his subject with every effort to eliminate his preconceptions about it. He has no hypothesis to direct him; he takes special pains to conduct his research with a totally open mind, open in depth to all the stimuli that impinge upon his consciousness during his investigation.

While the traditional empiricist sets up many preconceptions of his subject through his study of background materials, his definition of variables, his hypotheses and the causal order he expects to find among his variables; the phenomenologist and the participant observer, on the other hand, tend to let the variables define themselves in the context of the research. The researcher does look for variables and their definition and then for relationships between them but the phenomenologist prefers to examine causal relations between these variables on the basis of the social perception of the subjects themselves. At the time of writing this thesis, a needed reaction against traditional empiricism has continued to take its course; but the approach of the phenomenologist and the participant observer still merits emphasis. That is upon following those procedures which best allow the subjects to speak for themselves in contrast to the traditional empiricist who emphasises procedures which help explain the subjects from an independent standpoint.

The fourth step which Spiegelberg (1965) (4) calls 'watching modes of appearing', stresses the importance of seeing objects as they actually exist rather than as we imagine they exist. I do not want to give the impression that traditional empiricism and phenomenology are directly opposed methodologically to each other. Phenomenology

actually preceded empiricism as an approach to knowledge before science branched off from philosophy and established its own specialised stance. The present day reemphasis of phenomenology is a reaction against excessive empiricism. My hope is that phenomenology could underly true empiricism as a kind of foundation to the scientific method. With Bruyn (1967)⁽⁵⁾, I emphasise three points which both phenomenology and participant observation have in common in opposition to traditional empiricism.

1. The new researchers seek to investigate particular phenomena without preconception of their nature while the traditional empiricist is definitive in his preconceptions and his experimental design prior to his investigation.
2. The new researchers observe phenomena that appear symbolically in their consciousness and treat these symbols as data whereas the traditional empiricist observes first what immediately appears to his senses and often restricts his study solely to the realm of sense data.
3. The new researchers intuit essences and essential relations existing in the symbolic data they study whereas traditional empiricists operationally define variables which have visible reference and which can then be studied for their correspondence statistically.

In adopting the methods of phenomenology and participant observation for this research, I do not want to give the impression that I regard them to be the same in spite of their common differences with traditional empiricism. The phenomenologist studies symbolic meanings as they constitute themselves in human consciousness. The participant observer does this too but he is more concerned with how symbols are constituted in particular cultures or subcultures and he studies these symbols through the process of taking the role of the people who normally experience these symbols. In the process of taking their role, the participant observer becomes personally involved in living with the culture or subculture he studies. He then has the problem of balancing his involvement with objective detachment in arriving at an accurate accounting

of the culture or subculture. The traditional empiricist is inclined to be apprehensive towards any suggestion of involvement because he sees it as alien to the values of the scientific process of gaining objective knowledge.

What I am endeavouring to do in this piece of research is to give supremacy to an inner perspective of man in society. I am observing man in his concreteness and subjectiveness as opposed to the abstractness and objectiveness of the traditional empiricist and theorist; I am observing man as a social being with freedom, intentions and purpose as opposed to observing him deterministically as the product of external forces, although external forces must be taken into account.

Feasibility of Other Studies

At the time of writing, there has been no other research on intentional communities published in New Zealand. There is an impressionistic survey of ways of life existing in some New Zealand intentional communities covered in the New Zealand Whole Earth Catalogue (1972)⁽⁶⁾ Also, James K. Baxter presents some of his ideals arising out of his experience at Jerusalem but in poetic form in Jerusalem Daybook (1972)⁽⁷⁾. A brief and innacurate comparison between McFarlane's Farm and a commune in Hamilton City is presented by Ramsay (1972)⁽⁸⁾ in The New Zealand Social Worker, Volume 8, Number 3. But there has been no research completed at sufficient depth about any other intentional community either in New Zealand or overseas that would merit me making a direct comparison. Besides, that is not the purpose of this thesis which is primarily a case study of an intentional community. But, I have found useful a thorough reading of the literature concerning intentional communities in the U.S.A.; Russia; China and the kibbutzim in Israel. (see bibliography). The best ~~account~~ of some research undertaken in a community that approaches being a case study along the lines that I have envisaged in my section on theoretical approach, is that presented by Hohepa (1964)⁽⁹⁾ But Hohepa is describing an existing Maori community and not an intentional community as I have defined it.

What I have done is to visit several other intentional communities known to myself in New Zealand, and while

living in these for a short period had fruitful discussions with various community representatives. These experiences have influenced me when it came to analysing the data for this thesis.

Methods and Instruments for Collecting Data

While conducting this research, I was regarded as a permanent resident of the community, by everybody living with us or anybody visiting the community. So also was one of my supervisors for this research; a sociologist, who stayed on longer than I did at the community. Because we were both full participants, we took an active part with everybody else in contributing to the ongoing life of the community. All community residents were fully aware that I was writing a thesis about the community. They gave me permission to undertake research involving them as persons. All my notes and data were continually available for community residents to read and make comments or criticisms. On occasions they added their own notes in the margin or tackled me personally on a verbal level. One resident started by keeping a diary for the first month but couldn't carry on because she became so involved in emotional conflict arising from working out her role in relation to other persons at the community. This same resident also kept an accurate record of the financial events at the community. Some residents provided their own personal mail for me to read.

I was able to use a tape recorder for the first two community meetings. This was possible because residents were focussing on common topics of interest regarding the setting up of the community. But I decided that it would be damaging to my rapport with other residents, if I was to use a tape recorder after the community's inception. This was because subsequent meetings or encounters were informal, emotionally personal and held in a natural context where a tape recorder would have been regarded as an obtrusion. However, I was satisfied with a record of the first two meetings because they gave me an accurate indication of residents' verbal intentions.

All other data was obtained by my keeping a continuing written record of social events both routine and unusual.

Historical Background to the Research

For the purpose of maintaining confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms to represent particular persons described. In this introduction and the conclusion, the use of the personal pronoun 'I' is continued but in chapters 2-9 inclusive, the author is referred to as 'Dave'.

It was while I was employed as a minister with a city church, that I carried out my first community experiment in a working class suburb - a community home for young people who wanted a place to visit or live temporarily. This home provided a resting place for young people who had become a product of external forces such as those present in a prison or psychiatric hospital. Others came from unsatisfactory home conditions or had no fixed abode before living in this community home. It was in the knowledge of this social action and also because of a sermon that I preached on the communal way of life, that led Rick to invite me to help him start an intentional community on his father's farm.

My first response was to refuse on the principle that Rick should organise his own set-up and be responsible for it, otherwise with my influence I could bring in people who could be incompatible with his expectations and ideals. But Rick remained unperturbed and repeated that he wanted me to find people who would be interested in moving out to his father's farm.

Here was an opportunity to become involved in initiating a new community experiment which would enable me to test and modify some of the principles I had evolved as a result of previous experiences. Instead of providing a home for people who were downtrodden, oppressed and emotionally deprived through external forces such as unsatisfactory home conditions; here was the possibility of getting together a group of people who were moderately dissatisfied with their existing home conditions and yet also had the internal resources to give up what they had enjoyed in favour of attempting a new way of life intentionally and consciously. Deprivation could be self-inflicted by people risking their time, possessions and money in the hope of receiving a better quality of life than that hitherto experienced.

With this challenge in mind, I indicated to Rick

that I was prepared to consider his offer. I spent two nights living with Rick on his father's farm during which time several problem areas were foreseen. For example we agreed that it was hard enough learning to live communally by voluntary association without having any number of people dropping in and staying as long as they wished. If we could build up a strong feeling of kinship and loyalty towards one another; then this would give us the stability to take in a few people who needed support. We were uncertain in our minds about a policy for temporary stayers but agreed that we would have to limit numbers to begin with. Questions with regard to an independent family school, (ch.9), illegal drugs (ch.7) and pre-marital sexual relations (ch.4), were also discussed. But despite our verbal intentions and expectations, discrepancies were to emerge between Rick and myself as regards our obvious behaviour.

While Rick went on holiday, five hundred miles away, I acted as a mediator⁽¹⁰⁾ between different cultural networks (see action sets, ch.3) in recruiting individual persons who showed definite interest in moving out to the farm. The possibility of Jace moving out to the farm, meant that my ideas and intentions could be checked by somebody able to relate his experience to a social scientific framework. Others were recruited mainly on the basis of having been previously acquainted with myself, and on their ability to be reasonably self-sufficient psychologically and financially.

I discussed the proposal of researching what was to be called McFarlane's Farm, with Professor Beagle. Murray, a friend of mine, was present during our conversation. He was apprehensive about my living in a commune and at the same time, writing about it for a B.Phil. thesis. The whole idea seemed to him to be unnecessarily pro-establishment and a contradiction to the way he had previously regarded our friendship. The thought of me analysing the way we live, while living it, was to him repugnant. Other individuals were to be similarly repulsed by any shows of excessive organisation. (ch.2). But Murray being a close friend was the only person I discussed this problem with prior to the inception of

the community. With other residents, anti-organisation feelings were to remain submerged because they were never to be confronted verbally.

It had been late in November when Rick had first suggested to me the idea of setting up an intentional community on his father's farm. It was three days after explaining the proposal directly to Jace and Penny together, that we were to have a meeting in their house of those so far interested in the proposal.

I felt apprehensive about making so many plans without being able to consult Rick who was still on holiday but I wrote telling him I was ready to accept his proposal. Rick was never to receive my letter until after he got back from holiday, one and a half months later. This meant that while we were waiting for an answer from Rick, we were continually making verbal intentions, and testing out our ideas with one another, the substance of which is covered in subsequent chapters.

By February 4th, all those interested in moving out to the farm, were gathered at a student flat in order to welcome Rick's return from his holiday. We were apprehensive about Rick's response to what amounted to an organisation in his absence, but he reiterated that he had wanted me to find people for the farm; that is why he had asked me. Rick, himself had looked for prospective people while on holiday, but hadn't had any response. Consequently he had expected to come home disappointed but found instead the existence of our group a pleasant surprise.

The next immediate problem to solve, was to check out whether Mr. McFarlane, Rick's father, would agree to our proposal. A meeting was arranged with Rick's parents who owned the farm, the following night, 5th February, at their home in the city. Jace, Penny and Dave were present. Mr. McFarlane had three main queries related to our proposal and they are representative of many middle class people in the society at large.

The first query was related to his endeavouring to understand the type of community we were envisaging. He asked along the lines whether people who lived in communities such as ours, were just opting out of society. We replied that if they were opting out of their present situation, they were also looking for a better way of life,

but this didn't mean that it was going to be any easier, although there was the hope that it would be more personally satisfying. The second query was whether the people who moved out to the farm had a regular income. We replied that some had regular jobs, others had part-time jobs and could devote themselves to work on the farm; others were students who had government bursaries. The third query was to what extent the people living at the farm were going to take responsibility for the houses and the land. This was obviously a way in which we could help Mr. McFarlane who found it difficult to do the work he would really like to do on the farm, because he lived in town. He had a sharemilker employed on the farm but there were many tasks we could do, like improve the condition of the houses, cut down diseased lawsonias, improve the land round the houses by planting new trees and shrubs, and extending the vegetable gardens.

This first meeting was an opportunity for Mr. and Mrs. McFarlane to get a first impression of the sort of people who they envisaged were likely to take responsibility. Being a minister of religion and wanting to write a thesis probably helped as did the fact that Jace, besides being a sociologist at the local university, was also a trained horticulturist. The fact that Penny was a mother of four children was also helpful. But I remained apprehensive, knowing that when Rick had had friends staying out at the farm previously, his father had disapproved of unmarried males and females living in the same house. The official policy had been for them to sleep in separate houses, although in practice they had not.

I expressed my concern to Rick that it would not be wise to move out to the farm, if his father were to disapprove of the idea of using one house as a sleeping house for most of us and the other house mainly for living space during the day. On 6th February, Rick checked and reported that it made a difference to his father now that there was going to be a family living with us at the farm. With 'mixed flatting', Mr. McFarlane had wanted to approve who lived in each of the houses. With the proposal of an intentional community, Mr. McFarlane approved the principle of having a community at his farm and that was all. The

rest was up to us. We could have whom we liked. Having a family meant that Mr. McFarlane could regard our community as if those outside the family were private boarders. He liked the suggestion that we be regarded as an extended family. He did not like to call us a 'commune' because he had heard of so many 'bad' ones.

However, there was to continue to be an overriding anxiety felt by the older members of the community towards keeping Mr. McFarlane's goodwill. This was to keep recurring especially over sexual relationships, drugs and the general upkeep of the place. For example, with regard to organisation, Jace, Penny, Rick and myself felt more obligated towards Mr. and Mrs. McFarlane because we had been present at the meeting in their home to discuss the proposal of a community at their farm. We communicated our concern regarding various requirements made by Mr. and Mrs. McFarlane if not verbally, certainly by our actions. This concern gave substance to the resentment others had towards excessive organisation.

On the 7th February, we were all working on the basis of definitely moving out to the farm. I drew up a tentative plan suggesting ways of using space in the two houses, (ch.5). This was accepted enthusiastically by Rick, Jace and Penny who wondered whether the rest of the group would find it difficult to accept. We were ready to defend our plan vigorously at the Community Meeting on 9th February. At the same time we wanted others to be completely free to express their ideas and opinions. At the community meeting, enthusiasm and excitement generated a deep desire in people to agree with one another. This was also the case at a weekend meeting held at the farm, 12th and 13th February when there was a strong sense of unity and 'arohanui' (see letter, appendix 1). It wasn't until we had all moved out to the farm, 19th and 20th February, that we started to notice contrasts between our verbal intentions and our obvious behaviour. Not only was this true between Rick and myself as I have already indicated (page 8) but as will be seen in the following chapters, discrepancies are to arise between other characters' obvious behaviour despite their verbal agreements. This was in part, at least, because of the

different cultural backgrounds (table 3.1.) and experiences that individual persons brought to the community: the different social networks to which individuals belonged before joining the community: the extent to which individuals were dependant upon their parents and the degree of emotional security required: to what extent this emotional security was satisfied by a pair bond relationship and to what extent emotional security was satisfied by the group experience of 'arohanui': and practical considerations such as availability of employment which influenced whether or not an individual went to the city to work: or land tenure that was to be terminated, influenced various individuals to make plans to go elsewhere.

There is a letter (appendix 1) which was written in response to an architect's request for a permanent design of the community if we had been able to stay on the farm. Basically, however, it expresses the premises to which Jace, Penny, Rick and myself has verbally agreed immediately prior to the establishment of the community in mid-February, 1972.

CHAPTER II

EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR.

By 7th February, Dave, Rick, Jace and Penny had several expectations regarding organisation and division of labour in the community;

That the whole community emphasis is that individuals regard themselves as an extended family with symbolic kinship ties and that they treat each other as if they were brothers and sisters.

That because of this emphasis, everybody take equal responsibility for everybody else and that the children be encouraged to come to the point where they can take an increasing responsibility, especially in instances they so choose themselves, as far as this is possible.

That work required to be done in and around the two houses be chosen by people freely according to their interests and feelings of responsibility. If some job remain consistently undone, then it become a community concern to be resolved by the group meeting.

Not long after moving out to the farm, many individuals established pair-bond relationships and consequently needed a lot of privacy early on. This privacy encroached on their commitment towards various works done for the community ('mahi' appendix 1) although they were still prepared to carry out work necessary for individual convenience.

The community constituted three students, Dave, Rick, and Sue; one lecturer, Jace; his wife Penny and family of four children, Sim, Elizabeth, Shona and Mo; three full-time city workers, Jan, Bronwyn, Elisa; and two part-time workers Dick and Tex. Penny, who took responsibility for the finance was in the position of knowing to what extent residents contributed financially. She tended to afford less status to part-time workers and those who worked on the farm, including herself, than those who were on a regular income. But residents who did housework or farm work, weren't rewarded monetarily, so any resentment felt towards them was unwarranted.

Also, Penny found it difficult after having managed a family for seven years to have confidence that the community would in fact share the responsibilities of housework. Some individuals, having just left home, had allowed themselves the

habit of being told what to do, and therefore weren't prepared to take the initiative in housework. Some were even in the 'double bind' situation of being resentful when asked to do something because they wanted to take initiative and because of this resentment, didn't take initiative whether asked or not asked.

It was originally intended by Penny, Jace, Dave, Rick, Dick, Sue, that there be no rigid separation of male and female roles and that there would be much more cooperation between the sexes in domestic affairs of the community than in the average nuclear family. But this was harder to achieve than people expected because most people's interest was to live and let live rather than be overly concerned with learning new tasks not previously attempted.

This apathy was reinforced by an anti-organisational attitude represented by Dick who exclaimed in response to Penny's plea that there was not enough work being done around the place: "Things are already together; we just don't recognise it". Also, at our third meeting as a community, Dick, Bronwyn and Elisa decided that we wouldn't meet any more. My hope that any differences that we had as a community would be resolved by the group meeting was, it seemed defeated. Later, we attempted to realise meetings in more natural settings such as morning tea, afternoon tea, the evening meal, where people wanted to come together anyway. We endeavoured to play games and have more fun together; for example outings in the bus to the beach or the hot springs. We endeavoured to have more positive experiences to build our life around as a family. Otherwise, we would have found that the only times we met together would be when we had a problem to discuss, and people would have been strained emotionally through hearing each other's problems. They were aware enough to know about them already without bringing them up at a group gathering all the time.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUAL PERSONS: THEIR CHARACTERS, BEHAVIOUR AND RELATIONSHIPS.

The youngest residents were Jace and Penny's children. Mo (aged 2, pakeha), always seemed to be an incredibly happy child unless physically hurt or upset. He was very plucky, because he was relatively innocent of the dangers around him, like electric fences, and the fast flowing stream at the edge of the farm. Being able to walk meant that his curiosity and excitement concerning the country, took him long distances away from Penny, and this was more possible on a farm than in the city where there were more definite limits placed on how far away from Mummy, Mo was allowed to go. But as he learnt to trust the other adults and especially in the company of the other children, Mo did not mind Mummy being away as long as he knew where she was. The only exception to this was if he became bored or tired. If this happened, he liked to suck from his mother's breast and then usually he fell asleep. Being at the beginning-to-talk stage he was rapidly building up his own vocabulary and beginning to form sentences which gave a lot of enjoyment to the older members of the community.

Shona (6, Chinese-Samoan), was an adopted child. She responded well to lots of love and attention by being very affectionate. She was a sensitive girl and had tantrums when she couldn't get her own way, which her mother found difficult to ignore. Shona identified well with older residents of the community especially with Bronwyn, Bruce and Sue.

Sim (7, Maori), also adopted had periods when he liked to be by himself and explore; he liked especially to go for long bike rides. Penny described him as 'stoic and plucky'. He was very responsible in his care of Mo and he usually adopted the leader role when playing and was described by Sue as the 'dare-devil' of the community. But because the leader role was easy for him to adopt, being the eldest boy; he became bored unless reinforced in the role by a boyfriend or supplied with some fierce competition which made the regaining of his leader role an exciting exercise as long as he didn't feel he was too badly beaten.

Elizabeth (7, pakeha), was a very studious and conscientious child who enjoyed her schoolwork, reading and arts or crafts activities. She was a sensitive child in that she was conservative about any major change to her living conditions. She found it hardest of the four children to adjust to farm life after being in the city. She liked to be cautious about dressing comfortably for particular occasions. Whereas many of us would go for a swim in the clothes we had on, Elizabeth became distressed if she didn't have particular items of clothing. Elizabeth tended to associate with her parents more strongly than Shona or Sim, and was consequently teased and 'ganged-up-against' by the latter two.

Generally, the children were fairly creative, and given a brush and paint would entertain themselves happily. The three eldest had been for a year to a progressive school in Auckland and they had the opportunity to revisit this school while they were at the farm. Because their mother was a qualified teacher, she had some fairly imaginative ideas regarding the education of her children. While living in 'suburbia' the children, whenever they became bored or tired, were constantly looking for direction of how to be active, from their parents. When there was not enough action they were constantly wanting to go a few hundred yards to the nearest shop and buy lollies or ice creams. At the farm, it was Penny's hope that her children would become gradually more self-reliant. Certainly, the nearest shop was about three miles away and there were more open spaces to explore and more happening with a larger family.

But there was the concern of Mr. McFarlane, Jace and Penny, that whereas in 'suburbia' the children had more of their peer groups to be with, in the country there would be fewer children of their own peer group to play with, especially if we established an independent family school. As it happened, we eventually decided not to start the independent school as originally planned, at least not for a year; so the children went to the local school where they made friends with children on neighbouring farms and especially with the children of

the sharemilker on our farm.

Penny (32, pakeha), was an enthusiastic, ever-lively individual, who had a genuine concern for other residents' well being. One of her motivations for joining the community was that she wished to give up her role of being chief housekeeper and instead be more active in the education of her children. In this regard she was enthusiastic about Rick's idea to set up an independant school. Penny wanted the children to be free to learn experientially without unnecessary social pressures from 'suburbia' that would prevent the children from finding what their natural creative expression in life was.

Penny was dissatisfied with her relationship to Jace. This caused her to doubt the proposal of Jace and herself moving out to the farm. We had three separate discussions about what effect the community might have on the marriage between Penny and Jace. On each separate occasion it was decided by those involved in the discussions that Penny and Jace move out to the farm if they wished. Both Penny and Jace said that they would still move out to the farm despite the unsettled history of their marriage although Penny seemed more keen and enthusiastic than Jace who was more cautious in his considerations.

While at the farm, Penny wished to identify fully with younger members of the community because she enjoyed their exuberance; for example going to the cinema, parties, swimming at night etc. which her husband, Jace did not usually wish to participate in. But Penny was also in conflict with many of the younger persons who had just left home. In many respects she was not the 'earth mother figure' that the young ones were hoping would quell their dissatisfaction with their own parents' way of life. In fact, Penny often became a scapegoat for their anxieties and when it was found that she could not freely handle certain aspects of their way of life; for example the younger attitudes towards sex, drugs and money in terms they needed and expected; then some of the younger residents began to feel resentful towards Penny.

Jace (40, pakeha), her husband, was a person, socially compassionate, but a gentle, quiet individual, described by Sue as giving the impression of self-

sufficiency. Sue said that Jace reminded her of an autograph that was given her as a child:

"A wise old owl once sat in an oak;
the more he saw, the less he spoke;
the less he spoke, the more he heard..."

Jace, as well as having a knowledge of anthropological and sociological literature, had a vision of the community movement as being an alternative for society. One way in which it could help to combat materialism would be for the community movement to develop its own exchange system and food cooperatives. For those nuclear families that become individualistic and protective, the community movement could be a legitimate alternative home environment by providing a more open and corporate atmosphere; by planting native shrubs and trees so as to give the home a natural context; as much as possible to build with natural materials.

In the early stages of development, the community movement would be dependant on the rest of society and should recognise this dependence so as not to abuse or antagonise the people who defend the established and traditional norms of society. But with increasing self-sufficiency and creativity, the community movement would prove itself by action and practice to be a satisfying alternative way of life in its own right, and by its very existence attract others who are looking for a new way of life. But, he also believed that communitarians must not cut themselves off completely from the rest of society, otherwise they would lose sight of certain skills and values they were endeavouring to improve upon.

Dave (29, pakeha), saw communal living as meeting his needs for being close to people. He enjoyed the experience of living in a large group. Dave also saw communal living as being potentially the salvation for many individuals in society and felt that we could learn a lot from Maori values. He was interested in the sort of community that could bridge the gap between urban society and rural society. It wasn't enough to live in the country as being an escape from facing the reality of the city. We must confront the problems of urban living and work out realistic alternatives. Dave liked James Baxter's

principle, derived from Maori culture, of the group love or 'arohanui' as having equal importance in daily living with the one-to-one love. That loyalty between individuals in a pair bond relationship is not to take precedence over loyalty to the community. In European culture, we have lost the sense of group intimacy so that group loyalty can only be viewed in bureaucratic terms. A locality was necessary but not obligatory for building up a feeling of kinship. Many localities could offer variety to the cultural network and the kinship pattern, though symbolic in nature, for in an intentional community, individuals are not related by blood, although some may be. If people intended and wished to be together, this desire transcended geographical boundaries. If people wanted to come together voluntarily in different situations and contexts, then Dave saw self-discovery and trust as providing motivation and the initiative necessary for sharing the burden of leadership which would be the prerogative of the whole community rather than any one person.

Rick (20, pakeha), regarded childrens' lib. as extremely important. "Everybody requires the liberty to do as much as possible without interfering with others. This includes children. It is possible that group decisions may be made in which children's opinions contribute to the essence of the eventual consensus."

Rick wanted to develop the farm beyond simply dairying by introducing a mixed collection of livestock, poultry, pigs, ducks, goats, sheep etc., with some fields set aside for vegetables, crops, native trees and shrubs. This together with the necessary labour, would provide a self-sufficient environment. Hence, the necessity of having some sort of commune. Rick considered education (not necessarily involving a school) as the final and fullest extension of this self-sufficient community. The education of all would mean the full development of the individual and in particular the life of younger members of the community as being essential to the possible perpetuation of the life of the community.

It was intended that Rick be the liason between community residents and Mr. and Mrs. McFarlane. But because Rick had a passively dependant relationship with his father,

exchange of messages was slow. Also, before inviting me to set up a community at his father's farm, Rick had had a close pair bond relationship, which his woman friend terminated and this made me apprehensive about how far, Rick would be able to act out his ideals for communal living in practice. But, I was reassured that Rick had been wanting to set up a community on his father's farm for some time and that his woman friend was also enthusiastic. In fact she subsequently stayed at the farm on several occasions.

Dick (20, pakeha) gave the impression of having a fairly painful relationship with his parents. His main motivation for moving to the farm was that his friend Jock was also going to be a resident, but in fact Jock never moved out to the farm. Dick stayed because of his friends Bronwyn and Bruce. Dick was a domesticated individual, interested in interior decorating. When he cooked, he preferred to cook for the whole community by himself and choose his helpers if he required them. He liked, health foods, brown rice, soya beans and raw sugar. He had a deep love for music and was concerned that his stereo be respected by other members of the community, especially the children. He tried bringing his stereo into the dining room for communal use; then he removed it to his bedroom, and then the stereo was shifted inside the meeting house for special occasions. He was serious, fairly unhappy, and at times dogmatic. He had a pet feud with Dave which had originated before the community had been thought of, and which he seemed to maintain as an enjoyable exercise. He was at times aggressively anti-authority and anti-establishment.

Sue (18, pakeha), describes herself as a fairly even-tempered individual who kept much to herself until openly confronted. She had the ability of supporting people who were in trouble by listening sympathetically to their concerns. Being a second year social sciences student enabled her to analyse various situations in the life of the community. One of her motivations for moving to the community was that she had been dissatisfied with living in a city student flat. Another motivation was that

Sue hoped to have a close relationship with Dave. Also, she was very attracted to the idea of living in the country again. Having been brought up on a sheep farm, she was aware of the amount of work that needed to be done at the two houses. She was a hard worker and especially pulled her weight in the more difficult jobs like cleaning toilets and tethering goats. She also had a flair for designing and dyeing batik shirts. She wrote poetry in a mystical vein.

Bronwyn (20, pakeha) had a close knit relationship with her family who lived on a farm about seven miles from the community. She had been living on her own before moving to the community. She was employed as a clerk for a firm that manufactured caravans. Her motivation for moving to the community was because of friendship ties. (see action sets) Bronwyn was a very gentle, peaceful and humanitarian person. She was good at empathising with the children and the needs of other residents in the community, and although she desired to share intellectually in the communal life, she felt often that words were so inadequate to express some of the deep meanings she noticed and felt. Often when people were arguing, Bronwyn felt that they were arguing about something that was only symptomatic of the real conflict that wasn't being faced. If Bronwyn felt inadequate to verbalise what was happening, she would sometimes walk out of the room. Dave believed it was for this reason that Bronwyn dreaded the idea of attending a community meeting, because she was overwhelmed with the problems and yet she could not suggest a solution; so she'd rather just live communally than be bothered or concerned to analyse what was happening. Bronwyn was later to marry Bruce.

Jan (18, pakeha), was motivated to move out to the farm because she no longer wanted to live with her parents. Also she was interested in the Christian concept of community represented by Dave and Rick. But when she found that the brother and sister relationships had been replaced by pair bond relationships, she seemed unsure as to whether she really wanted to stay. Jan made real efforts to comprehend the needs of community

residents, especially Penny. But she missed her friends in the city and 'left' the community in March.

Tex (18, pakeha), is described by Sue as "a revolutionary in his own right". He entertained people by suggesting outrageously funny schemes for undermining the establishment, but which weren't intended to be practical. Tex had been living in the Love Shop before moving out to the farm which was for him another challenge in 'counter culture'. He was also attracted by the country. He had been brought up on a farm three hundred miles south of the community. His knowledge of livestock led him to take an avid interest in ducks and chickens, helped by Murray. Also, Tex and Murray acted upon an idea of Dick's which was to start a candle factory in an old cow shed. Before, this Tex had preferred to work at part-time jobs so that he could also enjoy life. He was always on the look out for jobs that were as far removed from capitalism as possible and so he was thrilled when he obtained the opportunity to pick apples at another community called Beeville about five miles away from where we were living.

Elisa (20, Maori), seemed at first, to be a shy, rather quiet individual but as the community developed, she became increasingly communicative, and one discovered that she had strong opinions on many topics. Elisa was motivated to join the community because she wanted to leave home and escape the extended family atmosphere of relatives coming and going. For her, home was overcrowded and she was looking forward to some privacy. She was consequently disillusioned while living at the farm, especially regarding the evening meal which was intended to be communal and also she resented attending community meetings. Elisa was later to marry Rick both of whom seemed compatible as regards personality types but there was a severe clash of ideals and intentions as regards communal living.

This has been a brief summary of the fourteen individuals who initially established McFarlane's Farm, but there were also other residents who moved in during the year.

Abe (84, English) had spent eight years in Hanoi and

strongly identified herself with the protest movement against the war in Vietnam. Her motivation for visiting the community was that she regarded Dave as a close friend who was acquainted with the community movement throughout New Zealand. Abe used to trip from commune to commune throughout the country and keep Dave up to date with all the latest 'counter culture' gossip. Abe always had a wisdom, an infectious joy and love, and she was amazingly active for her age.

In March, Jane (18, Maori) moved into the community because she had formed a pair bond relationship with Tex. The qualities of love and sharing always played a predominate role in her life. She was very even-tempered and had a beautiful way of expressing herself with words. She seemed never to become flustered with the normal cares of everyday living.

After leaving home and school, and having been one of the frequent community rabbit-hunters; Jack (17, pakeha) moved to the farm in early May. He was Jan's brother. Jack became settled and happy after his 'running-away trauma' had weakened, and he did not let other people's worries get him down. He was amazingly tolerant and became quite self-sufficient very quickly.

A little later Murray (18, pakeha) already a part-time member of the community, moved in permanently because he had left school and he was a close friend of Dave's. Murray was a quiet person who seemed contented with a very simple environment. He converted part of a garage into his bedroom. His only hassle was that he felt the need to make money in order to survive.

In June, Bruce (20, American) came to live at the community because he had established a pair bond relationship with Bronwyn. He was very like Bronwyn as regards temperament - quiet, peaceful, gentle. Like Dick and Tex, many of his ideas and thoughts were revolutionary and originated with his intense dissatisfaction with the American society. Because he was called up by the American Army, he wanted to extend his stay in New Zealand but finally decided to go back to America because he did not want to be prevented from seeing his family when he wanted. Bronwyn married Bruce so that she could gain entry

into the U.S.A. but she also hoped that their relationship would be a permanent one.

Rangi (15, Maori), moved into the community in late June. She had been referred by Child Welfare and was also enthused by her sister, Hene who had stayed at McFarlane's Farm for a while. Rangi was active, and often extrovert. She was usually unafraid of voicing her opinions and was very opposed to people talking about her behind her back. She had a great repertoire of 'pub jokes' which were of great amusement to some of the residents.

There were three other residents in the community, but they only stayed a few weeks; Tom, Hene and Alan.

Tom (16, pakeha) was young and uncertain of what he wanted to do. He was very interested in music, he played the guitar and inspired in some residents the need for community music and community singing. He also brought his stereo with him, which he left at the farm when he went to work in a hardware store in Auckland.

Hene (20, maori), with her baby had been referred to the farm by Social Welfare so she could have a short holiday.

Alan (18, American), came to the farm with Bruce, his friend with whom he had been holidaying in New Zealand. He became Bruce's best man at his wedding where he sang a song accompanying himself with the guitar; a song that he had composed especially for Bruce's wedding. Alan returned to America with Bruce and Bronwyn.

Apart from this close-knit 'family' of community residents, the symbolic kinship network extended far outside of the community because of friends who visited; especially people belonging to Prof. Jim and Jane Beagle's network, John and Fay Fenwick's network and the 251 River Rd network. The Beagles and the Fenwicks were both well established families who had homes with an open accepting atmosphere and a group intimacy approaching arohanui. 251 River Road was a mixed flat of students which had a peaceful and spiritual atmosphere.

Contact was kept up for a while with the Hamilton

Love Shop and Hamilton C.A.R.E. There was interaction with Beeville, a community situated about five miles from McFarlane's Farm; initially through Dave's friendship with some of the residents there, and latterly through Tex's working on the orchard there. Plans were discussed as to how we could increase the relation between Beeville and McFarlane's Farm. One idea was to cooperate in an independant school venture. but because both communities were still unsettled with regard to interpersonal relationships, we decided against the idea. Another idea was for us to set up a roadside stall and sell some of Beeville's fruit and vegetables for them and in return we would complement each other's needs by forming a food cooperative. Beeville occasionally gave us fruit and vegetables but our plan never eventuated, and the relationship between the two communities remained at a friendship level.

There was also contact with the McFarlane Street and Stanley Street communes in Wellington through Abe's staying there and Dave and Sue's friendship with some of the members. Also with Ngaruawahia commune, we visited three times and we maintained a continual contact with a community home in Hamilton through knowing Charles and Kasia Wendlebourne. The contact that we had with these intentional communities involved an acknowledgement of each other's presence, force and friendship between particular members.

Notes on Cultural Background (Table 3.1)

Table 3.1 shows the cultural background of community residents before they moved out to the farm. Those cultural variables represented in the table are those most likely to influence values, sentiments, life styles and social relationships of individuals while living at the community. For example the most obvious consequences of cultural background for human behaviour were:

- a) those individuals with previous experience on farms had natural abilities that led them to take a positive interest in the upkeep of the place, especially with respect to vegetables, crops, livestock and maintenance or improvement of buildings.

- b) Jace and Penny who had been responsible for their family home were concerned about financial upkeep, the care of the children and the implications this had for group organisation. Those individuals who had lived in a peer group setting (flat) or lived singly, were more laissez-faire in their attitudes towards group organisation.
- c) Those individuals who had maintained contact with the university or recently attended school kept up their intellectual interests e.g. reading novels, the newspaper, watching T.V. writing letters etc., while other residents like Bronwyn and Rangī felt intellectually inadequate.
- d) Those individuals who worked in institutions in the city had the advantage of monetary reward but had little freedom to be creative in their work because they weren^{not}t self-employed. Also, it was a long trip from the farm to the city, leaving at 7 a.m. in the morning and arriving home at 6.00 p.m. at night; although these 'workers' experienced their own arohanui, in this case, ^{it took the form of} a warm sense of belonging to each other identified with the community they were leaving and returning to so that being huddled together in the back of the van or racing along the highway in the community bus to and from work was a memorable event.

Back at the farm, individuals had the freedom to do nothing ^{perhaps becoming} when they could get bored or take the initiative in being self-employed without monetary reward by working around the farm along the lines of their interests and creativity. One exception was the candle factory which started as a creative venture and then managed to make a profit.

- e) Those individuals who had had sensitivity training experiences derived emotional security from group and community experiences. This applied to Dick even though he gave the impression of being non-conformist towards encounter groups. ~~For~~ other individuals, ~~they~~ were not so aware of what the group experience could offer in terms of emotional security.

- f) Murray and Dave found that their commitment to the community was more satisfying to them in practical and human terms than what institutionalised religion had previously offered them. While at McFarlane's Farm they were absorbed enough in the new life, not to return to their city church. For those interested in Christianity or other religions, their main aim was to extract those principles or values relevant to the community experience, as against those outside the community who might claim intellectual or nominal assent, to their religion.
- g) All those individuals 'involved' in the drug subculture prior to entering the community, had been flatting and indulged in experimental use of pot and L.S.D. Those conversant with the drug subculture had close friends who used pot and L.S.D. but they didn't partake themselves. Murray and Bronwyn became involved as a result of coming to the community, but they had previously been conversant with the scene for some time and presumably knew the risks they were taking. Jack also became involved as a result of coming to the community and he had not previously been conversant with the drug subculture. But he was a sensible person who considered the advantages and disadvantages before indulging in experimental use of pot.
- h) The drug subculture and the 'Love Shop' were both viewed as 'counter culture' activities compared with the dominant middle class pakeha culture. The communal way of life is the most radical form of counter culture. Maori culture is the most respected form of counter culture. Whatever counter culture activity individuals identified with they tended to regard their activity with a sense of mission and strongly defend their cause if attacked, and defend themselves ^{especially} quite vigorously if attacked by a representative of the middle class dominant culture.

Notes on Action Sets (Tables 3.2 ; 3.3)

These action sets have been drawn as an attempt to understand how far cultural networks influenced the extent of interaction between persons before they came to the community and to find out whether any significant changes in these relationships had emerged after residents had lived in the community for six months.

As can be seen from Table 3.2, pair bond relationships existed between Jace and Penny; Dave and Murray before the community's inception. Jace and Penny were married while Dave and Murray had a close friendship arising from work they had done together in local city churches. Also symbolic kinship ties already existed before individuals moved out to the Farm e.g. Dick as ego at 251 River Rd.

Those egos who previously had had little interaction with other individuals (Table 3.2); when they became resident at the farm (Table 3.3), either established pair bond relationships or left the farm e.g. Rick, Sue, Bronwyn, Tex, Elisa, Jane, Jan (left).

The other egos maintained their extent of interaction but with several changes as follows:

Jace - decreased his relationships with the children, except Mo and increased his relationships with other adults.

Penny - kept up her relationship with the children but Sim and Shona tended to avoid Penny gaining more attention from other adults.

Dave - became a mediator between different subcultural networks.

Sue - same as Dave. Increased her extent of interaction.

Dick - became leader of the drug subculture. His pet feud with Dave was symptomatic of a partial split in the community between home life, organisation and drugs.

Murray - acted as a liaison for Dave to prevent the split from threatening the stability of the community any further. Sue also acted as a mediator in this way.

TABLE 3.2

ACTION SETS BEFORE MOVING OUT TO McFARLANE'S FARM

Ego	Effective Network	Cultural Networks
Jace Penny	Mo Sim Shona Elizabeth Jane	Home university
Penny	Mo Elizabeth Shona Sim Jace	Home
Dave Murray	Tex Sue Rick Dick Jan	Mediator between cultural networks
Rick	Jan Jane	Friendship
Dick	Jock Bronwyn Murray Dave	Friendship at 251 River Rd.
Sue	Dave Murray	Friendship university church
Bronwyn	Dick Jock	Friendship at 251 River Rd.
Jan	Rick	Church
Tex	Dave Elisa	Love Shop
Elisa	Tex	Arts and Crafts Shop
Murray Dave	Sue Dick Tex	Through Mediator makes new friends.
Jane	Jace Rick Dick	University

Note a) two names ringed indicates a pair bond relationship.

b) Dave is the mediator mentioned under cultural network.

TABLE 3.3

ACTION SETS AS THEY WERE, 13th July, SIX MONTHS AFTER MOVING TO McFARLANE'S FARM

Ego	Intimate Network	Subcultural Networks
(Jace Penny)	Rangi Dave Sue Mo	Home life organisation gardening
Penny Mo	Jace Dave Jane Elizabeth Sue	Home life organisation gardening
(Dave Sue)	Murray Sim Tex Jace Penny Mo	Home life organisation mediator
(Rick Elisa)		
Dick Bruce	Jane Bronwyn Tex Alan Murray	Drug subculture
(Sue Dave)	Jace Murray Jane Rangi	Home life organisation mediator
(Bronwyn Bruce)		
Jan		Left because city cultural network
(Tex Jane)	Murray Dave Sim Rick	Livestock candles
(Elisa Rick)		
Murray Sue Carolyn	Dave Tex	Livestock candles
(Jane Tex)	Sue Jace	Home life

Note a) two names ringed indicates a pair bond relationship

b) Dave and Sue are mediators between different subcultural networks.

CHAPTER IV

INTIMACY

Ideals regarding intimacy were discussed at the Community Meeting, on 9th February. Dave proposed the Maori concept of 'arohanui' or love of the many, where everybody could feel close to one another within the framework of an extended family. Everybody agreed that we should be able to feel as close to one another as if we were really brothers and sisters. Communal sleeping was seen as one way of achieving this closeness, also the communal meal at night.

The threat to this group intimacy would be stereotyping and withdrawal by persons not wanting to upset each other or endeavouring to avoid criticism. If individuals could not bring themselves to confront each other and be open or honest with one another, then it was up to the community to come together and help the break down in communication between two individuals to be healed. Some residents (six) had had 'sensitivity training' experiences and appreciated the sense of this proposal. Dave believed that confrontation and group encounter was all that residents had as an ideal to maintain a healthy level of group intimacy and closeness between individuals. As well as these ideals, the need for privacy was asserted to preserve the stability of the pair bond relationship. Couples whether or not legally married were to be given preference for a single bedroom.

But, despite these ideals, when people moved out to the farm, they were confronted with the problem of establishing their own sexual morality. This was not easy. Celibacy, free love and group marriage had been tried by communities in the past, but residents did not consider these ideas. Dave had thought that it was possible for the experience of 'arohanui' and the one-to-one love to be mutually inclusive. But early on sexual relationships developed within the community which resulted in an intense involvement for pair bond relationships, sometimes at the expense of the ideal of creating intense involvement in the community.

By the third week, such relationships had grown between Rick and Elisa; Dave and Sue; Tex and Jane. (Table 4.1)

At this stage, eight of the ten resident adults (Penny and Jace inclusive) were living as husband and wife, Jane having moved in and Jan having left. After Murray moved to the farm in May, he developed a relationship with Carolyn, who, although not a resident member, was Bronwyn's sister and frequently visited the community. In June, Bruce moved to the farm to be with Bronwyn; they married and left for the U.S.A. in early August. During this month Ben came to live within the community; Penny annulled her marriage with Jace and established a relationship with Ben. (Table 4.1)

The development of pair bond relationships meant for some individuals, a conflict between their ideals for 'arohanui' and their personal one-to-one love that had become something much more than a 'brother-sister' relationship. It meant that the potential of groupness was partially smothered. Murray once said, "Rick and Elisa always want to be alone; Dave and Sue are alright, but they're often together; Tex and Jane are good because they're more independant of each other."

Attitudes towards the communal bedroom changed because three couples slept in the communal bedroom so as not to give up completely their experience of 'arohanui'. Consequently, Jace and Penny became unhappy about their children sleeping there and encouraged them to sleep in their own bedroom away from the three couples. Having three couples sleeping in the communal bedroom made sleeping difficult for some other individuals (e.g. Rangi who solved the problem of feeling isolated in the communal bedroom, by the provision of a private bedroom). However some overnight visitors enjoyed sleeping communally despite the fact that there were couples present. In fact, couples respected their presence by refraining from sexual intercourse completely or waiting until everybody else had fallen asleep. But some visitors after having been given the choice whether or not to sleep communally; chose to sleep privately. When the couples had the communal bedroom to themselves they did not mind having sexual intercourse in front of each other because they respected each other's privacy by being modest and not looking directly at the couple

engaged in sexual intercourse.

Other intimate relations also developed within the community. Those already mentioned are the 'pet feud' between Dick and Dave, which although not causing any violent (verbal or otherwise) conflict; underlay any contact between them. There was also the affectionate relationship that Shona developed with Bronwyn, Bruce and Sue; the loyal relationship that Elizabeth had with her mother; the close relationship between Sim and Shona and their occasional alienation of and antagonism towards Elizabeth. Sim also developed an obvious affection and respect for Dave, heeding his warnings and often demanding his sympathy.

Penny developed an interesting friendship with Dave, possibly founded on her attraction and respect for him. She was frequently alienated by many community residents since they were antagonised by any attempt at organisation (e.g. a roster system for cooking meals) which was usually made by Penny. Further, Penny was an enthusiastic, emotional woman, who voiced what she thought, particularly at the beginning of the year; causing some conflict of which residents were afraid and attempted to avoid, which meant avoiding Penny. Often when hurt or upset, she would have long talks with Dave, and usually came out happier. In many respects, Dick had the same dogmatism as Penny, and he relied heavily on Bronwyn, Bruce and Alan for support.

Tex and Murray developed a strong relationship through their clownish-revolutionary ideas, which were symptomatic of their anti-organisation and anti-authoritarian attitudes; also through their work with the livestock (chickens and bantams especially) and their joint candle-making venture.

An affectionate relationship between Jace and Rangi developed and became more intimate when Penny and Jace decided to annul their marriage.

TABLE 4.1

DIAGRAM of the PAIR-BOND RELATIONSHIPS AT THE COMMUNITY IN RELATION TO TIME (children excluded)

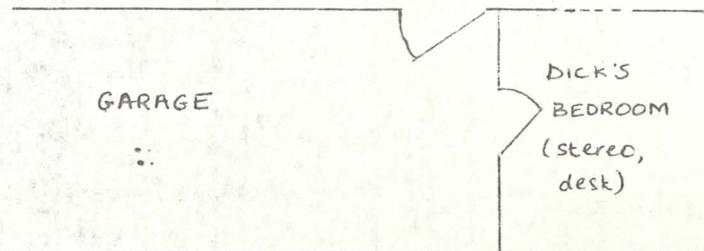
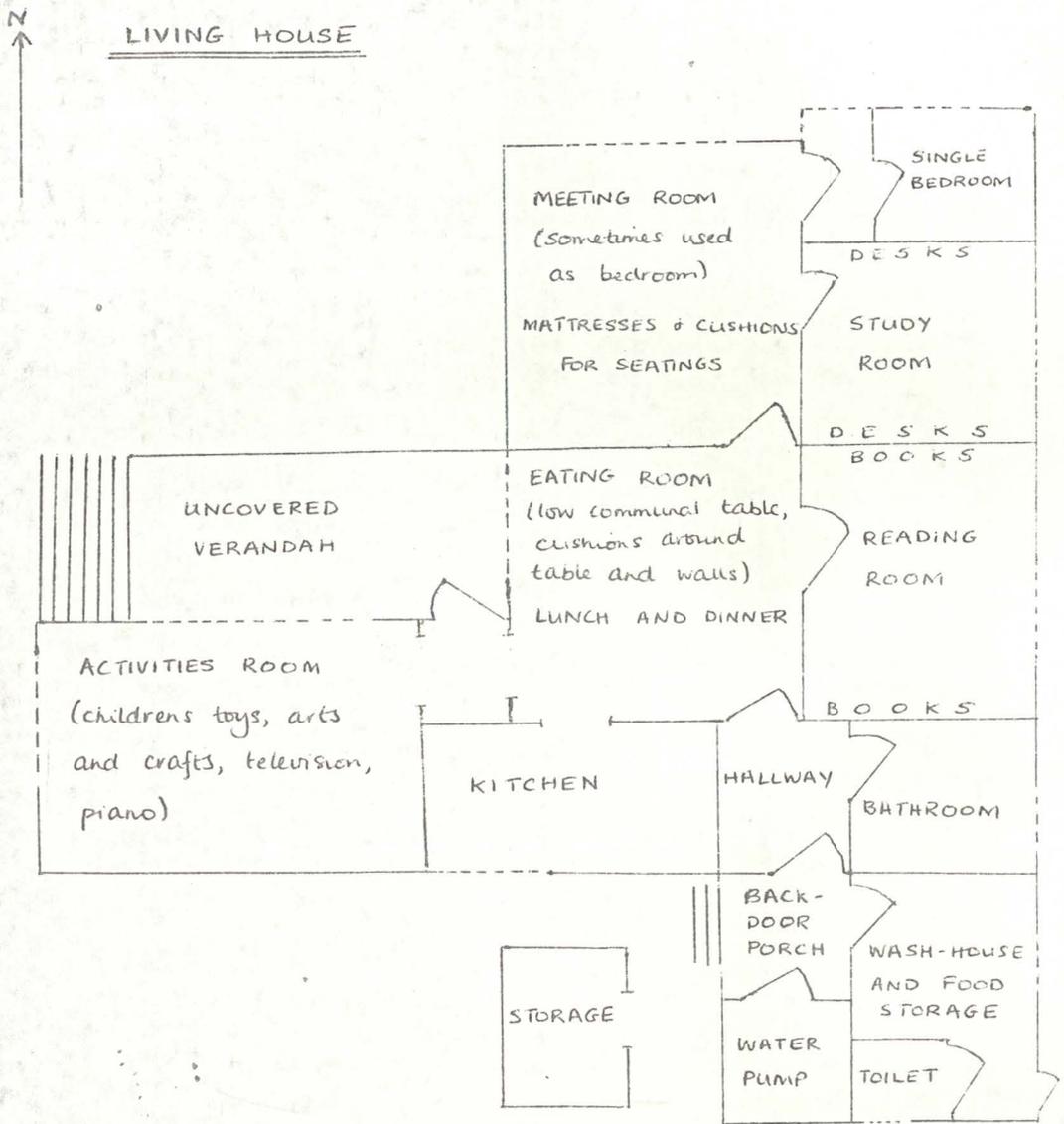
MONTH	MEMBERSHIP AND PAIR-BOND RELATIONSHIPS IN COMMUNITY
JAN.	Jace - Penny; Dave; Rick; Dick; Sue; Bronwyn; Jan; Tex; Elisa;
FEB.	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex; Bronwyn; Dick; Jan;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Dick;
MARCH	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Dick;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Dick; Tom; Hene;
APRIL	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Dick; Tom; Hene;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Dick; Tom; Jack;
MAY	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Bronwyn; Jack; Murray;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Murray - Carolyn; Bronwyn; Jack
JUNE	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Murray - Carolyn; Bronwyn - Bruce; Jack; Dick;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Rick - Elisa; Tex - Jane; Murray - Carolyn; Bronwyn - Bruce; Jack; Dick; Alan; Rangi;
JULY	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Tex - Jane; Murray - Carolyn; Bronwyn - Bruce; Jack; Dick; Alan; Rangi;
	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Tex - Jane; Murray - Carolyn; Bronwyn - Bruce; Jack; Dick; Alan; Rangi;
AUGUST	Jace - Penny; Dave - Sue; Jack; Ben; Rangi;
	Jace; Penny - Ben; Dave - Sue; Jack; Rangi

CHAPTER V

PEOPLE'S NEEDS FOR PRIVACY AND USE OF SPACE

There were two wooden bungalows at the farm available for our use. If we had used them in the normal manner, there would have been the danger of re-creating 'suburbia' in the country. However if we could use the space available for the benefit of all concerned, we could ensure that we had one of the largest rooms for communal eating and the other large room for communal sleeping. By 7th February, Dave, Jace, Penny and Rick had agreed on a plan influencing the use of space in the two houses (see Tables 5.1;5.2). The intentions were:

- a) To find the best way of bridging the 200 yds. distance between the two houses, so as to prevent a split in the communal life.
- b) Jace and Penny were an already defined unit around which to build the communal life because they had marriage status.
- c) Wish to have Jace and Penny in the most populated house.
- d) We had enough space to accomodate any number of personal needs and alternative life styles.
- e) Two main emphases to choose from: 1) Functional use of space allowing for flexibility. 2) Say to the people "there are the houses; go to it", and let people randomly assume territorial rights.
- f) Hope to emphasise 1) at the expense of 2).
- g) Up until 6th February, the following individuals had already made claims for a private room: Abe, Jace and Penny, Dick, Sue, and Jock.
- h) That everybody in the community who had permanent status have the freedom to make claims on spots⁽¹⁾ which suit them as individuals.
- i) That everybody have the freedom to revise their territorial claims or spots arising out of the communal life but that if this caused disagreement, to take it to the community meeting.
- j) That individuals have the freedom to choose between communal and private sleeping and that everybody including children be given the opportunity to state their initial personal needs in this respect.
- k) That the majority of people make a realistic attempt to sleep in the sleeping house.



↓ TO THE COWSHED AND TEX & JANE'S BEDROOM - ALSO COMMUNAL SHOWER

→ DIRECTION OF SLEEPING HOUSE

TABLE 5.1

SLEEPING HOUSE

DIRECTION OF
LIVING HOUSE

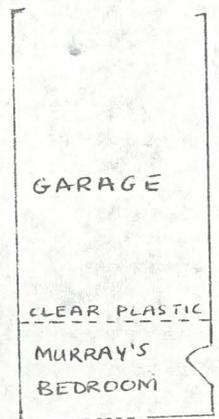
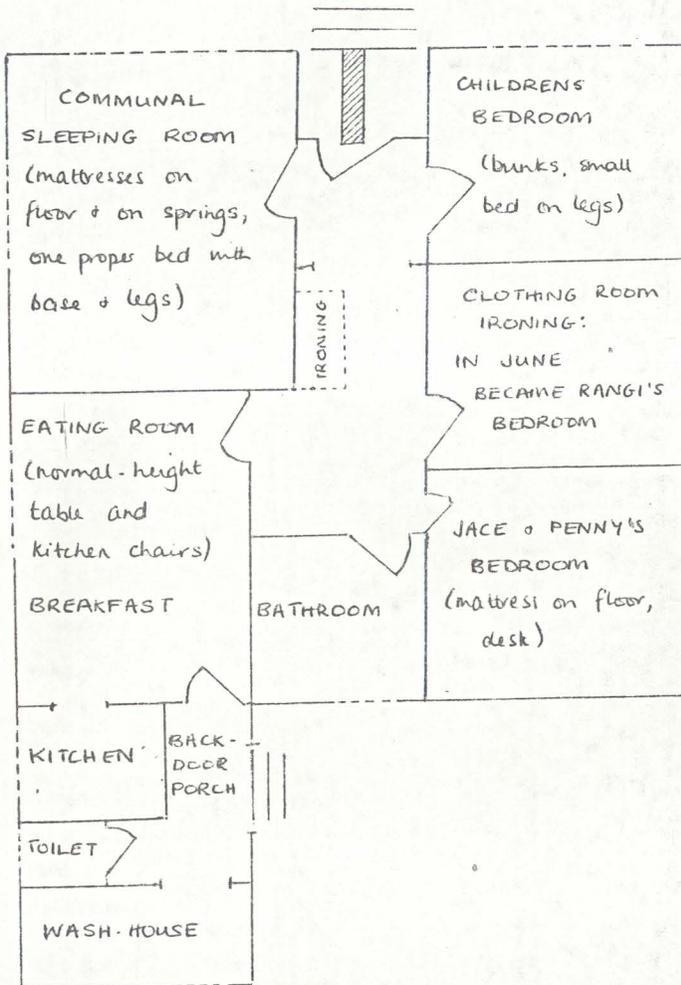


TABLE 5.2

- l) That there be adequate provision for privacy during day hours.
- m) That there be adequate facilities for privacy for visitors.
- n) That there be adequate study facilities for everybody.
- o) That there be individual space for personal clothing and possessions.
- p) That there be adequate activity facilities for children in which adults could share and take interest.
- q) That dinner be communal every day.

On moving out to the farm, individuals were given the opportunity of stating their personal needs and consequent intentions regarding use of space; and these were recorded on tape.

Discrepancies between intentions influencing the use of space and actual use of space.

It was anticipated that people who established pair bond relationships would move into private bedrooms but, due to the lack of space, this didn't occur, suggesting that the intention about space for alternative life styles, also fell short in this respect.

The organisation of the two houses into sleeping and meeting functions, did prevent a split occurring within the community, but it also allowed Rick and Elisa to become physically detached from the rest of the community. (cf. Table 3.3)

Jace and Penny were not such a 'defined unit' as marital status implies because they, especially Penny, were dissatisfied with the relationship they had and sought a lot of emotional support from other members. e.g. a relationship developed between Penny and Dave.

It was intended that "the children have the same freedom to choose where their sleeping spot was as everybody else". Although this occurred in the first few weeks, the children frequently sleeping in the communal bedroom; Jace and Penny became worried about the children sleeping near couples. Consequently, they were no longer allowed to sleep in the communal bedroom.

Individuals' Intentions as to Sleeping Arrangements

Jace and Penny - own room - sleep communally 2-3 times a week.

Dave - sleep communally (quoted below from tape).

Rick - sleep communally/nomadically - i.e. move from group to group depending on persons (quoted below).

Dick - own room (quoted below).

Bruce - intended to sleep with Bronwyn - possibly wanted more privacy but because of space allowance couldn't have it.

Sue - wanted own room, but relationship with Dave led her to sleep communally.

Bronwyn - sleep communally (quoted below)

Jan - wanted to sleep communally but also wanted own bed to begin with and then for it to be used by others. "I just want a bed that can be first mine own and then everybody else's..." She liked people to know it was her bed and that she had first priority to sleep in it - i.e. in agreement with Tex.

Tex - "I want my own bed sort of for always I think, but I don't care where it is; it can be in the most horrible place with anybody else, I'll still like it ..I'd like it to be my bed and know I'd always have that bed..."

Elisa - liked communal sleeping but wanted own bed (see Murray - wanted own bed and own room. below)

Abe - own room.

Jane - slept with Tex but occasionally slept communally also.

Jack - unconcerned about bed or place - slept communally as well as privately.

Sim - liked sleeping with others

Jace;"Sim and Shona would probably often be happy or happier

Elizabeth - preferred sleeping with other children.

to sleep wherever

Shona - liked sleeping with others

the company is."

Mo - slept in bed with Jace and Penny

Rangi - wanted to sleep communally, but because of number of couples in communal room, she moved into private room.

Discrepancies between Individual's Intentions and their Actions in regard to Sleeping Arrangements.

Dick - wanted own room, but intended to be open as to how it was used unless something specifically bothered him,"I'm

not going to hold a shotgun at the door to anybody who comes in....it (the room) can serve as -um- people can do whatever they like to do as long as they're not pissing me off..."

As it was, Dick became fairly possessive about his room and his possessions - e.g. stereo. This was enhanced by the fact that his room became the centre of the 'drug subculture' at McFarlane's Farm, which automatically excluded specific members e.g. Penny, Dave. Tex - specified that he wanted his own bed, but not necessarily his own room, "I don't think I need anywhere for personal possessions but I'd like somewhere for my bed. I have no preference where it can be, so if everybody takes everything, whatever's left, I'm moderate and I'll probably drop my mosquito net over it and that's it". But, there is a suggestion for Tex's privacy need overcoming his desire to sleep communally as is shown in his discussion over the mosquito net - "they have a roof and four sides and you climb underneath and sit there like this and you can see out but they can't see in - so you can sleep in privacy"; when directly confronted as to whether he wanted his own room, he repeatedly said, no. However, once out at the farm, Tex didn't spend one night sleeping in the main communal bedroom. First he slept in the bus and then he fixed up an old cowshed and used that as a bedroom.

Jace and Penny - wanted their own room, but intended to sleep communally 2-3 times weekly - as it was, they didn't sleep communally because two couples were sleeping together in the communal bedroom, and Penny couldn't see how a couple could sleep together and not have sexual intercourse. As it happened, people often slept together for company, 'korero' (appendix 1) or to enjoy the feeling of unity, emotional security and a sense of 'arohanui' (appendix 1).

Influence of Developing Sexual Relationships on Individual Intentions with regard to Sleeping Arrangements.

Dave-Sue: No effect on Dave - "I would very much like to give the communal sleeping thing a good go and I think I'll thrive on it because I do like to be close to people and I think my whole experience will change all

over and I'll give the communal sleeping thing a fairly exclusive try first." This was acted out in practice and helped to completely reverse Sue's intentions. She had wanted to have her own room which was to be in the meeting house. She ended up sleeping in the communal bedroom, although occasionally she wanted the seclusion of a private bedroom.

Rick-Elisa: Rick intended to be a nomadic sleeper' - "I don't like sleeping spots much. I've had a room on my own but I like sleeping with as many people as I know as possible and choosing a spot there", and Elisa also liked the idea of communal sleeping; "I don't mind how many people are in the room as long as I have my own bed...I'd like my own bed because I wouldn't want to come back and find in my own bed, my only space, a stranger I didn't know..." Although Rick and Elisa continued to sleep in the communal bedroom, as they became increasingly involved with each other, they began to cut themselves off from the rest of the community, having dinner by themselves in the sleeping house, and being in bed, often asleep by the time everyone else went over.

Tex-Jane: No change occurred, Tex already having his own room. Jane would occasionally sleep in the communal bedroom, but this usually occurred when Tex was away.

Bronwyn-Bruce: Whereas Bronwyn had formerly been unconcerned about the use of her bed - "I'm not worried if somebody takes my bed...as long as there's somewhere else where they would have slept, I could sleep there..."; once she had developed a relationship with Bruce, she became possessive about her bed, and eventually used a mosquito net.

Murray-Carolyn: No noticeable change. Murray already had his own room.

Most individuals needed to be confident that they had a place to sleep in order that the body could be relaxed and regenerated. But, more than that, the bed from a psychological point of view, was the ultimate daily retreat, and ^{sleeping} the main time when the individual wished least to be exposed to inadvertant threats from outside. If an individual was prepared to share his or he

her bed, he would still need to know of an alternative place to sleep, otherwise he could feel emotionally insecure. For those individuals who weren't prepared to share their bed, it was probably because they regarded their body and the place where it frequently lay as 'tapu' and hence preferred their sleeping spot not to be encroached upon by others, unless there was a deep understanding between individuals, as in pair bond relationships.

Five possibilities regarding bed height were envisaged: waterproof mattresses on the floor; mattresses on a bed base; mattresses on a bed base with legs; bunks; and a divan convertible lounge suite. The divan idea was never introduced, but the other four possibilities became a reality and Dick built a bed for himself near the ceiling of his room with a desk underneath. In the communal bedroom, there were two double beds on legs used by Rick-Elisa and Dave-Sue; a single bed on legs covered by a mosquito net used by Bronwyn-Bruce; several mattresses on bed bases and on the floor.

Intentions regarding Eating Space

The possibility of removing the wall between the eating room and the meeting room was never carried out because of the threat to privacy. Many people found that after tea or at any other time, it was very easy to relax in a room without furniture and without having to observe the clutter of dirty dishes.

It was originally intended that there be a table large enough to seat sixteen people. The first meal when everybody was together, there was a strong feeling of unity and shared 'arohanui'. Everybody sat on the floor around a table tennis table propped up on apple boxes. Jace suggested that we could have a mat on the ground covered by a piece of canvas and a table cloth on top of that again, Fijian style. Dick, Tex and Jan did not like this idea. Jace then suggested that we have provision for eating at either floor level or by sitting on chairs. Jan then suggested a table with short legs. Penny was concerned about Mo being able to jump up on

the table. We finally decided that our intention would be to experiment by not getting a table at all. We would manage this, using the tables we had. Jace was optimistic that we could get accustomed to the low posture, which suggested relaxation, intimacy and less clatter. We would probably need a table as high as possible without bringing in chairs.

What in fact happened was that we used a table with shortened legs and ends that could be extended; and decided to serve from a fold up table which we constructed near the kitchen door at waist height. This reduced the amount of food and crockery that would normally have been available on the low table for Mo to make a mess with. We bought a varnished door to be used as our main table, but never introduced it with any enthusiasm. Apart from Dick's preference for a chair, the only other time a chair was used in the eating room was when a visitor came who didn't want to sit on the floor, or when Penny wanted to breast-feed Mo. Otherwise, all permanent residents became accustomed to the low posture as originally intended.

CHAPTER VI
HOSPITALITY

It was decided that until the community stabilised (that is, until members grew together through knowledge and trust in each other; until individuals acknowledged the extent of their own commitment; until the practical side of the community was running smoothly), we would have a 'closed' policy in regard to visitors, 'applicants', press-men, 'crashers'. The period required for the community to develop and maintain this stability was estimated at two to three months.

Following this, the intentions or policy of the community in regard to hospitality were as follows;

That the ideal be for unlimited hospitality as far as physical facilities allow, with no suggestion of 'compulsory' contributions (financial or otherwise).

That 'strangers' who wished to use the community as a 'crash-pad' (that is, to stay for a temporary period without becoming involved), be referred to crash-pads within Hamilton City.

That people from the press be turned away until such time as everyone was in favour of publicity, and then to obtain the publicity through contacts within the national communication network.

That 'nosy parkers' and 'tourists' be treated somewhat coolly and not encouraged unless they showed a genuine interest.

That parents or friends of community residents be accepted as an integral part of the extended family network.

That 'applicants' be present when their 'application' was discussed, and, if accepted, be then given a one to two week trial which was mutual in its testing (that is, to see if the applicant fitted in with other residents, and residents fitted in with applicant), and then to hold a further discussion.

That people in need of emotional security (e.g. unmarried mothers) be welcomed as long as facilities allowed.

That individuals wishing to experience communal life be welcomed, at least for a temporary period.

In this sense then, the community had an 'open' policy of hospitality, as long as visitors had a genuine interest rather than a cynical or morbid curiosity; its ideal function was to provide company and a variety of stimulation, intellectual and experiential, for visitors as well as residents and to present them with a life pattern alternative to that normally offered within the city.

In practice, the community changed some of these intentions over a period of time. In the first week, one person was turned away because of the three months 'trial period', but that same person decided independently that he did not want to move to the farm anyway. Dave instructed another person to stay for one night only, because he was known to be a heavy drug user and his whole conversation was fixed on drugs which annoyed other residents.

Within the first three months, four new residents entered the community. Jane who was to become Tex's girlfriend and who was already known to Jace, Rick and others, moved to the farm after residents had discussed her 'application' (application used in this context to mean informal request to live within the community), and agreed to it. In late March, Tom was taken into the community on the basis that he was interested in communal living and fairly uncertain about what he wanted to do, both being areas in which the community could possibly support him. A little later, Hene, an unmarried mother who was having problems with her boyfriend, also moved to the farm for a short time. Jack joined the community in April, having been dissatisfied with home and school and searching for an alternative life style. Also within the first three months, the community was more frequented by 'tourists' than during any other period of the year.

There was almost no problem concerning 'crashers'. Most individuals who came and asked for a bed were friends of residents, and treated as intended. Further, there was no change in policy with regard to 'admissions', although in some cases the intended 'trial period' was forgotten. A social worker came to the farm for lunch one day and wrote an inaccurate account (page 5) of the community.

CHAPTER VII

DRUG USE

Intentions regarding the use of drugs (including cigarettes, alcohol and illegal narcotics) were discussed at length before people moved out to the farm.

Smoking was an accepted ritual or habit as far as the older residents were concerned, but Penny was concerned about the possibility of Sim's addiction to smoking at such a young age (7). There was a similar attitude towards drinking wine or beer; the children being allowed to participate but prevented from drinking too much. Both tobacco and alcohol were bought communally and there was little conflict over their usage.

However, illegal drugs did cause some problems. There was a variety of attitudes towards the use of illegal narcotics: Tex used L.S.D. as a pleasurable form of escape, especially from the humdrum of city life - "There will not be such a need for me to drop acid in the country as there is in the city"; Dick found pot as well as hallucinogenic drugs an exciting and dramatic experience. He was inclined to be prejudiced against others who hadn't used such drugs. On the other hand Rick was opposed to the use of any drugs. His was a naturalistic outlook and he saw narcotics as synthetic toys that were definitely physically dangerous. Dave's attitudes were similar to Rick's, although he also foresaw the threat that narcotics presented to communal life and communication between persons.

From discussion (tape) some definite intentions concerning the use of drugs were established:

Those who used acid or any other hallucinogenic drug should do so away from the farm.

No illegal drugs should be kept at the farm.

Marijuana was not to be grown on the farm, although it could be smoked there as long as this was done discretely, out of the reach of children as well as visitors, and kept within the group.

There were several reasons behind these 'rules'; the basic one being the fear of the children becoming involved. Not only could this endanger their health at a stage when they were too young to make sensible decisions about their using drugs, but it would also be a threat to the community. Penny: "The kids go to school and they would talk about it,

and you couldn't control this." Secondly, if people outside of the community knew that illegal drugs were being used, the attitudes of the variety of people interested in McFarlane's Farm, would be polarised. Some would be frightened away while others would be attracted by the possibility of 'getting stoned' or 'tripping' in the country,

Although Dick was absent at the time of the discussion, on hearing the tape recording of it, he remained sceptical about our considerations. This, combined with his anti-authoritarian feelings which he projected onto Penny and Dave especially, led to his establishing a 'drug subculture' at the Farm in which Bronwyn, Bruce, Murray, Tex, Alan and Jane were involved. (Tables 3.1;3.3). This fostered quite a definite split within the community. Penny, Jace, Dave, Sue, Rick and Elisa felt that illegal drugs should not be used at the Farm. Murray respected the opinions of this group and sometimes hesitated in participating within the 'subculture' Whereas Alan, Dick, Tex, Bronwyn, Bruce and Jane smoked pot or used hallucinogens whenever there was any at the Farm (allowing for exceptions as when they felt tired, or some other personal reason). The gap between these two groups was never completely bridged, mainly because of the paranoia on the part of the 'subculture' but also because of the lack of group communication. Also the tension was lessened in late July when Dick, Bronwyn, Alan, Bruce left the community; although Murray, Tex and Jane continued to use drugs, it no longer involved the intense spectacularism (dark room, single candle, incense, special music, closed door) that Dick formally created for his own needs.

It has already been stated in the notes on cultural background (page 27) that illegal drugs and intentional communities are both forms of 'counterculture'. They play a similar role at providing the young person with a security and experience which his parents and older society in general don't provide. It is the young person's way of achieving mature adulthood and to do this he wants to be regarded as having equal status and yet at the same time present to the world an individual identity. For example use of L.S.D. is a form of pleasure tripping not provided

by the 'consumer society'; Pot and L.S.D. are experiences that young people can be sure their parents have not had and hence they assert their independence this way because they feel it has been useless to verbally confront the older people, for even if they were to listen, they would not understand. Another fact is that the security of the peer group replaces the security formerly provided by parents. Consequently, if some young person makes friends with one of his peers who is indulging in the experimental use of illegal drugs, the chances of that person also partaking ^{are} a fairly high, especially at a time when this young person has very little motivation, few interests recreational, and has not chosen from the vast employment opportunities offered today, something that is emotionally satisfying to that young person.

CHAPTER VIII

MONEY

Jace suggested that we estimate the minimum amount of money required to run the community in terms of all the items we needed to share. The following table shows what we decided to share based on contributions from fourteen persons with the estimated expenditure of each item shared.

TABLE 8.1

<u>Items to be shared from General Fund</u>	<u>Estimated Weekly Expenditure</u>	<u>Estimated Annual</u>
Food for people and pets	\$68.50	\$3562
Power	8.30	432
Phone	2.00	104
T.V. Hire	1.60	84
Rent for two houses	14.00	728
Land Development (Horticulture)		
Livestock and Feed	20.00	1040
House Improvement and Building		
Social and Entertainment	3.85	200
Relief and Aid	2.00	104
Creativity and Education	3.85	200
Transport	24.00	1248
Holiday Grants - to be taken from food and transport \$1/day, 80c from food, 20c from transport.		
Cheque Books and Bank Charges	0.75	39
Total Estimated Expenditure	\$148.85	\$7741

This budget was estimated on the basis of Jace and Penny's experience of caring for a family and Dave's administration of a community home in a working class suburb. Personal clothing, tuition fees, personal insurance, and medical expenses were the private responsibility of each individual. Also everybody was encouraged to keep back money for personal day to day needs that required cash payments.

Because everybody had different incomes and were paid at different times, some weekly, some monthly and some three times per year; Jace suggested that we go round the group to see what each individual felt he or she could contribute to the total estimated expenditure and if

necessary, go round the group a couple of times until we reached the required amount. If we couldn't reach the estimated figure of \$7741 then we would re-examine our estimated budget to find ways of decreasing our expenditure. If we over subscribed to \$7741, then we would find ways of spending the excess. In this way we hoped to overcome the problem of some people not being able to contribute as much as others and then feeling inferior. What we were not able to avoid, was that the person who took the greatest burden of looking after financial matters, also knew the contributions of each person, and because she knew that her husband was giving more than others; she couldn't help feeling sometimes critical of those who seemed to give very little.

We had a joint account called the McFarlane's Farm Family Association. This account was with the local Savings Bank who kept our books and gave us a monthly analysis of our income and expenditure so we were able to assess how far we were keeping to our estimated budget. Six trustees were appointed, at least two of these being required to sign each cheque. It was originally hoped that two or three people would share the responsibility of buying, banking, paying bills and deciding how much we could afford at any one time, but the person who had the most ideas about finance and proposed the suggestions concerning finance was left bearing that responsibility most of the year, because everybody else felt inadequate in comparison and did not want to be concerned with it because it came to cause so much friction and conflict.

Also, when it came to committing themselves, some people worked out what their contribution was to be on a proportionate basis. But, on the first time round we oversubscribed our estimated total expenditure of \$8316 by \$192. This figure was based on the contributions from twelve adults and four children. Not long after this commitment, one person decided not to move out to the farm and another decided to visit rather than become a permanent resident. In Table 8.1 the estimated budget has been adjusted for ten adults and four children. This figure of \$7741 for ten adults and four children is retained in Table 8.3. A factor that is obscured by the

tables, is that those persons who worked on the farm did not receive financial remuneration. Thus the measure of obvious contributions alongside intentional commitments, financially, were partly dependant on the extent to which residents could obtain employment outside the farm.

At the end of six months, the contributions of each adult person to date, was as follows:

TABLE 8.2

<u>Adults</u>	<u>Commitment</u> <u>12 months</u>	<u>Commitment</u> <u>6 months</u>	<u>Obvious</u> <u>Contributions</u>
Jace, Penny	\$3120	\$1560	\$1709.47
Dave	550	275	305.00
Rick	728	364	486.00
Dick	500	250	90.00
Bruce	520	260	47.50
Sue	550	275	300.00
Bronwyn	520	260	205.00
Jan			31.94
Tex	500	250	58.00
Elisa	520	260	230.00
Murray			82.50
Visitors			16.00
	7508	3754	3578.76

As can be seen from Table 8.2, Jace, Dave, Rick and Sue were keeping well above their commitment; Bronwyn and Elisa were not far behind. Dick had a serious motorbike accident and was confined to hospital. After being discharged, he was for some months not able to work because of a broken leg. Jan left the community in early March. Tex found it difficult to get employment. Bruce and Murray were latecomers to the community.

Consequently, it happened that the responsibility was shared by those able to give more, so we were not very much behind our committed figure of \$3754, although in later months the situation was to deteriorate. Considering the cost of transport was much higher than anticipated; our actual total expenditure was much below our estimated

costed figure of \$3870 for six months. (Table 8.3). The figure of \$84.63 for the phone includes an initial installation fee of \$35 which wasn't budgeted for. The only other figure that merits explanation is Relief and Aid, where the rate of spending is not so important because it consisted of donations to various charitable organisations. With \$73 spent in the first six months, this left \$31 to spend in the remaining six months.

The following is an analysis of expenditure at the end of the first six months, together with the estimated budget.

TABLE 8.3

<u>Items Shared from General Fund</u>	<u>Estimated Annual</u>	<u>Estimated 6 months</u>	<u>Actual 6 months</u>
Food-People & Pets	\$3562	\$1781	\$973.93
Power	432	216	55.20
Phone	104	52	84.63
Rent	728	364	280.00
Land Development			
Livestock and Feed	1040	520	208.11
House Improvements			
Social	200	100	24.48
Relief & Aid	104	52	73.00
Transport	1248	624	1319.65
Creativity Education	200	100	50.15
Holiday Grants			2.40
Cheque Books	39	19	2.00
Unclassified Expense			29.43
	\$7657	\$3828	\$3102.98
T.V. Hire (payed by Jace)	84	42	
	\$7741	\$3870	

The reason for the low expenditure on food was because we had the use of two very good vegetable gardens, and we shot the occasional rabbit. The purchasing of eggs was supplemented by the fact that we had ten hens that laid a few eggs regularly every day. In summer we had access to large supplies of fruit. But, in winter, we would purchase fruit and vegetables.

The original intention was to consolidate our relationships and stabilise as a community and then, when we had obtained another family and a few more children from outside the community; by 1973, we would be ready to start an independent school.

Because both Penny and Rick were enthusiastic about their concept of a school, they were, while waiting for the approval of the education authorities, inclined to want to put their ideas into practice as soon as possible. This enthusiasm was reinforced by the fact that Sim refused to go to school and also Shona; Possibly, they were unsettled by overhearing our discussions about going out to the Farm. There was also the suggestion that if we were unsuccessful in obtaining legal permission for starting an independent school, then the combined experience of farm life and a correspondence course would suffice. The children would still have formal education, e.g. mathematics, science etc., and this would be at the Farm; but primarily, Penny and Rick wanted the children to be stimulated by the environment and by community residents.

By 7th February, community residents had worked out and agreed upon their intended attitudes as to how they should treat the children:

That everybody take equal responsibility for the children, including their discipline, and their putting to bed especially by those who enjoyed reading the children stories.

That everybody feel free to work out their own relationship with each child.

Jace and Penny felt that they had special claims on the children if they were to leave the community. But while the children were in the community, they did not wish to be possessive towards them.

That people share their activities and interests with the children and try to empathise with the children's interests, so that all could feel that they equally belonged to each other in love.

That we gradually increase facilities in the life

style of the community; for children in a year's time to leave the unfree schools of society, if they so wished, and have all their education within the extended family.

That each person as a member of the extended family share the parenthood of Jace and Penny with the children.

Mr. McFarlane was sceptical on the grounds that the children would not have enough peers as friends or enough corporate activities; e.g. sport. Also, he would have preferred his son Rick to attend university full-time rather than volunteering responsibility for the school.

Rick started university full-time without making a definite decision either way. This put a lot of pressure on Penny, Dave and others who were not as committed as Rick to the school idea. They had to try and manage the education of the children until Rick had made a definite decision either way. Because Penny tried to be responsible for the housework, the finance, and the school as well; she became very tired and worn out with the children being around most of the day. She also had Mo who she breast-fed and this was in itself very enervating.

Further, an ideological split developed between Penny and Rick. Penny felt that Rick was a 'purist' who "made no allowance for adults' needs and rights to be tired or tense". Penny writes in her diary, "I agree that this would apply to a newborn baby even up to 2-3 years, but after that, I feel that children begin to be aware of and make allowances for others' feelings and can cope with a certain amount of tension, denial, even anger; provided it never reaches the stage where it threatens the child's sense of security."

Because of this conflict between Rick and Penny; also because Jace, Penny, Dave, Sue and others could not afford the times unless Rick was to take ultimate responsibility for the children's education; for these reasons on 26th March, a community meeting decided by majority feeling, that the children should be sent back to the local school. This gave the adults who had attempted the full-time education of the children, and especially Penny, more time to be creative in other ways. Shortly, after this, official advice was received from

the education authorities, which pointed to at least the theoretical (legal) possibility of creating a family style independant school. But it was too late.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

As a participant observer helping to create a new community of individuals, I entered into quite a different realm of experience from that of 'culture shock'. The agonies I experienced stemmed from the feeling that there was no culture at all in the sense of there being very little understanding between us in regard to which norms were to be followed consciously or unconsciously. At the very least, we had the vague ideal of wanting to be intensely involved with one another at an intimate level allowing for both group acceptance and pair bond relationships. We wanted to share and pool our individual resources both personal and material as an alternative to the materialistic and excessively technological society from which we had emerged. Others were aware of the problems of pollution and wanted to conserve the environment wherever possible. We saw ourselves as a multi-racial community with the desire to become more open and honest with our fellowman. We wanted to be creative and self-directive and to accept each other not only emotionally but physically which meant the acceptance of one another's bodies in opposition to excessive sexual repression. We believed that if we were a relatively small group, and yet still representative of the rest of society we would have a better chance of putting our intentions into practice; to share in the responsibility and work of creating the values of a whole way of life, to share the daily round and the special emergencies of life, to endeavour that each and all may enjoy life's values fully, and to work these purposes out in mutual love and respect.

But despite the fact that we were already acquainted with each other before moving out to the farm, living with each other meant adjusting to each other and developing "on a day by day basis" our own norms and rituals according to what was practically workable and satisfying to individual and group needs. We were giving birth to a process that in other cultures takes sometimes generations to become stable and integrated; the

development of an ecological system that does not threaten or manipulate excessively the growth of the human personality, yet provides a set of norms and values sufficient to cement a group of individuals into a community.

Although at the first two group meetings we worked out together our attitudes with regard to various topics which are the chapter headings of this thesis; intentions were not always a good indication of what actually happened. But they gave us something to aim for and fostered a sense of purpose and for some, a challenge.

Method : At one point, I found it difficult to write any notes because I became too emotionally involved with Penny's problems and also because I experienced an identity crisis in the sense of feeling cut off from other individuals and communities that had been in the previous year my challenge and support. In this new situation of McFarlane's Farm, continual demands were being made upon me for supporting others. This made it difficult for me to detach myself sufficiently to write in detail, notes concerning the quality of life at McFarlane's Farm. Because I had been primarily instrumental in bringing people together; more was expected of me by others that I be a person contributing to the ongoing life of the community rather than being in the role of a detached observer. It was not my intention to be detached. Anybody who had come as a detached observer would have been rejected for not endeavouring to be intensely involved on an intimate level. The only way for me to detach would be to leave the farm for periods but then I might have missed important social events in the life of the community. Nevertheless I believe that the overall methods of participant observation and phenomenology are adequate for deriving description and collecting data for intentional communities.

Setting up of McFarlane's Farm : Dave (myself), being a mediator, had a predominate influence in recruiting members. This meant that Rick, initially, had few individuals he could identify with. Being a passive

and at times a withdrawn individual, Rick left the farm knowing that it was his and that he could come back to it later; rather than confront the community with his disagreements, apprehensions or disillusionments.

The evidence presented in this report indicates that it is essential in starting an intentional community to meet together regularly, to work out group ideals, attitudes and intentions. It may even be possible in another sense for individuals who have not previously lived in a group other than the nuclear family; to experiment for six months to see whether communal living is for them. Because one community does not meet the needs of a particular individual does not mean that there are not other intentional communities with other life styles that could be better suited to that individual's needs.

Division of Labour : The ideal had been that jobs be chosen freely according to people's interests and that if some task remained consistently undone; then it became a community concern to be resolved by the community meeting. Much of the conflict and discontent at the Farm however, was caused through anti-organisation feelings. Perhaps we did not take seriously enough our attitudes towards organisation in terms of commitment before moving out to the farm.

After three meetings, people decided they did not want to meet any more, because we were always discussing 'problems'. They had not realised the depth of criticism - openness - required for living in an intentional community and resented it. (This was partly because some individuals resented being criticised and also because pair-bond relationships were affecting our commitment to each other as a community.) Later we attempted to put meetings in more natural settings - morning tea, afternoon tea, the evening meal - where people wanted to come together anyway. Also we tried to play more games, and have outings together in our bus in order to have more positive experiences to build our life around as a family - otherwise we would have found that the only times we met together would be when we had a problem to discuss, and people would have been deterred through hearing each other's problems.

Individuals were close enough on an individual level to know about them already. Problems discussed at a community level are those which concern the whole community or those problems that can not be solved on an individual level. "Meetings" as originally intended were too contrived for those individuals who were 'anti-organisation'. Gatherings in a natural setting were not altogether satisfactory because residents realised that there were some issues that required a good deal of concentration and dedication, so on some occasions we still had to get together and have a meeting with definite intentions in mind.

The People : In the society at large there is an unhealthy trend towards stratification of age groups, especially in the schools where people learn to be inferior or superior because of their age. It is desirable therefore to have a community that is composed of more than one member at varying stages of life. This could help to break down the prejudice between different age groups and make any talk of a 'generation gap' irrelevant. Even though there was a conflict in the community between different ideologies and different life styles of younger and older residents, nevertheless the differences were recognised by members with differing degrees of awareness and there were attempts on both sides to understand these differences. One disadvantage was that some age groups were insufficiently represented. For example, Penny felt very isolated at the farm because she found it difficult to identify with the younger members of the farm along the lines of her expectations. Often the mobility of the young reminded Penny of her ultimate responsibility with regard to the children. What would have helped would have been Penny's age group to be more represented - another mother perhaps for her to identify with.

Reading Kanter (1) and from my own experience of other local communities; it could be that a definite ideal or challenge (e.g. the ideal of a Christian way of life) contributes to the consolidation and stability of an intentional community. McFarlane's Farm had the ideal of providing a constructive and positive alternative life style to that normally offered, but this goal was not shared by all the residents, mainly because some did not fully understand the ideal or the need for such an ideal.

Intimacy : Conflict arose at McFarlane's Farm because people were expecting to be intensely involved in a group or family life, but pair-bond relationships developed and were an early distraction from group cohesion. Although we had had the ideal to allow each individual who 'paired off' to have his or her private bedroom; lack of space and a dissonant feeling of not wanting to appear to act against the ideal of ~~love~~ ~~group intimacy~~

'arohanui' (group intimacy) meant that three couples chose in varying degrees not to sleep privately or not to have sexual intercourse, when there were single people in the communal bedroom. On the other hand we could regard this clash over sexuality as being between individual's ideals and socially nucleated behaviour patterns. In Polynesian society, children see adults in intercourse every night. The reason why this was not allowed to happen in this community was probably because Penny wished unconsciously for her children to be as sexually repressed as she was. Further, in many societies where the extended family is the norm, group intimacy and pair intimacy complement each other, not clash with each other. Once again, individuals were bringing into the community the result of their socially nucleated behaviour patterns formed as a result of family and cultural backgrounds.

Group intimacy ('arohanui') prevailed when the group spirit was playful - swimming in the hot pools, outings to the beach, hangis, parties - or the few times that we had 'mahi' (appendix 1), peeling peaches as a group or cutting down diseased lawsonias as a group.

I believe it is possible for future communities to regard 'arohanui' and one-to-one love as complementing each other. In an intentional community, the group love takes the strain off the pair bond relationship. In the larger society there is a tendency for pair bond relationships to become very dependant, exclusive and at times possessive. In intentional communities, the individual has the choice of pursuing an exclusive pair bond relationship or deriving some of his emotional security from the group love and acceptance. There is no need for jealousy' to occur in intentional communities. For everybody can know, love and trust each other. For example, even with the most exclusive relationship at the farm; that between Rick and Elisa, it was possible for anybody who lived at the farm to embrace either Rick or Elisa and this was in no way a threat to their relationship. In fact physical contact (embracing, kissing) was practiced to a high degree by everybody at McFarlane's Farm.

With regard to sexual repression, I would recommend that individuals be allowed to adopt their own standards

of sexual license and modesty as much as possible. The ideal is that relationships be mutually acceptable. In one city commune I am acquainted with, the older members refrain from sexual intercourse altogether because they are concerned with rehabilitating young people who could be taken advantage of and exploited by others. When we consider that fifty years ago the average age of puberty was seventeen and today it is approaching fourteen; we can make no hard and fast rules concerning sexuality. Certainly we were at an advantage being in the country and having young people who were very capable at making their own decisions regarding sexuality; this enabled us to experiment more than if we had been in the city and exposed to more pressure from the parents in the sense that they could be more likely to make visits. As it was most of our communications with the parents was by mail.

Privacy and Use of Space: On the whole our allocation of space went according to plan - good facilities to encourage 'arohanui' - large comfortable rooms for eating and sleeping, arts and crafts, reading, studying, and a room without any furniture that was used for all purposes. But because more individuals established pair bond relationships than expected, it was left to the more pioneering couples to erect their own private bedrooms - one couple converted an old cow shed; another couple converted an old garage. In setting up another intentional community, it would be advisable to have intentions not only regarding the immediate use of space, but also the potential use of space with regard to changes in the group structure over a period of time. Also future intentional communities should allow for both dyadic and group relationships.

Hospitality: This could have been better described in terms of social distance at which dissimilar and similar individuals were perceived. For example we accepted the social worker because he was known and understood by residents. He was similar in his world-view and life style. On the other hand, a free-lance writer visited, wanting to write an account of the farm. Because he did not understand our life style and we could not tolerate his life style; we became mutually aggravated, so that he left and did not

write an article about us.

Despite ideals of an 'open' policy regarding hospitality, future intentional communities still need to set limits in relation to how far the permanent residents can maintain their stability and remain emotionally secure. At the same time there needs to be a reasonable number of visitors in order to challenge the permanent 'core' to new life once ~~and~~ⁱⁿ a while. There is always present the danger of residents being over involved with in-group problems using up an enormous amount of energy on petty issues concerning domestic matters. Visitors to an intentional community help residents to look outwards instead of inwards.

Another point is that it is very easy coming from the larger society to reject totally anything we have ever learnt as regards welcoming procedures. In traditional Maori culture, first impressions are important, and the welcome on the marae, no matter how formal makes visitors confidently aware that they have been warmly accepted. Similarly in pakeha middle class culture, the offer of a cup of tea or a cup of coffee sets the scene for communication and understanding.

At McFarlane's Farm, there were occasions when visitors arrived and were left to mill around not knowing or being able to find the person they had come to visit. Consequently, we usually endeavoured to make sure that person was welcome in his friend's absence. In future intentional communities, it is important to be aware of the need for welcoming visitors and it may even be desirable that one or two individuals on behalf of the group or community make themselves responsible in this regard.

In the case of McFarlane's Farm, the number of visitors and temporary residents were not a threat to emotional stability, because we were twelve miles from the city and usually people had to be already acquainted with us in order to use our transport to the farm; otherwise they would have had to be keen enough to hitch-hike or provide their own transport for the twelve miles distance.

Drug Use: The more authoritarian and possessive the older people are towards their children; the more threatened they are by the 'counterculture' which provides an

alternative way of life not bargained for and therefore not possessed by the older members of society. It is a way of life that does not come into their area of control. The 'drug subculture' is the most aggressive in this regard, because it threatens to undermine the most precious achievement strived for by the older people, namely the care and well-being of their own children.

The older people had to slave and work for their material well-being - they have what they want. So as the parents can possess their children, these young people have been given everything in terms of material comforts that they need but what about emotional freedom? So it is that the young people find it hard to receive.

Drugs is one material thing which the young can be sure their parents will not give them. The best policy that the parents could adopt would be not to give their children excessive material comforts. Young people need the emotional freedom, the opportunity and the initiative to work out their own destiny without having to resort to illegal means. To be given ~~everything~~ by parents and other representatives of the affluent society means the young ones lose by degree their initiative and ability to be creative. They become less motivated to work; they no longer wish to be motivated or cared for by their parents' generation, so in their limbo they find drugs to motivate them and people who take drugs to accept them without any emotional blackmail.

With James K. Baxter, I am not in favour of chemical solutions to spiritual problems, but to make rigid rules against drug use is to drive the whole practice underground. By discussing the problems, and being honest about our views, we were able at the farm to understand the situation and achieve some control over drug use by verbal confrontation. "...One has to recognise that by using LSD the young ones conduct an interior revolution, and try to smash the world their elders have implanted in their heads, without an aggressive outward confrontation with the elders whom they still painfully love though they have ceased to respect or trust them."

"Education implants a logical lens in the skull. Whoever looks through that lens can see nothing sacred."

"The Mass is an event in comparative religion. A Maori tangi is an event in comparative anthropology. Sex is a physical union of parts of the body. Death is a statistical occasion."

"L.S.D. smashes this lens. It restores a sacred universe....the practice of poverty and meditation can open the same doors without injuring the body. But who remembers nowadays that such a road exists?" (see Jerusalem Daybook by J.K. Baxter, page 37)

Money: Because Penny's ideal for coming out to the Farm was to be more concerned about the education of the children and less concerned about being a house-wife; it was a mistake to allow Penny to manage the accounts. She kept them very well for the first six months but money became one of the main contentions of the community. Penny was aware of our obligations with regard to money but because she had to keep people's contributions, confidential, her anxiety with regard to finance caused those who contributed little monetarily to feel inferior. Here, there was a basic conflict in values between those who would have been prepared to live off the land and approach self-sufficiency and those who felt they had to be responsible for people other than themselves (e.g. those who saw the need of caring for the children). Further after the first seven months as more and more people left the Farm, transport became more costly' proportionately, and more people were unemployed proportionately; the accounts remained in debt, and still are at the time of writing, Jace meeting most of the cost at present.

Children: The decision to send the children to school was a release of strain for the adults who had been involved with the children during the day. It would appear that we had become dependant upon the wider society providing specialists for education. In the case of McFarlane's Farm, the community was too small a group to provide all the specialist skills necessary. Also, adults need cultural 'time out' apart from their children if only to overcome the problem of children playing one communal parent off against the other. As and when children get into difficulties that involve their care and protection

in future communities, adults need to agree on 'rules' and if they are not sure of the 'rules' with regard to the children, they can then refer the child back to his biological parents. (e.g. use of rifle, farm bike etc.)

Outcome: The early disillusionment of Rick and Elisa was crucial to the future of the community because it was Rick's father's farm. Their decision to leave meant the eventual demise of McFarlane's Farm because Mr. and Mrs. McFarlane wanted the farm houses available for use by members of their family. Also the conflict of some members with Penny and the eventual annulment of Jace and Penny's marriage threw doubt on any possibility of the group reforming on another site. Besides, Jace who had a lot of respect from everyone in the community, announced his intentions of going to Fiji in 1973. To summarise, we had disruptive forces from without (Mr. McFarlane), from within (Penny, Penny and Jace) and the pull of ties with the outside community (e.g. Fiji).

Table 10.1 shows the transitional nature of the community although, it must be noted we never intended permanence to be directly related to physical location. The letter (appendix 1) which was a result of a discussion between Dave, Jace and others arising out of our experience at McFarlane's Farm, indicates the sort of permanence we hoped for if we had been able to stay at the farm. What is encouraging is while seven had had enough of communal living, eighteen residents wanted to live in communities again, to the extent of being prepared to start their own.

"It is perhaps unfair to judge communes by their immediate effect on the body politic...Obviously, a majority of communes last only one or two years. Moreover, 'successful' (long-lasting) communes have been known to cripple individuality, creativity, intellectuality and sexuality...If stability in human relationships is success, prisons are among the most successful of institutions."

"The most meaningful definition of communal success, it seems to me, relates to individuals rather than the larger society or group longevity. How are individuals' lives affected by their communal living? It is here that judgments must be made. It is also here that communalists stand the greatest possibility for success."(2)

TABLE 10. 1; Diagram of community membership in relation to, time.

	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August
Jace
Penny
Sim
Elizabeth
Shona
Mo
DaveL
SueL
TexL
DickL
BronwynL
Rick...L	.....
ElisaL	.....
JanL	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		Jane.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....L
			Tom.....	.....L	.....	.....	.....
			Hene.....	.....L	.....	.....	.....
				Jack.....	.....	.....	.....
				Murray.....	.....	.....	.....L
					Bruce.....	.....	.....L
					Rangi.....	.....	.....
					Alan.....	.....	.....L
						Ben.....	.....

APPENDIX 1.

13th September, 1972.

Dear Ib,

Without further ado then, here is my 'design brief' for a permanent commune - according to the guidelines you gave me.

1) Ideal numbers/members per position etc. 2 to 4 married couples with school age or pre-school age children (8 - 16 persons).

2 to 3 elderly people, perhaps parents of spouses above.
4 to 6 youngish "single: people (say 15 to 30 years) of both sexes. These may include informally paired couples. Total permanent or semi-permanent core membership would therefore be 14 to 26 persons (includes 4 to 8 children).

In addition, however, it would seem desirable to have places for between 3 and 6 people, at any one time, to whom a full share of space and hospitality could be offered. And, this would be in addition to the extra space required for friends of the children who would be invited to stay on weekends and holidays.

2) Facilities/Amenities including structures to facilitate self-sufficiency.

a) A fairly large but "cosy" multi-purpose room which would be the focal meeting point for the commune as a whole. Main meals would be served there and I would suggest that the same room be used for any indoor entertainment involving the whole group and also the groups whai-korero (discussion) and Hui (meetings). A winter stove would be an important part of this focal area. But so also would be the design and layout of table and seating gear. (You know our preference for low, unobtrusive furniture).

b) Cooking facilities and storage (deep freeze, shelves for preserves, vegetable storage, etc.) would need to be ample and spacious with efficient access to focal meeting/dining area, and allow up to 4 people to work.

c) A quiet reading room in which coffee could also be taken. The main library here and, if an independant school be included in the commune (see below), this could be utilized as a school library and reading room during parts of the day.

- d) An additional study room for adults, including university students (up to six work spaces). There may be an argument for having this detached or semi-detached from the main living space.
- e) A music room, also detached or semi-detached but with relays to speakers which could be controlled to give music in the main meeting/dining space and in the craft room. The music room would also be used by the school children and would need to be spacious enough for creative dancing. Ideally, this room could be continuous with or adjacent to an outdoor "bower" of sheltered sitting space, at the centre of which an open fire place, for nighttime listening, etc.
- f) Craft rooms - for weaving, pottery, leatherwork and woodwork and painting, sculpting. Preferably contained in one space though with this space subdivided, especially for pottery (woodwork could be separate and detached.) This would need to be large - enough for up to ten people to be working at any onetime - and would need easy access to storage space for materials, also kiln, tubs, own stove, etc. Part of it could open onto patio for outdoor painting, sculpting, etc.
- g) Sleep space. Main principle is to offer variety and choice. Four categories;
- i) private or semi-private for married and courting couples.
 - ii) a communal sleeping place with a minimum of "fixtures".
 - iii) conventional sleeping for single and twos (this probably necessary for elderly people and also need to, provide for elderly or 'retiring' guests). One or two detached sleeping huts would also seem desirable.
 - iv) childrens sleeping space - probably one large sleeping and romping space for those up to 8 or 10 years of age (very small children in nursery and/or provision for them in parents room).
- h) Washing; Bathing; Toilet. Important to have outside and inside facilities. No "mens"/"ladies" but provision of two inside sets to at least satisfy school regulations if necessary. Allow for "communal" showering for children and others who may prefer it.
- i) Laundry - Needs to be spacious and carefully designed to

reduce the hassle and toil surrounding this chore. Laundry collection bins; also drying, folding and storage space needs to be well designed and ample. Possibility of special 'clothing room' where most of this latter can be done.

j) School room for 'free independant' school (minimum number 9 children before Education Department grants permission). In this case outside children are likely to be brought in on day basis to augment number of commune children of school age. One fairly spacious school, room, for the more conventional activities, is all that would seem necessary. For the rest of the activities (art, craft, etc.) the general commune facilities would easily suffice. The school room would have a variety of tables, chairs, shelving and display boards, blackboards, etc. But it need not otherwise be elaborate. A series of sliding doors could allow the room to be an open air one most of the year. It could also be utilized for commune dancing and meeting or special occasions.

k) Miscellaneous garden tool shed, potting shed and propagating frames for subsistence (and small market surplus) horticulture; motor shed, two or three vehicles with some motor repair facilities (bench, vice, etc.); poultry house and (perhaps) honey extraction shed; compost bins.

3) Statement of aims etc. of commune. This could be summed up using James Baxter's five principles:

"Aroha" or "Arohanui" - Love for the many - the basis of a life of sharing - sharing of space, of talents, of goods, of joys, sorrows and cares.

"Korero" or "whai-korero" - conversation in the fullest sense of the word - maximum opportunity for full and free communication between all.

"Mahi" - work - for its intrinsic satisfaction, for some goals or goal which we share (see more on these below).

"Manuhiritanga" - hospitality to the stranger.

"Matewa" - the 'night-life of the soul' which I would interpret as the realisation of self, the discovery of self and its relationship with others.

This last principle suggests that opportunity for both social exchange and privacy are equally desirable in the commune situation.

The commune for me, is a unit in an alternative social pattern - one based upon humane concern, sharing and personalized exchange. It realizes a life which places less emphasis upon technological and organisational efficiency i.e. an efficiency which is liable to be achieved at the expense of human health and personality. It is therefore less committed even anti-thetical, to the commercial system, more committed to subsistence livelihood and the development of handcrafts, It is self-directed and unauthoritarian as far as is practicable. It seeks alignment and exchange (of ideas, personnel, food, craft and goods) with other communes and similar groups. It seeks, eventually, this sort of "political" commitment on the part of its members. But, it does not seek total or even maximum possible severance from the established society. Some members will continue to work and earn incomes (as teachers and social workers especially) in the established society. Friendships, hospitality and so forth will extend outward to the established society as will necessary commerce in material things. The subsistence and craft themes, however, will be enlarged to allow all those who wish to pursue their basic livelihood within the commune.

Well, that's it, Ib. I think we can do all this on 3 - 5 acres of moderately fertile soil and within 20 miles of a city! What we'll never have is the money to build the beautiful structures which you are about to design!

Good luck and best wishes from us all at

McFarlane's Farm;

Jace.

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