URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP: AN EXAMPLE OF A
COMMUNITARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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ABSTRACT

URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP: AN EXAMPLE

OF A COMMUNITARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By

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Urban Place Fellowship (U.P.F.) is a modern utopian
collectivity similar in many ways to the utopian experiments
of the 19th Century, however, with several distinctive
features. It is located in a major American city and the
members of U.P.F. hold a wide range of jobs in the city.
Because of the utopian structure and urban location, U.P.F.
may offer an alternate social system to support the members'
vocational autonomy.

The purpose of the study is to examine the structure
of U.P.F. and note any effect on the autonomy of the members
in their work roles due to the group structure. It does
this in two stages. First, the literature on the 19th
Century utopias is examined. This literature and Loomis'
social system model reveal six structural characteristics
associated with group longevity. In the second stage, these
are used to investigate the structure of U.P.F. and any

effect it may have on member vocational autonomy. These
variables were available to the research team for their
investigations and participant-observer visits to U.P.F.
over a three year period. The findings may be summarized
according to the variables as follows:

(1) Philosophy and Goals: The Fellowship was con-
ceived by the members both as means of "radical Christian"
discipleship to others and as an end in itself to be
expressed in the quality of relationships among the members.
Both of these constituted shared norms by which the members
evaluated their behavior. These were judged to be supportive
of group longevity in comparison to the inadequate self-
interest goals of the members of some of the rural
socialisms.

(2) Systemic Linkage and Boundary Maintenance: An
analysis of U.P.F.'s economic support system revealed how the
employee status of members plus a commitment to a "welfare"
level standard of living by the members generated a "cushion"
of income over expenses. This did not eliminate potentially
fatal conflicts of interest with absentee sponsors such as
those which proved fatal to some of the rural socialisms.
However, it minimized them in a similar way to that of the
long-lived religious utopias.

(3) Income Allocation: The economic distribution
system at U.P.F., known as the "common purse," in conjunction
with the income "cushion," effectively minimized economic

conflicts of interests among the members and helped avoid the plight of some rural socialisms.

(4) Articulation of the Community System: Member conflicts regarding power and status were also minimized but not eliminated at U.P.F. by several mechanisms including a system of rotating expertise authority, a decentralized influence structure and a common ownership of property, which prevented members of differential influence from acquiring the visible symbols of status and power.

(5) Selection and Socialization of Members: The data revealed a unique selection and socialization mechanism at U.P.F., the "intentional neighbor relationship." This permitted a flexible and elongated anticipatory socialization process for candidates which was unavailable to the isolated rural utopias. This was judged adequate for the comprehensive membership process required by highly articulated groups such as U.P.F. and promised to fulfill the manpower and commitment requirements needed for longevity.

In each of the variables, U.P.F. had adopted similarly effective measures as had the religious utopias or had avoided dangers which plagued the socialisms. This permitted U.P.F.'s longevity potential to be judged as similarly high as the long-lived religious groups.

The other emphasis of the study was member autonomy. The study defined autonomy as the ability of an actor to consider an action which he anticipated would result in a

negative evaluation of him by the group in question—thus challenging a dimension of his self-esteem. The literature revealed that an actor should require support for such autonomy by two variables:

(1) Exposure to a highly differentiated social structure to individuate his "self" system as distinct from the village or collectivity in which he was a member. This was necessary to permit an actor to conceive of alternatives to conformity—one requisite of autonomy. It was judged that some isolated religious utopias did not fulfill this criterion. However, U.P.F.'s urban location, high degree of cross-boundary travel and member-vocational roles, all exposed the members to the highly differentiated urban social structure and clearly fulfilled this criterion.

(2) The second autonomy variable revealed by the literature was the actor's location in a social structure of high articulation. This structure was needed to support him against challenges to his self-esteem in other social structures in which he exercised his vocational autonomy. U.P.F.'s low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation, its low degree of structural conflict and its low degree of member isolation were judged to constitute a high structural articulation, nearly comparable to that of primitive pre-industrial societies. Thus, it could be claimed that U.P.F. offered the combination of high articulation, which it enjoyed in common with its counterparts of

the previous century, and high differentiation, which was unique to the utopias due to their rural isolation. The unique combination permitted a prediction of support for member autonomy which was strengthened by some observations of member vocational performance.

The important implication of the study is that a high articulation urban group is potentially viable and long-lived and may support members' vocational autonomy. This constitutes a possible solution to the general problem of personal and professional responsibility in an institutional and market-place-dominated society.

URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP: AN EXAMPLE

OF A COMMUNITARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the High School Youth of Michigan. It was their restlessness which stimulated the original visit to the Fellowship. It will be their courage and vision, hopefully aided by this study, that will help motivate the rebuilding of the church and all the social structures in this state.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Urban Place Fellowship[1] (U.P.F.) is a modern utopian
collectivity similar in many ways to the utopian experiments
of the 19th Century, however, with several distinctive
features. It is located in a major American city and the
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The purpose of the study is to examine the structure
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in their work roles. It does this in two stages. First,
the literature on the 19th Century utopias is examined.
This literature and Loomis' social system model reveal six
structural characteristics associated with group longevity.
In the second stage, these are used to investigate the
structure of U.P.F. and any effect of the structure on member
vocational autonomy.

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[1]All proper names in this thesis are code names.

Structure

U.P.F. represents an attempt to structure a parti-
cular kind of human relationship. An adequate examination
of such an experiment cannot simply describe visible behavior
but must analyze the structural components which support and
give rise to such behavior. The term structure refers to
the set of interrelated patterns, positions and expectations
which shape the interaction among the members, between the
members and those outside its boundaries and between the
group and other social units.

Longevity

Since U.P.F. appeared to be similar in many ways to
the 19th Century utopian experiments, profitable comparisons
might result, it was reasoned. During the 19th Century,
nearly eighty communities attempted to create a different
type of society. Their common characteristic is their desire
to structure a system of cooperation in their groups as
opposed to what they believed was a "competitive" society
around them. Religious and non-religious groups alike
claimed that the cooperative societies permitted a new style
of responsible behavior. Toward this end each group
attempted to structure a common goal, a physical proximity
of dwellings, and shared economic, social and decision
structures.

However, most of these groups were extremely short lived, lasting on the average for three to five years. What were the causes of the failures? Are the same causes of failure at work in U.P.F. today or has U.P.F. overcome the problems? If U.P.F. is to continue in its influence both inside and outside its boundaries, presumably it must continue to exist and to support its members. Thus it was decided to examine the literature on the 19th Century groups with special attention to the factors associated with longevity. These factors could then provide a framework from which to examine U.P.F.

A review of the literature on the rural utopias yielded six characteristics which were associated with the more successful experiments. Since these were descriptive of the basic structural characteristics of the group, it was determined to be useful to examine U.P.F. to discover how it had been structured in the six areas and to ask what effect this might have upon member autonomy.

Autonomy

The autonomy focus is raised to discover whether U.P.F. could capitalize on its unique urban location by offering its members an alternate social system to support their vocational responsibilities. The several writers who are also concerned about the problem of man's ability to be responsible in light of social problems are noted in the

review of literature in Chapter II. This literature with
19th Century literature is the context of the question: does
U.P.F. insulate its members from the "pressure" society
places upon people for conformity and thus facilitate their
autonomy? Therefore group autonomy is not of primary
interest here since the pluralistic American society has
apparently given U.P.F. the freedom to structure itself in
accord with its own desires. Rather it is an individual
autonomy which will be investigated: the self-governance or
freedom of decision of an individual in the face of social
pressure to conform.

Since the work role is one frequently described in
the literature, it was selected as the area in which to con-
sider the autonomy question. Thus the question becomes:
does U.P.F. support the autonomy of its members on their
jobs? This requires the assumption that appears reasonable:
if one can exercise autonomous judgement on his job (where
his source of income is potentially at stake) he could exer-
cise autonomy in non-vocational pursuits (where his income
may not be in question).

Design of the Study and Data
Collection Procedures

A participant-observer method was utilized to gather
data on the Fellowship.[2]

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[2]For details on this type of method see B. Junker,
ed., Field Work (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960).

At the time of the last visit the group consisted of fifty-six adults and seventy children. The group is comprised of approximately equal numbers of men and women. They range in age from seventeen to forty-five years. They live in family units in twelve buildings on several blocks in the city. (See Figure 1) Most of the buildings are single dwellings divided into "flats" or family units (usually one unit on each floor). One of the family units consists of single male adults, another of single women.

Most of the buildings are owned by the Fellowship. However, occasionally when additional members join, housing is not immediately available so the group must rent buildings. (See Figure 1) This is not considered ideal by the group but is a temporary way of adjusting until suitable housing becomes available on the market. Some families desire to join the group in stages. These are known as "intentional neighbors" and obtain their own housing in the neighborhood. (See Figure 1) (This is discussed more fully in Chapter VII, Selection and Socialization of Members.)

Most of the single adults work in the city as well as one partner, usually the male, from the husband-wife family units in the usual middle-class job pattern. Many work in "people oriented" jobs such as teacher, social worker, and hospital aide. However, the range includes engineers, managers and garbage collectors as well.

During the weekdays only the wives and pre-school

Figure 1.—Territoriality of Urban Place Fellowship
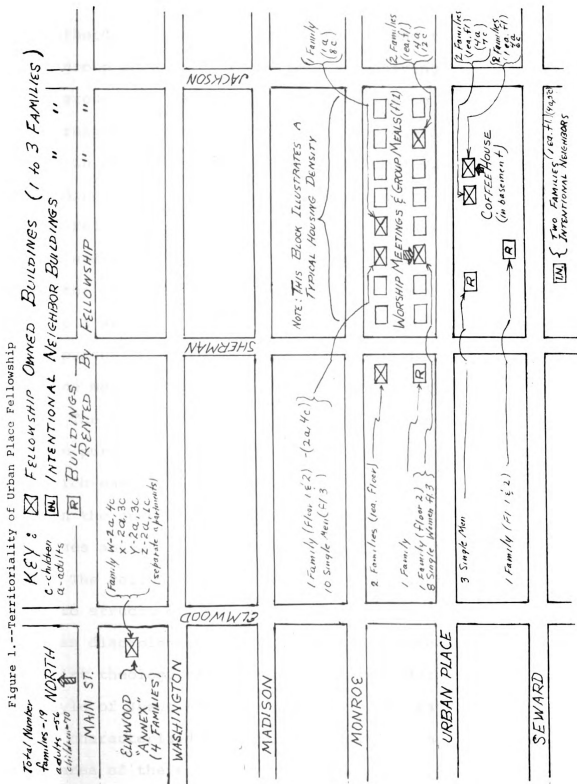
children are home. Two of the women operate the Fellowship "Day Nursery" for children of the working mothers in the neighborhood. Other Fellowship wives attend to routine tasks of the group such as paying bills or preparing for the weekly group meal in addition to attending to their usual family responsibilities. During the day children of school age are in classes, usually in public schools. However, in the evenings and weekends most of the members are available for the Fellowship activities: a "coffee house," a worship service and a "work day" to repair the group buildings. During the week the activities include a weekly common meal and also a weekly evening meeting. Each week a different family purchases the food (with Fellowship funds) and pre- pares the meal. (For further discussion see Chapter VI.)

The economic life of the group is characterized by a common purse in which the members place their wages and from which each family unit is given a living allowance based on the number of members in the unit. The group owns the houses and cars communally. (See Chapter V)

The rationale for these activities is the group's desire to structure a way of life based on a "radical Christian discipleship." This ideal is founded on the Anabaptist theology of the Protestant Reformation and on the life style of Jesus and his disciples. The radical disciple- ship is characterized by a commitment by the members of "every area of their lives to God and mankind," by

equality of the members before God, and by a love for one another and a concern for the society in which they live. (See Chapter III for further discussion.)

Fortunately the researcher had a background in theology and philosophy as an ordained clergyman and thus was accorded a degree of legitimacy by the group. This background also helped in the orientation of other researchers.

The study was an extended one comprising three visits. The first was a one-week stay (1964). Three adults (the author, a public educator, and a theologian-faculty member from Western Michigan University) and twelve high school youngsters from various cities in Michigan participated. The research group was mixed male and female, black and white, higher and lower income level and from both large and small communities (in Michigan). A planned itinerary was used so that the researchers were able to participate in each of the various activities of the Fellowship as well as at several of the places of employment of the members such as Brawn State Hospital,[3] the local mental hospital. Even the meals and lodging during the week were arranged so at least one member of the team boarded or dined with each of the Fellowship families. The team members utilized "debriefing" sessions to share their insights and compare

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[3]A code name.

developing theories as well as to keep from losing their objectivity by the activities of the week.

This first visit was exploratory. Following it, the systematic study was made of the communitarian groups of the 19th Century. This provided the other two problems, longevity and member autonomy, and the six variables with which to examine these as well as the structure of the group itself. A structural outline was then prepared to be used as a more specific guide for the second and third visits.

The second stay took place in February of 1969 and provided a contrast to the first visit which was during the summer season. The author traveled alone to the group and found that he was treated almost as if he were an unmarried individual. This afforded a different view of the Fellowship and was particularly helpful in relating to the single members who traveled in somewhat different informal circles from those with family responsibilities. The second visit, also a week in duration, occurred as the group was dealing with a problem of size. The group had grown to over thirty adults (plus children) and they had found that the face-to-face relationships which they counted as vital had been eroded by the larger numbers. The decision to try a new approach was actually reached during the week that the author was present.

The third and final visit afforded a view of the new approach after a one-half year "shakedown" period. This

visit was of three weeks duration and the author was able
to take his wife and family and participate more fully in
the predominantly family-centered mode and relationship of
the group. A sensitive young high school student was
selected to accompany the author's family. He was able to
build some significant relationships with several youth in
the neighborhood, both black and white, and obtain their
views on the Fellowship and the position of youth in the
group. He also related to several of the Fellowship's youth
and became acquainted with the range of attitudes they dis-
played toward the group. Another valuable contact with a
different segment of the Fellowship was provided by a col-
league of retirement age who was able to join the research
team for a week and relate to the older members of the
Fellowship.[4] Again the nightly debriefing sessions were used
to centralize the data, compare and test theories and to
minimize loss of objectivity.

<center>Collecting the Data</center>

During the three visits, the teams attempted to
maximize the advantages of the participant-observer type of
study. Depth interviews and semi-structured interviews were

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[4]She is presently employed by a major church denomina-
tion and brought many years of experience both as officer and
as member of a local church. Her perspective was helpful in
contrasting the Fellowship with the more usual Protestant
church group.

commonly used to supplement the participant role as well as to enrich the yield of data. The teams were briefed and made familiar with the primary areas of examination.[5] The teams made note of "key informants'" observations as well as those of other members. Five such key informants were identified (three men and two women). These five were characterized by a longer tenure in the group, theological-historical training, experience in several communal groups or all three. The observers then cross-checked informants' comments against their own observations, against their own feelings as participants and finally against the written records which were available for the Fellowship as well as for the subgroups. Finally these findings were compared with outside sources, such as newspaper reports and perceptions of neighbors.[6] Visits to the places of employment of some of the Fellowship members were also made. On these visits the researchers actually worked in "helping" roles in an effort to feel the demands of job-performance, to better observe the performance of the U.P.F. members and to gather observations from informants employed on the sites who had observed members' job-performance over a period of time.

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[5]Roy G. Frances, "Administration of Social Science Research," An Introduction to Social Research, ed. by John T. Doby (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1967), p. 363. The comments in this chapter were very helpful in training the research staff.

[6]About a dozen interviews with neighbors were held at various times.

The unstructured interview procedure enabled the researchers to note inconsistencies between the informants' comments and data from any of these other sources and to pursue points of apparent difference. Often this led to rich yields, especially about informal lines of communication and informal norms.

Data were gathered at the individual, family, sub-group and total group level. However, it was the structural data about the total group which comprised the focus of the investigation.

<center>Control of the Data</center>

The design used various methods, some of which have been indicated above, to minimize the shortcomings of the participant observer method. Debriefing sessions were used throughout to prevent loss of objectivity of the researchers. Various sources of data were utilized as cross-checks: perceptual data offered by the informants, the feelings generated in the researchers as they participated in the various activities, observations by the researchers of the various groups in action, observations and perceptions of neighbors and other outside reporters, and historical records and documents of the Fellowship.

Visits in winter and summer attempted to counteract seasonal differences in activities of the Fellowship. Visits before, during, and after a structural change provided

a base-line to monitor the change in structure.[7] The

material on the 19th Century groups was analyzed for a basis

of comparison to the Fellowship. This also yielded a correla-

tion between several factors and the longevity of the groups

which served to measure the longevity potential of the

Fellowship. The visits to several places of employment of

the members yielded several sources of data from the job

site to test hypotheses about member vocational autonomy.

However, the one limitation of a case study remains:

that it constitutes a sample of one and thus is limited in

its generalizing power to other situations. This limitation

was acknowledged in attempting to limit the findings to

appropriate scope.[8]

The Chapter Organization

The 19th Century literature reveals and describes

the six variables used to analyze the problem of longevity.

Since these are also used for the primary task of the

thesis, that of the description of the group's structure, a

chapter is devoted to each variable. Each chapter first uses

one variable to describe one dimension of U.P.F. (such as its

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[7]S. E. Seashore, Group Cohesiveness in the Industrial Work Group (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1954), p. 13ff.

[8]Samuel A. Stouffer, "Some Observations on Study Design," American Journal of Sociology (January, 1950), pp. 356-359. For the argument in behalf of single case studies see James Coleman, Martin Frow and S. M. Lipsit, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

philosophy).

The second body of the literature reveals two central variables critical for actor autonomy: exposure to a social structure of high differentiation, and membership in a social structure of high articulation. These are both noted in the chapters in relation to the six structural variables (the former especially in Chapter IV and the latter in Chapter VI). Comparisons are made between the Fellowship and the 19th Century experiments where possible.

The last chapter (Chapter VIII) summarizes the results in two parts which correspond to the two parts of the literature. The structural material is summarized first. The autonomy material is accumulated in the second summary. Both summaries are in chapter order.

This introductory chapter has attempted to set forth how the problem of the study was formulated: that of accounting for the structural conditions of U.P.F. which permit the style of life which it manifests and also why such knowledge is valuable in the modern society. The chapter has tried to show why the structure of these groups is a valuable consideration here. The chapter has also indicated how the claims of modern writers (to be discussed in Chapter II) who are concerned about man's inability to reform society has resulted in the interest in the autonomy of the U.P.F. members to be "responsible" in

their vocational roles. Finally the chapter has set forth the design which the study used to try to obtain the most accurate and inclusive data. The three visits by a mixed group of reporters who lived in U.P.F. provided respondant, behavioral, and structural data from a variety of sources which permitted ready comparison for a more penetrating analysis. The next chapter will survey the literature and will contain the survey of the 19th Century experiments. These will provide a background for the body of the paper-- the structural analysis of U.P.F. itself.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The survey of literature for this thesis comprises three sections. The first section reviews the literature on 19th Century American communities. The next derives a schema for analysis from the literature which will then be used in the body of the paper to examine U.P.F. The last of the three sections covers the literature on autonomy and derives a scheme to examine the autonomy potential of the residents of U.P.F.

The American Utopias

Working on the premise that a satisfactory starting point for understanding a community like U.P.F. would be an analysis of the literature on the American Utopian experiments, it becomes important to examine that literature with some care. A discriminating examination of groups which began over 150 years ago presents a particular problem. The first-hand accounts of the societies are few and must be carefully examined for reliability. Another problem is the difficulty for a contemporary reader in comprehending a world view of Americans in 1820. What circumstances would cause men to leave their homes and jobs, uproot their families and

move to some remote woodlot often with few agricultural skills and fewer instruments with which to work the land? Yet they moved from the cities by the hundreds, talking of "cooperative societies" and the "betterment of mankind." And these were people respected by their peers, including some of stature such as George Ripley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Isaac Hecker, and Charles A. Dana of Brook Farm.

This section will survey the range of literature surrounding the utopias--the literature which influenced the groups as well as the literature which reported upon the groups from both eye witness and secondary sources. The early literature will serve to reveal something of the intellectual and social milieu of the day, thus helping to explain the impetus toward the utopias and the designs behind them. It will help in understanding some of the reporters who analyzed the experiments, particulary Robert Owen and John Humphrey Noyes, to discover and correct their biases, and also to understand their thought forms and convictions. (See also Appendix D)

Finally this section will survey the modern literature relating to 19th Century and modern communitarian groups.

Social and Literary Influences
on the American Utopias

In searching for the mind and spirit of the nineteenth Century experiments it is mandatory for a modern investigator to readjust his perceptual framework to the

milieu of the day. Many of the utopian and anarchistic writings of the 20th Century were not available to the two great waves of utopian experimenters in 1824 (1st wave) and 1842 (2nd wave).[1] (See Bibliography for reference to all works in this section). Proudhon's major work What is Property, for example, was not available in France until 1840 and not until after the second group of experiments was well under way in the U. S. Josiah Warren's Equitable Commerce (1846) and Adin Ballou's Practical Christian Socialism (1854) were authored by men who had lived in communities themselves (Warren in New Harmony and Ballou in Hopedale) and were probably influenced by the experiments as much as they had influence upon them.

Bakunin and Kropotkin followed in the next half century, as did the anarchist Tolstoy. Only William Godwin among the anarchist writers preceded the two great waves of American experiments, and his central work Inquiry Concerning Political Justice (1789) was apparently available to the later communitarians of that day.

Godwin claimed, "There is but one power to which I can yield a heartfelt obedience, the decision of my own understanding, the dictate of my own conscience."[2]

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[1]John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms (New York: Dover Publications, 1966, a reprint of the original published by J. B. Lippencott & Co., Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 13-14.

[2]William Godwin, An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946, a reprint of the original 1789 edition), cited by George Woodcock, Anarchism (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1962), p. 41.

This illustrated a paradox of anarchism in relation to the utopian experimenters. While the anarchists' faith in human nature and impetus to criticize the existing order were both shared or adopted by the utopians, the anarchistic opposition to all forms of authority in the name of individualism conflicted with the requirements of communitarian living and either was rejected or modified by the experimenters, particularly the religious ones. Those such as Owen, who failed to see the conflict and attempted to retain individualism found considerable social strife among the members as well as eventual failure. Thus the influence of anarchistic thought upon the experimenters was a partial one at best.

Most of the utopian writers as well as the anarchists came after the utopian experiments. Bellamy's Looking Backward was not available until 1888, William Morris' News from Nowhere until 1890, H. G. Well's A Modern Utopia 1905, and Lenin's State and Revolution 1917. All these wrote with the failures of the utopian experiments behind them. Thus nearly all of the modern anarchistic and utopian writers define communitarian structures outside the larger society as "retreats from reality" or "prison paradises"[3] rather than experiments in reshaping society. As George Kateb claims, "It is unthinkable for the modern utopian, that the cluster of utopian ends could have permanent existence

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[3]Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 37.

outside a society organized for their sake."[4]

Thus in order to uncover any of the utopian influences upon the first experiments in 1824 one must look within the literature of the previous half century to Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen.

Saint-Simon published many protests against the unequal distribution of the wealth of society but included few plans to rectify the situation. He claimed only that rewards should be proportional to social contributions rather than to rank in a social hierarchy. Fourier's writings, on the other hand, were explicit and detailed and this probably generated a lot of enthusiasm among the utopians. In fact, Noyes attributes all of the thirty-four experiments in the second wave to Fourier's writings. Owen, however, of the three writers, is clearly the most interesting. His proposals for "villages of cooperation" came not from his armchair dreams as did Fourier's and Saint-Simon's but rather from his New Lanark experiment in Scotland. After the amazing success of New Lanark he came to the U. S. himself to begin "New Harmony," which was to be the model for the new social order.

If one is to find utopian influences prior to the

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[4] George Kateb, Utopia and Its Enemies (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1963), p. 10.

19th Century he must go back to radical Christian movements surrounding the Reformation upheaval, particularly the Hussites and the Anabaptists. Mannheim, in <u>Ideology and Utopia</u> claims that "the decisive turning point in modern history was, from the point of view of our problem, the movement in which chiliasm (millennialism) joined forces with the active demands of the oppressed strata of society,"[5] a reference to the Hussites and Anabaptists under Thomas Munzer. Corrinne Jacker and George Woodcock (see bibliography) trace the anarchist and utopian critiques of society back before the age of classical Greece into the 5th Century, B. C.

Kropotkin's history of anarchism, however, offers one of the most interesting notions. He postulates in the anonymous masses of prehistoric people two themes in human history. One, which he calls "mutual aid," is seen in the cooperative structure of primitive villages, and later the medieval craft guilds. The other, the authoritarian theme, is expressed in village priests and magicians who used superstition and fear to maintain class and privilege distinctions, and social and legal systems.[6]

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[5] Karl Mannheim, <u>Ideology and Utopia</u>, trans. by L. Worth and E. Shils (New York: Harvest Books, 1936), pp. 211-212. It will be interesting to note later how the communitarians at U.P.F. refer directly back to Munzer and the radical reformers in conceptualizing their efforts.

[6] Peter Kropotkin, <u>Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution</u> (New York: Knopf, 1925), especially Chapter 1.

Mannheim's dichotomy in social thought between status quo
oriented ideas ("ideology") and revolutionary utopian
thought ("utopia")[7] parallels Kropotkin's themes.

It is helpful in conceptualizing the place of the
utopian experiments in literature and history to envision
them as a part of the historical stream of "mutual aid" and
revolutionary utopian ideas and actions. Placed in the
unique social economic conditions of the early 19th Century,
however, the utopian dreams were powerful enough to attract
into their adventures many who would have stood normally on
the side of authoritarianism and the status quo.

One problem remains in the analysis thus far. The
relationship between Owen's Scottish factory-village and
the American experiments is extremely vague, both in the
early literature and in the modern literature, and calls
for some careful examination. What were the conditions
which stimulated Owen's experiments in Scotland and America
and how did they relate to the utopian efforts which spread
across America? But more important, what was the nature
of the successful New Lanark as compared to the ill-fated
New Harmony, Indiana? Was New Lanark actually the model
for New Harmony or did it merely provide the enthusiasm
and funds to begin New Harmony? In light of the limited
influence of Anarchistic writers on the experiment as well
as the fact that Owen's efforts were the first socialist

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[7]This is the basic theme of Mannheim's Ideology and
Utopia, Ibid.

experiments in America which helped begin the chain reaction of utopian efforts, these questions must be more fully explored. This will be the task of the next section.

Robert Owen and the Utopian Impulse

The early 1800's in England witnessed a factory system whose offspring was an amazing flow of goods for the wealthy, but often abominably poor conditions for the workers. Owen was deeply troubled by the social conditions of the British Isles and became convinced that mankind was no better than its environment. If environment were changed, a real "paradise on earth" might be achieved. New Lanark, a beneficent factory-village, became the laboratory in which his ideas were tested and found to be amazingly successful as well as profitable.

Fresh from this success at New Lanark, Owen appealed to Parliament with a plan for a sweeping social reorganization. The plan featured "Villages of Cooperation," similar to New Lanark, in which 800 to 1200 persons would work together within farms, factories, schools, and homes neatly laid out--a planned city.

Not surprisingly the proposal failed to excite the nation. Few believed that paupers could become the "producers of great wealth if given a fair chance or that their deplorable social habits could be easily transformed into virtuous ones under the influence of a benevolent

environment."[8]

Thus Robert Owen turned to America, the land of
opportunity, in hopes of realizing his dreams. In 1824 he
sold his interest in New Lanark and bought a large tract of
land in Indiana to begin building the "community of coopera-
tion."

But did New Lanark, in fact, provide the experimental
base upon which to begin such an American experiment as Owen
and many others believed? Would such a comparison help to
explain the contrast between the amazing success of New
Lanark in Scotland and the dismal failure of New Harmony in
Indiana?

Under close scrutiny, New Lanark was not a radical
and innovative experiment but rather a modification of the
prevailing practice of the day. The only utopian dimension
of New Lanark was the extent to which benevolent planning
had been carried and the self-sufficiency of the town with
its own factories, farms, schools, and stores. Owen
had taken skilled mechanics and spinners, talented and
benevolent foremen, and the most efficient spinning machinery,
and with his own managerial skill established a productive
operation. The increased productivity he apparently split
three ways: the workers and managers received more pay, the

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[8]Robert Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New
York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), p. 104.

shareholders, including himself, received greater dividends; the community received capital improvements, homes, schools, and roads. This combination is clearly not socialism or communism but benevolent capitalism with a strong dose of city planning.

However, this combination stood out in stark relief against the conditions of early 19th century England. The workers must have been delighted with their reduced working day and higher wages, and probably the plant did not want for skilled workers. The families must have been pleased with the housing and general standard of living which appears considerably higher than the prevailing standards of the day. Also the individual dwellings retained the integrity of the family unit and provided some healthy social separation for families who were not always harmonious (later experiments were to use dormitory or hotel style dwellings for all participants and generally resulted in considerable friction).

In fact, a structural examination of New Lanark disclosed no differences from the prevailing capitalistic practice. The workers held no stock in the enterprises (as in socialism) or held no property in common (as in communism). The fact that a factory owner had also built dwellings, stores, and public buildings for his employees was not unusual in that day, though both the beneficent management and the progressive social arrangements were unusual. But beneficent management, higher wage rates, and good industrial and social planning were changes

not from competitive structure but within it.

Thus New Lanark was not the socialist model for New Harmony and the wave of American experiments as many writers would conclude (Heilbroner, Noyes, etc.); in fact, Robert Owen brought mainly his giant enthusiasm for social reform and his considerable fortune to the new world, not a socialist model. But Owen also brought to America a critical distinction--the distinction between competition and cooperation. Owen wasn't the first to make this distinction nor the last, but he was the first modern utopian to attempt to put it into practice.

This distinction between cooperation and competition as well as the enthusiasm and resources to put it into practice were Owen's real contribution to the growing American Socialistic fervor. What kind of reception was Owen to receive as he journeyed from Scotland to the land of opportunity? How did the new world appear to him in 1824?

America in 1824 was by no means hostile to Owen and his enterprise. America received him as a social savior in comparison to England's response. Many of the people were ready for such seeds of hope and promise as Owen offered.

It was a turbulent era--the dawn of the age of the common man. The population was starting its geometric upsurging from the beginning of the great migrations. The machine age was upon the young nation. People were starting to crowd into the cities in search of opportunity and found themselves

serving the machine instead. Others fled from the abhorrent urban conditions and sought their fortunes in the expanding frontier. The tension was magnified by a rising concern over slavery and states rights.

The frontier in particular was a natural breeding ground for various cults and societies. One section in central and western New York was even named the "Burnt" or "Burned-over" District because it had been swept so often by the fires of revivalism.[9] According to Olmstead the revival reached its height in the decade which followed 1825 "fed by the impassioned preaching of Charles Grandison Finney."[10] Its products were a score of fervent and often rabid causes-- Anti-Masonry, millennialism, spiritualism, Mormonism, and a score of others.

It was into this expectant and dynamic scene that Robert Owen brought his unusual ideas of social reform and his economic wealth to give them form. It is small wonder that they were met with overwhelming enthusiasm. His ideas and efforts in combination with the unusual social conditions at the time sparked a minor social revolution which embodied utopian and anarchistic ideas alike and formed a foundation for the later wave of Fourieristic experiments and gave added impetus to religious experiments to come.

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[9]Clifton E. Olmstead, History of Religion in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), p. 335.

[10]Ibid.

Primary Literature on the Utopias

Another group of literature consists not of critiques
of society and designs for reforms, but rather reports and
analyses of the experiments. These were written either by
first hand observers of the utopian efforts or by secondary
writers who used the reports of the primary writers for their
analyses. Two primary sources are available, John Humphrey
Noyes' History of American Socialisms (1870) and Charles
Nordhoff's Communistic Societies of the United States (1875).
(See bibliography for details) A third source, that of A. J.
MacDonald, a disciple of Owen's, never got past the manuscript
stage. However, Noyes was able to obtain it and incorporate
its wealth of data on the Owenite groups into his report.

Nordhoff's book is limited to the religious communi-
ties because the socialistic groups had all failed and dis-
appeared by the time of Nordhoff's travels. Although his
descriptions bear the accomplished eye of the newspaper cor-
respondent, his objective reporting reflects the somewhat
limited understanding of an outsider.

Noyes, however, was an "insider" to the utopias in
three ways: as a clergyman, as a socialist, and as an
experimenter. As a clergyman, his rich observations on the
religious groups are unique to one who shares the faith of
the participants. His observations on the socialistic groups
are enriched because he was also a socialist, and because he
wrote at the time when many of the socialist groups in the
second wave were available for him to visit. Also, he had

access to MacDonald's eyewitness report on the first wave of
socialisms. Thus Noyes, unlike Nordhoff, was able to visit
and write incisively concerning both socialist and religious
groups. Finally, Noyes' role as experimenter himself, gave
him the means to theorize about the experiments, their sources,
their practices, and their failings in a way that Nordhoff
could not. Thus Noyes' American Socialisms represents a
unique and rich resource on the 19th Century experiments, both
in range and in style. For these reasons Noyes' book actually
provided many of the structural categories which were used to
analyze U.P.F. (These will be set forth in a later section of
the literature.) However, since Noyes was so thoroughly an
"insider" to the experiments the danger of biased reporting
and analyzing appears. This is discussed in a separate sec-
tion devoted to Noyes' life and views (Appendix D). The sec-
tion reaches the conclusion that Noyes adhered closely to
scientific methods and minimized the danger of bias.

Secondary Literature on the Utopias

The more modern secondary sources on the utopian experi-
ments were used to cross-check the Noyes data and stimulate
directions for inquiry in Noyes' and Nordhoff's volumes. These
secondary sources often focus upon a modern behavioral science
concept and analyze it against the natural laboratory of the
utopian groups. (See bibliography for details of each work
cited in this section). Kanter's study "Commitment Mechanisms
in the 19th Century Utopias" is an excellent example of this
modern analysis. Lockwood's article "The Experimental Utopias"

in America" and Moore's article "Utility of Utopias" are examples of this type of secondary analysis. More general secondary works include Bestor's Backwoods Utopias (although it covers the period only through the first wave to 1829); Hind's American Communities and Cooperative Colonies; Mark Holloway's thorough study, Heavens on Earth; Parrington's American Dreams; and Webber's Escape to Utopia.

Other secondary sources focus upon only one or more specific experiments such as Eastlake's Oneida Community (1900); Edith Curtis' Season in Utopia, the standard work on Brook Farm; and Christean Knoldler's The Harmony Society.

The final group of writings is not about the 19th century experiments at all but rather about 20th century groups. They are primary eyewitness reports and yield information and insight on various structural problems of utopian groups in various modern settings. These data were helpful to supplement the frame for analysis obtained from the groups of the previous century as they bear upon U.P.F. and also helped bring unique modern perspectives to bear on U.P.F. This body of literature is wide in range and quality. Among the best of this group is the excellent literature on the Israeli Kibbutizm which generated several helpful comparisons with U.P.F. These included: Darin and Darkin The Other Society; Rosner, Patterns and Problems of Direct Democracy in the Kibbutz; Schwartz, Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz; Etzioni, "Organizational Structure of the Kibbutz"; Spiro, Venture in Utopia and Children of the Kibbutz; and

Weintraub and Berenstein, Social Structure and Modernization.

Another primary source of modern utopias is periodicals in the contemporary utopian network, such as The Green Revolution, The Community Market Catalog, Vocations for Social Change, and Alternatives: Foundation Newsletter. Each of these carries reports, often quite biased, about the trials of various current experiments both religious and secular. Another source, not quite as biased, is popular periodicals such as True magazine's surprisingly inclusive article, "American Hippie Communities," and Life magazine's superficial article, "The Commune Comes to America."

Modern journal articles are considerably more object-ive such as Plath's, "The Fate of Utopia" (utopias in an oriental setting).

Finally, a rich primary source but not a literary one should be mentioned. This was visits by the author and by colleagues to other utopian groups. These were four in number: Koinonia Partners, a rural interracial community farm in Georgia; Camphill Village, an educational community for retarded adults in New York; "The Farm," a rural agrarian group in Ontario; and Koinonia, a student community at Penn State University. These visits were of considerable value both in sharpening the writer's perceptions before the visits to U.P.F. and in analyzing the data after the visits.

The Data on the 19th Century American Utopias

This section begins the effort to systematize the

data on the experiments in order to reveal factors associated with group longevity. It notes the three types which Noyes and MacDonald utilize and builds upon them. Its first task is to discover how the three types are similar to one another and how they are different. The common characteristic of the experiments is their attempt to structure a system of cooperation. The differences are more complex, however. For this purpose the next section derives six variables from the original sources. Together these summarize the hypotheses of the 19th Century writers on the sources of utopian "failures." The section then relates each of the six variables in turn to each of the three community types: Owenite, Fourierist and Religious. This provides definitions of the six variables as well as descriptions of the three types. The section then compares the variables with the actual data on the failures. The variables are found to vary directly with the failure rates and thus may be used to help predict longevity potential in other utopian groups.

At the outset of his investigations, Noyes distinguishes three types of communitarian groups: (1) Owenite, (2) Fourierist, (3) Religious. Although he doesn't specifically indicate how he distinguishes the societies from other social organizations, he clearly uses MacDonald's distinction of an organization which substitutes a "cooperative state for a competitive one." Both Noyes and MacDonald employ the term "community" not in the usual sense of a social group which resides in a specific locality, shares

government and has a common cultural and social heritage,
although all of the socialist communities had these char-
acteristics. Rather they used it in the limited sense of a
social group which perceives itself as distinct from the
larger society because of the sharing of a common character-
istic, that of a system of cooperation as opposed to a
system of competition.[11]

Noyes notes eleven Owenite groups. These were not
all patterned after Owen's ideals. However all "owed their
birth to the general excitement that followed Owen's labors
. . ." and thus were classified as belonging to the Owenite
movement. Noyes thus takes the source of the experiment as
the deciding characteristic. It is on this ground he counts
an experiment as Owenite, Fourierist, or religious.[12]

According to Noytes, the writings of the French
reformer Charles Fourier were introduced into this country
in 1842 "and then commenced another great national movement
similar to that of Owenism, but more universal and

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[11]The utopian reformers, such as Noyes and Owen, did
not center their arguments for cooperation on the claim that
it was a more "fair" or "just" distribution of increased
productivity as would be claimed today--but rather on the
potential for better quality of relationships among people.
The perfectability of relationships is a reflection of the
kingdom of God (Noyes) or the realization of the natural
order (Owen and Fourier). This comparison reveals the
transcendental authority of the age vs. the empirical nature
of the modern authority.

[12]Noyes distinguishes a 4th type, "foreign" groups,
however, he dismisses them as not characteristic of the
"American experience."

enthusiastic."[13] Noyes includes 34 experiments in the number of Fourierist groups. Many of these never carried into practice Fourier's theories in full; but the fact that they all originated from the common "excitement" leads Noyes to count them under the Fourierist category.

Noyes notes seven religious communities. He is less than enthusiastic about these "old world" groups because he believes they have little hope of attracting and reforming "modern American society." However he must give them credence because of their obvious longevity in comparison with the socialist groups. While he doesn't set forth his norm specifically, Noyes appears to count those groups as "religious" which are characterized by the "centrality of a single religious faith." This central faith serves to bind the members together.

The Longevity Variables

Noyes does not offer a systematic presentation of the data, but rather an intriguing unraveling of the mysteries of the great experiments. The gathered data ranges in scope from accounts of the smallest detail (New Harmony enjoyed "18 acres of full-bearing vines")[14] to the most sweeping generalizations (the failure of New Harmony was because Owen "abolished law, but did not establish grace").[15]

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[13]Noyes, p. 14.

[14]Ibid., p. 34.

[15]Ibid., p. 54.

The closest he comes to a systematic description is a
listing of each experiment, its location, amount of land,
and duration. Thus it is necessary to summarize the
theories on longevity into workable variables. This summari-
zing process may be illustrated as follows:

Noyes' Observation	Abstraction
--"Owen himself was absent over one year"	A leadership and decision making problem
--"New dissenting communities were formed from the main body"	Strong commitment to common authority was lacking, a selection and socialization problem
--"Seven Constitutions or provisional governments were tried and failed"	Strong commitment to common authority was lacking
--"Constitution number five embodied Owen's 'Declaration of Mental Independence' "	A source of conflict in the social structure
--no private property	communistic structure
--no religion	non-religious structure
--"Owen's classes of instruction in socialism to the participants were cut short in 6 weeks by his illness"	Inadequate socialization of participants
--"People of diverse belief and habit and nation populated the community"	Open/random selection of participants
--"The participants had no 'practical experience,' no 'mutual confidence,' no previous acquaintance"	A selection and socialization problem

Such summaries of the data yielded the following six cate-
gories: goal congruence, economic sufficiency, social

articulation, selection and socialization of participants, religious philosophy and practice, and leadership and decision making. (See Table 1 for definitions of each of the variables and their reference in modern literature.) The next section relates each of the six variables in turn to each of the community types and is summarized in Table 2.

Goal Congruence

Goal congruence consisted of an economic relationship in which the goals of the group's sponsors were in congruence or opposed to the goals of the participants. The communities ranged from a destructive extreme of goal conflict where dissatisfied sponsors terminated an unprofitable venture to an opposite extreme of having no external sponsors. Although this conflict was not often recognized by the reporters of the day, it is possible to reveal it by first noting the goals of the participants, discovering whether or not sponsors existed who were not participants, and then discovering whether or not their goals were in harmony or conflict with those of the participants. This will be done in the following section.

Participants' Goals.--The participants were those who are defined by the community itself as the members--those who lived in the community and enjoyed full membership satus. (See Table 2)

TABLE 1.--Definitions of Structural Variables

Variables	Definitions	Modern Literary References	
		Loomis[16]	Faunce[17]
Goal Congruence	An economic relationship in which the objectives of the group's sponsors (who provided financial support and capital) were congruent with or opposed to the objectives of the group's participants.	Boundary maintenance, p. 31. Systemic linkage, p. 32.	Conflict of interest between groups, p. 7. Structural differentiation, p. 6.
Economic Sufficiency	The production of goods, services, or income by the group to satisfy the needs of members and demands of sponsors.	Achieving, p. 15. Communication, p. 30.	Power, p. 5.
Articulation	The patterned relationships among group members by which the group attempted to establish a harmony of interest (cooperation) but instead at times established varying degrees of conflict of interest between members or classes of members (competition).	Dividing the functions, p. 19. Ranking, p. 23. Facilitating, p. 27. Communication, p. 30.	Division of labor, p. 5. Status, p. 5. Conflict of interest (between role positions), p. 7. Isolation, p. 7. Social integration (articulation), p. 6.
Selection and Socialization of Participants	The machinery by which candidates for group membership were recruited and aided in adopting the group's goals, structures and behavior.	Socialization, p. 34.	
Religious Philosophy and Practice	The commonly held ideology among the members and any ritual practices associated with it.	Knowing, p. 11. Norming, p. 16.	
Leadership and Decision Making	The structure which provides for making group choices, including the ability of the group's leaders to facilitate the decision process and help the group achieve its goals.	Achieving, p. 15. Sanctioning, p. 26. Controlling, p. 20.	

16Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960).

17William A. Faunce, Problems of an Industrial Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968).

TABLE 2.--Summary of Longevity Variables

	Owenite (Benefactor)	Owenite (Debtor)	Fourierist	Religious
1. Goal congruence				
a. Participants' goals	Establish a cooperative society	Establish a cooperative society	Establish a cooperative society	Establish a religious-cooperative society
b. Conflict possible	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
c. Non-participant sponsor goals	No absentee sponsor	Financial return on loan	Financial return on loan	Financial return on loan
d. Economic-financial type of community	Communist-benefactor	Communist-debtor	Socialist-stockholder	Communist-debtor
2. Economic sufficiency	Agriculture primary (usually marginal productivity) Some manu-facturing	Agriculture primary (usually marginal productivity) Some manu-facturing	Some manu-facturing	Often high in productivity Some cases much manu-facturing
3. Social articulation	Cooperation	Cooperation	Mixed cooperation, competition	Cooperation
4. Selection and socialization of participants	Open, random	Open, random	Open, random	Closed, highly selective, structured
5. Religious philosophy and practice	Non-structured, optional	Non-structured, optional	Non-structured, optional	Required
6. Decision making	Democratic	Democratic	Democratic	Monocratic

As has already been described, the actual goals of
the participants clustered around the establishment of a
cooperative society, under the conviction that cooperation
would provide a superior order in which to live--a "utopia."
Many of the leaders of the Owenite and Fourierist experiments
desired to establish a new order which would be copied across
the country and eventually change the fabric of the entire
nation. Many, especially in the Religious communities,
believed the establishment of a better social order would
bring near the Kingdom of God. Countless others believed
the city and the machine age were inherently evil. Escape
had to be sought away from the machine, away from the city,
away from the system of competition. Still countless others
were finding the times extremely hard and sought primarily
economic gain and easier going in a cooperative system.

But regardless of the cluster of motives, the common
agreement in the communities was to institute a cooperative
society. The only exception was the Religious communities
which desired to establish a religious as well as a coopera-
tive society, but these still fall within the common norm.

Non-participant sponsor goals.--The sponsors were usually
people or groups who provided financial help in support of
a community. They were not usually participants themselves
but supported the participants from outside the group, that
is, non-participant or absentee sponsors. The discussion
focuses on these.

In all but a few communities, a considerable quantity of land was purchased. Noyes suggests their "fondness for land was related to their failure," since agriculture, he claims, is "one of the hardest roads to fortune." He suggests that manufacturing would have been more adequate to achieve some financial security, but most of the experiments were far removed from the centers of industry. Consequently, in their haste to escape the evils of industry, most experiments went into debt buying farmland (often of poor quality) and turned to agriculture as the chief means of support, whether or not their members were skilled in the "agricultural trades."

Many of the experiments were quite pressed to pay their loan installments on time. Frequently the gathering of enough funds to meet installment payments would leave the community destitute of critical resources and equipment. Occasionally it left them without food and clothing but it always created a strain on all the relationships in the society. Occasionally it was the actual reason for the closing of the community.

Brook Farm is the best example of a community which was satisfactory on all other counts (harmony of relations, good management, adequate facilities and a growing profitability). By all commentators it was judged the most likely to continue successful for a long period of time, being "a model for the Fourierists to follow." Yet it was closed in large part by the decisions of non-participant sponsors, shareholders in this case, who believed they could obtain a

better return on their funds from other investments.

Thus, particularly in the case of Brook Farm, but also in many others, a "conflict" existed between the goals of the members and the goals of the non-participant sponsors. This conflict was a varying source of strain on different communities and even the immediate cause of death in some. However Noyes accords little attention to this type of conflict in his analysis.

It must be noted that some experiments were not considered very profitable, yet had no goal conflict. Others were profitable yet had a fatal conflict between participants and sponsors (notably Brook Farm). This conflict was built into some communities by their financial arrangements with sponsors outside the community. Three types of economic-financial relationships can be identified and can be related to Noyes' community types. [See Table 1, item 1(d)] Owenite societies were either communistic-benefactor or communistic-debtor type. They were all communistic because all goods were held in common. However, some of the Owenite groups were given their land by a benefactor (Robert Owen at New Harmony, Francis Wright at Nashoba). Consequently there was no debt to be repaid to a sponsor outside the society. Thus there was no sponsor conflict possible in the communistic-benefactor type, rather a condition of "no sponsor" which was similarly beneficial to the condition of goal congruence with a sponsor.

The other type of Owenite community was the communist-debtor arrangement. The goods were held in common but the members did not enjoy enough wealth to purchase all their land and had to borrow from an outside source. This established the goal conflict between the sponsor's desire to realize a good and secure return on his money and the participant's goal to establish a cooperative society.

The Fourierist groups utilized a socialist (joint-stock) principle. Generally this involved the issuance of stock to members to represent the entire amount of real property, land, buildings, etc., of the association. Each share of stock would realize one vote in the decisions of the society, as in usual business practice. Any profit was divided among the stockholders; any capital appreciation, such as the building of a flour mill on the property, while not realized immediately in profit, would clearly increase the value of each share. The amount of labor each member performed was also recorded (distinguished by usefulness into "classes") and at the end of the accounting period (often a month) any profit was divided between capital and labor. A member would have credited to his account one amount according to the number of shares he held, another for the hours he had worked. Thus some voting power was vested in some non-participant sponsors. These lived outside the community and often centered their expectations upon the yield of the stock. Indeed at the North American Phalanx, Noyes notes "the capital was nearly all owned by

non-residents . . . ." Clearly a conflict of interest was present in such a situation and occasionally when the profit expectations of the absentee stockholders were not met they decided to withdraw their investment and place it in a more profitable venture.[18]

The Religious communities had the same conflict with a lender which the Owenite societies had because they had to borrow from a lender for their land purchases (none of the Religious communities was joint-stock, all were communistic.) However, they avoided difficulty, not because they avoided the conflict but because they minimized it. They also had to buy land (apparently in every case) but apparently they bought more conservatively and worked more diligently. At any rate, all were apparently productive enough to repay their debts so that no difficulty developed.[19]

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[18]It might have been possible to minimize the problem between absentee shareholders and resident shareholders by limiting the number of non-resident stockholders to less than 50% of the total voting power. But since this conflict was not recognized the solution would not have been available.

[19]The one exception is noteworthy. It is the society begun by Noyes himself. Oneida practiced "Complex Marriage," a system in which every man in the society was the husband of every woman and every woman the wife of every man. In 1848 Noyes and his followers were forced by opposition by local villagers to move from Putney, Vermont, the original location, to Oneida, New York. Again in 1879, although the community enjoyed a reputation for "industrious and responsible citizenship," their reputation of polygamy brought them into conflict with their neighbors and the community was forced to give up "Complex Marriage." The following year the society was reorganized as a joint-stock company and Noyes left for Canada where he lived out his life. The local villagers, first in Putney, then in Oneida, functioned like absentee sponsors because they permitted the experiment to exist in

The net result of this typology relating the sponsors to the Owenite, Fourierist and Religious group is a prediction of sponsor conflict--an important factor in longevity. (Table 2, item 1) The communist-benefactor type of Owenite group alone enjoyed an absence of sponsor conflict. The communist-debtor type of Owenite group as well as the Fourierist and the Religious experiments had a structured sponsor conflict. Thus the longevity of these three depends upon their ability to satisfy their absentee sponsors while pursuing their own goals. An examination of the economic support of the groups follows. This is the next of the six longevity variables and the most influential in satisfying absentee sponsors.

Economic Sufficiency

Economic sufficiency is the production of goods and income by the group which then are available to satisfy the member needs and sponsor demands. All of the 19th Century groups were predominantly agricultural; however, many also had some manufacturing. (See Table 2) The groups ranged from adequate support (some were even described as "wealthy") to inadequate (these resulted in early failure).

The agricultural propensity of the societies should generally be considered detrimental on two counts. First, agricultural enterprises are a slow road to economic productivity, as Noyes indicated. Second, the variety of employment in most experiments was severely limited, and an

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that location. When the group violated the villagers' social norms, the conflict resulted in the closing of the experiment--a result similar to the fate of the groups who violated the financial norms of their economic sponsors.

engineer, poet or musician would be directed to the fields to do his share with the others (such was Brook Farm with its wealth of authors, theologians, publishers and businessmen). The result was often a dismally low level of agricultural expertise. Third, the land was often of poor quality and frequently little of it was fertile.

A good deal of the early enthusiasm and energy in an experiment was of necessity directed to dwellings and facilities rather than to making the soil productive. For this reason the productivity increased directly as the length of time the group had occupied the land increased. Older societies, such as the North American, had very comfortable dwellings and highly developed farm machinery. Except for the excellent facilities which Robert Owen purchased at New Harmony, the typical facilities, equipment, quality of land and level of expertise of the Socialists were marginal. The combination of these factors insured a low productivity. This was a significant longevity factor for many groups (except for the few Owenite groups which were free of absentee sponsors). Their low initial productivity resulted in an inability to satisfy sponsors and often contributed to a premature death. Thus the economic support variable is important not only to the economic well being but to its ability to minimize the financial conflict of interest with absentee sponsors as well.

Social Articulation

Social articulation refers to the patterned

relationships among the group members by which cooperation or competition (conflict of interest among the members) is established. The communities range from cooperation to mixed cooperation and competition.

The institutionalization of a system of cooperation was noted as the common ingredient in the three types of communities and distinguishes them from other towns or settlements of the day. However, the conflict which was noted in the structure of some groups modified the desired cooperative structure significantly. In particular, the Fourierist groups which had a large number of shares in the hands of absentee members experienced competitive relationships because of the conflict of interest between these two classes of members. The high proportion of absentee stockholders in such groups suggests the extent to which competition and not cooperation was instituted in the very structure of the society. The conflict of interest implies that an imperfect cooperation was instituted in the very design of the group. In addition, a conflict of interest existed among members living on the site. The members who held a large number of shares and did little work would benefit from a larger distribution of profits to dividends than wages. Those who had few shares and worked many hours would benefit from the opposite distribution. Both of these conflicts appear to be structural defects which were noted only peripherally by some of the various analysts, and were completely overlooked by most. Yet it is clear that in the last years of the

North American phalanx, although it was profitable, it was
not, in the agreed upon definition of cooperation, a socialist
society, but rather a mixed socialist-capitalist society.
This resulted in some competitive relationships which
hastened the death of the group.[20] While such conflicts of
interest were not fatal in every case they appear to have con-
tributed to the deterioration of social harmony in the
group. Blau and Scott, in a modern analysis, describe how
competition generates a conflict of interest between partici-
pants in a system.[21] This affects not only the physical

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[20]The experience of the North American supports this
claim. It was not the usual conflict of interest (with a
lender) which contributed to the death of the group but
rather this very conflict between absentee shareholders and
resident shareholders. Further it was not the expected finan-
cial disagreement but illustrated another dimension which the
conflict among members took. One would expect absentee share-
holders to become dissatisfied with the rate of return the
community paid on its shares as compared with the dividends
they might receive in other investments. If they held the
majority of the shares (as was the case in the North American),
they could vote to close the phalanx and sell its property as
shareholders might do in any business. However, almost the
opposite was the case at the North American. An unfortunate
fire destroyed the mills, a main source of income of the
phalanx. The loss was valued between $7,000 to $10,000
(according to the New York Tribune, September 13, 1854). It
was clearly not a fatal blow, though a serious one. The value
of the entire community was $55,000 while the debts totaled
only $18,000. Horace Greeley reportedly had offered $12,000
to rebuild the mills. Yet the conviction arose among some of
the members in light of the great amount of work that would
be required of them to rebuild while the wealthy backers sat
in their offices in the city, that "Perhaps they had better
not rebuild at all! That they had better dissolve!" With no
one to rebuild or restore the former level of profitability
the community ceased to operate. The conflict between resi-
dents' interests and absentee-stockholders proved fatal.

[21]Peter Blau and Richard Scott, Formal Organizations
(San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), pp. 81-85.

output of goods and services but also generates distrustful and antagonistic relationships among the participants. This appears to be the phenomenon noted by the 19th century utopians in claiming the potential for a better quality of relationships in cooperative societies. It also helps explain the phenomenon taking place in the joint-stock socialisms such as the North American where cooperation was only partly instituted and the resulting conflicts contributed to the demise of the group. The social system variable is of value not only because it helps describe the extent to which the group achieved its goal of instituting a cooperative system but also because that system bears considerably upon the quality of the relationships within the group as well as upon the longevity.

Selection and Socialization of Participants

Selection and socialization refers to the machinery by which candidates for membership were recruited and aided in adopting the group's goals, structures and behaviors. The communities ranged from an open or random procedure to a highly selective or closed system. (See Table 2)

Virtually all the socialist groups had an open system. Often all who desired were admitted. Seldom were religious or financial commitments required. Usually some affirmation of sympathy with socialistic principles was deemed adequate by the society. A few experiments (Skaneateles, Northampton, Wisconsin, Brook Farm) utilized a more stringent selection

process, such as a period of trial membership before admit-
tance, or a voting process by current participants with the
right of veto. But even these were inconsistently applied
and were not in force throughout the life of the society.

The Religious societies clearly differed from this
practice in that they were highly selective in their admit-
ting procedures. The religion and its specific beliefs and
practices was itself the most highly selective agent. A
period of trial membership was usually employed, and fre-
quently the group or the leader had veto power over prospec-
tive members. The new member also granted all his goods and
property to the society to be held in common. This also
strengthened the bond between the member and the group.

The socialization of the participants after their
admittance was generally not attended to in the socialistic
societies. Rather the opposite conditions of freedom and
individual difference were prized. It was generally thought
that any process which would appear to require conformity
would be a breach of the freedom of the participant. Owen
held classes in the theory and practice of socialism, appar-
ently in hopes of molding the diverse beliefs of members to
a common discipline of socialism. But he became ill after
six weeks and discontinued the lessons. Noyes generally
gives the impression that no amount of lessons nor any
devices could mold together the 900 individuals at New Har-
mony who were brought into "family relationship" in a period
of several months. Most of the other socialisms secured

little more mutual bond than New Harmony. However, it is
notable that the more successful socialist societies,
especially Hopedale and Brook Farm, had many previously
established member relationships to serve as a foundation
for group commitment.

The Religious communities, according to Noyes' data,
began with a much narrower spectrum of beliefs and also had
a highly structured system of socialization techniques which,
because of their beliefs, were often a part of their reli-
gious practices. A probationary period was apparently
common. During this time religious instruction and worship
was intense and frequently accompanied by "confession
periods" in which the candidate would "cleanse" himself of
unacceptable beliefs and deeds before the leaders or some
gathered members.[22] In addition, several of the Religious
communities had already existed as religious groups before
moving into a communitarian style. The established network
of relationships proved invaluable in overcoming the hard-
ships of beginning a utopian community.

Religious Philosophy and Practice

This category refers to shared ideology among the
members which contains the symbols and ritualization of man's
relationship to that which he considers sacred. The

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[22]For a more complete discussion of commitment
mechanisms see Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Commitment Mechanisms
in Utopian Communities (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Uni-
versity of Michigan).

communities ranged from an intensely held religious ideology with a uniformly required ritual practice to weak or absent common beliefs and few or optional rituals.

The religious practice in the socialistic experiments was on a non-structured or optional basis. For example, Noyes reports that some small groups engaged in organized worship and religious education in New Harmony. However, after Owen's "Declaration of Mental Independence" speech condemning worship as harmful and tyrannical to men's freedom, there were no reports of worship services. Some communities even suffered religious quarrels among the diverse beliefs represented.

The Religious communities differed markedly from the socialist societies on this matter. They instituted services of worship, religious education, sometimes comprising several meetings a week, and in some societies, held community "confession periods" in which individual shortcomings were admitted and differences resolved. The ability to solidify the community with a common belief was directly related to the selection process, according to Noyes. A random or open selection process would provide no common focus around which the community could form. Thus the selection-socialization variable, Table 2, Item 4, is a direct attempt to uncover two structures which are important in forming the commitment of new members to the groups. It indirectly affects other structures such as decision making and solidarity of philosophy.

Leadership and Decision Making

The decision structure is the machinery of decision making--how choices are made and implemented. Leadership refers to those who perform functions of directing, guiding, influencing and implementing in reference to group choices. The communities ranged from democratic structure (every member vote) to monocratic (no member vote--i.e., decisions made by a single leader or director) and from highly skilled leadership to inadequate.

Noyes noted the need in the socialist groups for either strong leadership or a strong commitment to a common authority or purpose. If the participants of the socialistic experiments had any commitment to a common authority, according to Noyes, it was accidental. The open door policy of admitting members upon their agreement to the aims and by-laws of the association was much too weak to adjudicate between the various claims which arose between the members. Often an issue was debated for a long period and when no resolution was achieved, the community was broken into warring factions. Sometimes one faction or the other would leave the community, weakening it by their loss but resolving the dispute. However, almost as frequently, elongated disputes resulted in the direct death of the society.

Occasionally strong leaders, such as Owen, attempted to bond together the diverse interests of the members. But even Owen's great wealth and his influence among kings and presidents was inadequate to solidify New Harmony. Brook

Farm was a group which enjoyed strong moral and social leadership including within its number George Ripley of the famous transcendental club, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William H. Channing, Isaac Hecker and Charles A. Dana. However, even this unusual collection of talented and committed people, although harmonious to the end, did not possess the technical competence to make the experiment sufficiently productive.

Most other socialisms enjoyed neither the commitment to common authority to make the democratic decision processes harmonious nor the technical leadership to make them productive.

The decision making process of the Religious communities was significantly different and may be called monocratic in comparison with the democratic process of the socialist societies. There was usually a common commitment to a religious authority. It could be vested either in the leader as the agent of a divine authority, or a document such as the Bible, or the entire group as the medium through which the Divinity would reveal His will, or all three. The individual will was seen either as subservient to the Divine will or as fulfilled by the Divine. Noyes reports that many conflicts, which would have destroyed Oneida like the North American Phalanx, were resolved by "waiting and submitting all minds to the Spirit of Truth--by patience, forebearing one with another and submitting one to the other, the final result satisfied every one."[23] The process of submission to the

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[23]Noyes, p. 39.

central authority, unlike the democratic voting process,
resulted in a consensus among the members.

In addition many of the Religious groups included
sufficient skilled leadership among their members in that
they were comprised of rural people and enjoyed high levels
of agricultural expertise. Those which did not were appar-
ently able to overcome this handicap by extra efforts and
frugality until some level of skill and productivity were
developed. Thus the decision making variable points to the
ability of the group to resolve issues among its members and
maintain harmony and direction in the group. The six vari-
ables together systematize the diverse theories from the
original sources. The next section will compare these six
variables to the available data on the failure rates of the
experiments to verify any predicting value of the variables.

The Validating Data

Four objective pieces of data were available for
nearly all of the groups: the duration, population, the
debt, and the amount of land. These formed the basis of a
rough validation of the six longevity variables. (See Table 3)

The "duration" (row a) of the experiment is clearly
the most valuable data, for it is the main indication of the
"success" of a community. According to Noyes, the duration
represents the time elapsed between the settlement of the
members on the site and either the departure from the site or
the dissolution of the communitarian form of organization.

TABLE 3.--Attributes of 19th Century Communes Related to Community Longevity

Owenite Groups by Name, Location, Leader and Date of Origin

	Yellow Springs Ohio, 1825	Haverstraw N.Y., 1826	Coxsackie N.Y., 1826	Nashoba Tennessee (Frances Wright) 1825	New Harmony Indiana (Owen), 1825	Summary Owenite Groups
a. Duration (years)	3 months	6 months	6 months	3	3	Average Years 1 1/2
b. Population	400[1]	80		15	900	
c. Debt (dollars)	-0-	12,000	"Much"	-0-	-0-[2]	
d. Land (acres)	120	120		2,000	10,000	
1. Sponsor Congruence (Goal Conflict)	1	0	0	1	1	Variables present 3
2. Economic Sufficiency	X	0	0	1	1	2.5
3. Social Articulation	1	0	0	0	0	1
4. Selection-Socialization Mechanisms	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. Religious Philosophy and Practice	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Decision Making and Leadership	X	0	0	0	1	1.5
Total Variables (N=30)						4
Average Variables Present						24%

Fourierist Groups by Name, Location, Leader and Date of Origin

	Modern Times N.Y. (Warren) 1851	Leraysville Phalanx Pa., 1844	Clarkson Phalanx N.Y., 1844	Social Reform Unity, Pa., 1842	Ohio, 1844	One-Mentian Pa., 1843	Prairie Home Ohio, 1844	Clermont Ohio, 1844	Sylvania Pa., 1843	Trumbull Ohio, 1844	Skaneateles N.Y., 1843
a. Duration (years)		8 months	9 months	1	1	1	1	2	2	2 1/2	2 1/2
b. Population		40	420	20	100		130	120	145	400	150
c. Debt (dollars)				2,400	69,000		Was cause of death	19,000	7,900		10,000
d. Land (acres)		1,500	2,000	2,000	2,200	800	500	900	2,394	1,500	354
1. Sponsor Congruence (Goal Conflict)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2. Economic Sufficiency	0	X	1	0	0	0	0		0	1	
3. Social Articulation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Selection-Socialization Mechanisms	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
5. Religious Philosophy and Practice	X[3]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			X[3]
6. Decision Making and Leadership	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

[1] Reported as number of families and multiplied by 5.

[2] Worth $50,000 paid by Robert Owen.

[3] Noyes claims these were more successful because they banned religion and were unanimously atheists.

KEY:
0 = Category absent and/or inadequate - negative effect with life of community
(0 = 0 in Scoring Variables)
1 = Category present - positive effect with life of community
(1 = 1 in Scoring Variables)
X = Category partly present - partial contribution to life of community
(X = 1/2 in Scoring Variables)

Religious Groups by Name, Location, Leader and Date of Origin

	Alphadelphia Michigan 1843	Spring Farm Wisconsin 1846	Marlboro Ohio, 1841	Northampton Massachusetts 1842	Brook Farm Massachusetts 1841	Wisconsin 1844	Brocton N.Y., 1867	Modern (Noyes), 1848	Jason Community Illinois	Ebenezer Community Iowa (Amana Society) 1844	Snowberger Community Pa.	Zoar Ohio	Rappites Economy, Pa.	Shaker Communities (Ann Lee)	Herzels Community Ephrata, Pa.	Summary Religious Groups
Average Years	2 2/3	3	4	4	5	6	16	21	23	23	49	54	65	95	156	55 1/2
	400	50	24	130	115	160	70		800	Largest in U.S.		800	1,800	6,000 in 18 communities	Some thousands	
	32,000	-0-	"A load"	40,000		-0-	-0-		Wealthy	Richest in U.S.	Wealthy	Wealthy	Very wealthy	Many very wealthy	Very rich	
	2,814			500	200	1,800				32,000						
		1	0	0	0	1			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Variables Present 4 1/2
	x	0	x	1	0	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
	0	0	0	0	1	0			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
	0	0	0	x	x	x			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
	0	0	0	0	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
	0	x	0	1	1	1			1	1	1	x	x	x	x	6

Total Variables Present (N=54) 46 1/2
Average Variables Present R68

4 Settled on government land so no debt.

5 The statistics were calculated to compare the individuals... to one another but due to the short period of existence and restricted life of some groups such a comparison was not useful.

The communities have been arranged in order of age, those
which died earliest to the left. Then they are divided by
types (across the abscissa). This reveals a clear chrono-
logical regularity: the Owenite communities being the
shortest lived (up to three years), several of the Fourierist
era living from four to eighteen years, and all of the Reli-
gious communities extending for longer than the longest of
the Fourierist type. The main generalization which should be
noted is the longevity of the Religious communities as com-
pared with both socialist types.[24]

The "population" figures (row b) are listed because
they are an indication of the size of the community. There
appears to be no correlation between population and duration
except that some of the Religious societies became quite popu-
lar among the "faithful" and multiplied greatly. The Shakers
multiplied into eighteen communities. The numbers shown in
this row represent all persons, including children, who were
members of the community at the point of maximum growth.[25]

The "debt" column (row c) represents the amount owed
by the communities to lenders who were not members of the

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[24]It must be noted that no attempt has been made to
list all of the communities. Only those which lived more
than one or two years are included with the exception of
some societies significant because they introduced a parti-
cular variable (such as the "superior class" of people at
Yellow Spring community--the first Owenite community listed).

[25]Where the only figure available was a number of
families a conversion multiplier of five was used to get a
roughly comparable figure.

society. It does not include any stock or shares held by persons who lived away from the communities. This was not considered debt but rather capital. The debt figure was recognized as a possible danger to the existence of a community. However this amount shown is not sufficient to give anything but a rough account of financial condition since a society may be quite productive and easily able to handle the payments which the debt reflects. The reason MacDonald and Noyes listed the debt and the land figures was to show the great propensity for land and the financial trouble it often caused. The prosperity of the Religious societies presumably means they were able to either provide for their own payments or pay off the loan entirely.

The debt figures reflect the amount of land the community purchased, listed in the next row. However, the price paid for the land varied greatly, and some properties were purchased outright so no debt at all was incurred (such as New Harmony).

The "land" figures (row d) indicate the number of acres actually owned by the community and reflects the population, the societies with the larger populations being able to farm more land. However, what is more important, according to Noyes, is that often only a small part of the land was actually under cultivation. The great propensity for buying land, often much more than could be planted, was an unfortunate phenomenon which often increased the burden rather than the productivity of the group.

The next six rows are the variables affecting longe-
vity. They have all been stated so that the symbols all mean
the same throughout the table. The "0" always represents a
negative or detrimental effect upon the community. The "X"
indicates that the variable was partly operative and notes
some contribution to the community. The "1" represents a
variable which was fully operable and made a positive contri-
bution. The blank spaces indicate information which was
unavailable. The effect of this classification of variables
should be to show, if Noyes' hypotheses are correct, a
grouping of "X's" and "I's" to the right within a given type
of community: Owenite, Fourierist, or Religious. For exam-
ple, we would expect the three year old communities (New
Harmony, Nashoba of the Owenite era) to have more of the
positive variables than the shorter lived societies (Yellow
Spring, Haverstraw, Coxsockie). This generally appears to be
true except that Noyes would be quick to say that none of the
Owenite communities lived long enough to be a very accurate
test. The relationship generally appears to be more clear
with the Fourierist societies since there were half a dozen
which lived longer than any of the Owenites and two which
survived over ten years, Hopedale having reached its eight-
eenth birthday before it ended. It is easy to see the larger
number of positive variables in these older communities and
some trends developing which Noyes had seen.[26]

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[26]This arrangement follows the pattern used by Kanter
in her analysis of commitment variables in hopes of facilita-
ting comparisons between the two studies even though her sam-
ples are of different size. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, cited above.

"Sponsor congruence" (row 1) is simply the sponsor congruence-conflict of interest variable discussed in the previous section. The symbol "1" indicates a communism/ benefactor type of community where the land was purchased outright. No "conflict" was possible because there were no lenders or absentee shareholders to influence the life of the community. The "X" indicates either a potential conflict with a lender or absentee shareholders, but enough resources were available to pay or resolve the conflict, thus it was not a critical one. The "0" indicates the presence of a conflict which directly or indirectly contributed to the death of the community. All such conflicts were economic except with Oneida. There a moral conflict with neighboring townspeople (about "complex marriage") resulted in the eventual demise of the group as a religious community.

The "economic sufficiency" (row 2) reflects such factors as good farm land, the development of manufacturing and the productivity of the members. Brook Farm is an example of an inadequate economic situation where business- men, "mechanics" and "men of letters" came from the city and expected to make a good livelihood from the soil. It did not prove to be possible. A great success socially and intel- lectually, Brook Farm was unable to survive economically.

The Religious communities were all financially pros- perous as may be seen by the "debt" (row c), where all the figures point to wealth rather than amount of debt. This may reflect their age as well as their productivity in that

they had a considerable period to pay their debts.

The "social articulation" variable (row 3) represents factors which the 19th Century writers described in terms like "general depravity," "ignorant people," and "superior people." The consequences were strife and disagreements which frequently were counted as the fundamental and often the immediate cause of death. In support of this thesis it can be noted that the "social" row has more "0's" than any other row, except in the Religious communities. In fact, of the Fourierist groups, only Brook Farm and Hopedale were said to be "harmonious to the end" (but Noyes counted Hopedale as "almost a Religious community"). Thus of those groups which had structured conflicts among their members, notably the Fourierist groups as previously described, almost all experienced a lack of social accord according to Table 3.

The selection-socialization mechanism (row 4) includes such observations about the groups as "a trial membership required." It appears from the table that the communities which had instituted membership mechanisms had a greater longevity than those which had few or none. All the Religious societies had both a restricted selection process and trial memberships which appeared to have contributed to their success.

Religion (row 5) is a category which to Noyes seems to change the social conditions under which men live together. "Perhaps the demands of earnest religion serve as a natural separation" to keep out those who are not yet suited for

association, as well as to modify the "depravity" of those who do enter.[27] He also speculates that "earnest men of one religious faith are more likely to respect organized authority and one another than men of no religion or men of many religions held in indifference."[28] Thus Noyes sees religion functioning naturally to substitute for other possible inadequacies in the communities. It does appear (see Table 3) that a strong single religion was present in some of the longest-lived socialist societies. Of course a single religion was instituted in each of the Religious communities as that was their defining characteristic.

The leadership and decision making variable (row 6) reflects comments by the analysts such as: "dishonest management," "quarrels among leaders," and "inexperienced managers." It reflects dynamic and charismatic leadership as well. Again the trend is noticeable that the longer lived communities had in general more adequate management. However a failure of management at any point in the history of a group may be fatal. In the case of Hopedale, the leadership passed from the capable hands of Rev. Adin Ballou, the founder, to E. P. Draper, who permitted the operations to "fall into neglect" while buying up the shares of joint stock. When at last he had the legal control he decided to close the community. "There was no other way," the members

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[27]Noyes, p. 654.

[28]Ibid., p. 656.

admitted, "but to submit to him."[29]

The Religious communities all reflect strong leadership but the older Religious societies had passed their peak by the time of Noyes' writing; the original leaders had died and strong replacements were not available (indicated by "X's").

The importance of the table is to point out the repeated association between the presence of the variables and the longer-lived communities, and conversely, the absence of the variables with the shorter-lived communities. This association may be observed more clearly if the average number of times the variables are present in each community type is compared to the average longevity of each type. In the Religious groups the variables are present on the average of more than 5 of the 6 times (actually 86%, see Table 3). These groups averaged 55 1/2 years in duration. In the Fourierist groups, on the other hand, the variables were instituted on the average of only 1 in 6 times (actually 20%). This was associated with the low average longevity of less than 4 years. The Owenite groups show a similar relationship, although they are less representative because they are so few and so short-lived. The variables were present less than 1 1/2 in 6 times (actually 24%). This low rate was associated with an average duration of only 1 1/2 years. Such an association between the variables and community

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[29]Ibid., p. 132.

longevity suggests the usefulness of the variables as a
measure of the potential longevity of such groups.

Because the six longevity variables were also
effective in describing the 19th Century groups they would
also be expected to be useful to describe a modern group as
well--in fact more useful in describing such an experimental
society than would other sets of criteria developed for other
purposes. For this reason the six variables will be used for
description of U.P.F.'s longevity.

Autonomy in Industrial Society

Autonomy is the freedom of an actor to determine his
own life and behavior. Autonomy is an important issue because
it is at the intersection of three social structures: man
(the self system), society (the organization and role system),
and culture (the norming system). Industrial society is
characterized by rapid change and this involves changes in
all three systems. The society and its institutions have
become more centralized, more bureaucratic and more powerful.
(Literature for these claims follows.) More particularly,
the changes have made the culture system and the organization
system less accessable and controllable by the people who
live in them. This involves a loss of power and autonomy by
the members to direct changes in the society.

The 19th Century witnessed nearly 100 utopian experi-
ments which attempted to create different social settings
which their founders believed would restore a degree of

autonomy to their residents. U.P.F. is of interest here
because it is a modern attempt to achieve a particular life
style for its residents similar to the 19th Century attempts
and because it may offer its residents a missing source of
autonomy in relation to modern social systems. Because the
members are employed in those same systems, they may be able
to begin to redirect these systems where others, due to a
loss of autonomy, can not.

Just as the previous section reviewed the historical
literature, this section will now review the modern literature
on the autonomy problem. First it will note the material con-
cerning the culture and its effect on autonomy, next the
social structure, and finally the organizational structure.

The Effect of Culture on Autonomy

Riesman describes three historical character types
differentiated by reference group[30] which may be used as a
historical context in which to consider the definition of
autonomy. The "tradition directed" type corresponds very
closely to Fromm's pre-individualized person, whose behavior
is guided by the traditions of the small groups which are
characteristic of pre-industrial society.[31] This character

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[30]D. Riesman, N. Glazer, and R. Denney, The Lonely
Crowd, Chapter 1.

[31]Eric Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Holt,
Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1941), Chapter 2. Fromm refers to
an historical process which accompanied the change of the
medieval social structure to an industrialized structure.
This process is similar to the social maturation process in
childhood in which the primary ties with parents are severed
and the self image is developed to serve as an internal guide
to behavior in place of the external parental constraints.

type is outside the definition of autonomy, since he has no
"self" by which to perceive alternative behaviors. The
"inner directed" person is guided by his own values which
are developed in the process of individuation. He maintains
his self-esteem by receiving periodic evaluations of himself
and his behavior based on the judgements of persons and
groups which are "significant" for him (in which he has
invested himself). The inner directed person is evaluated
by inner values which are an internalization of either "local
others" (such as a family) or "cosmopolitan others" (such as
a set of principles espoused by a leader).

The third character type described by Riesman is the
"other directed." He is exposed to such a range of divergent
values in modern differentiated society that he is doubtful as
to the "rightness" of his "own" values. He responds to
this uncertainty by doing and valuing as his "contemporary
others" do and expect him to do. These may also be either
local contemporaries or cosmopolitan contemporaries (such as
the mass media).

Riesman develops a concept of "autonomy" as opposed
to "adjustment" and to "anomie" between actors and the pre-
vailing social-personality types. The adjusted person is one
whose character structure is congruent with the character
needs of the society at that point in time. Thus the inner
directed person was "adjusted" at a time early in the
emergence of western industrial society when "traditional"
controls had weakened and were ineffective in relation to a
social order experiencing a high rate of change. "Inner"
controls were necessary (like a "gyroscope") to give an

actor a source of direction in the face of many novel situations. The person who retained the "traditional" control pattern under such circumstances would be "anomic" or out of adjustment.[32] The "autonomous" person was one who saw other "personal and social models"[33] and thus could envision the "buying a whole new way of life."[34] As a result he could choose to conform or not to the prevailing character type (the inner-directed in this instance). Thus he was "capable of freedom whether or not he chose to actually risk deviation."[35] In terms of this thesis, he had some ability to envision behaviors which he anticipated would result in negative evaluation. This is the concept of autonomy which will be adopted in this thesis.

Conversely, in the mature industrial society, "other" people are the problem not the material environment.[36] The inner gyroscope of the inner-directed person is not sensitive enough to others and is also dysfunctional (in retaining a "scarcity psychology" instead of the required "abundant psychology" of leisure). One who retained his gyroscope under such conditions will be anomic. One who develops a new "radar" as a source of signals from his "contemporary others"

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[32] Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, p. 283.

[33] Ibid., p. 294.

[34] Ibid., p. 349.

[35] Ibid., p. 286.

[36] Ibid., p. 297.

will be adjusted. One who is capable of "radar" conformity but is also freed by his newly won sensitivity and is capable of choosing not to conform is autonomous.

The Effect of Social Structure on Autonomy

Faunce, in describing the peasant village of San Miguel, provides a unique contrast by which to examine the effect of social structure on autonomy. He develops the variables of degree of <u>social differentiation</u> and degree of <u>social articulation</u>. The differentiation of a society is comprised of the division of labor (horizontal) and the distribution of status and power among social roles (vertical). Articulation is defined as the way in which the component parts fit together. "In a perfectly integrated social unit all the component parts would be linked together in such a way that none would be isolated from the others and there would be no conflict built into the relations between the component elements."[37] (These definitions will be used here.)

Faunce finds a low degree of differentiation and a high degree of articulation in the village, the opposite conditions from industrial society. These conditions would <u>not</u> be expected to provide for the emergence of individuated personalities in the villagers which would require the maintenance of self esteem as distinguished from the identity of the

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[37]Faunce, p. 6.

family or village group.[38]   Faunce's findings confirmed this.
He found the investment of "self" to be indistinguishable
from the primary collective unit. The village roles of mate
and parent reflected a minimal level of personality differen-
tiation. Thus actor autonomy could not be manifested in San
Miguel nor any other pre-industrial society because the
structure does not support individuation.

Faunce compares the industrial society to the village
by noting the former's self reinforcing cycle of increasing
differentiation (particularly in the form of industrial divi-
sion of labor) which in turn decreases articulation, which
then necessitates an increased "rationalization" of social
authority (in Weber's terms) to offset the erosion of "tradi-
tional" social controls. The rationalization then generates
an increased differentiation and the cycle continues.

However, in the industrial society, individuated
actors need to maintain self esteem through these various
horizontally differentiated role identities and in the face
of a multiplicity of pyramidal (vertical) status assignment
systems (less room at the top) means fewer actors are granted
specific identity confirmation as one approaches the top.
Fewer actors receive satisfactory self esteem confirmation.

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[38] Faunce uses the process of self-evaluation
described by James, Cooley, and also Dewey. The actor, to
maintain his self esteem in relation to these persons and
groups which are "significant" for him (in which he has
invested himself), needs periodic evaluations of himself and
his behavior from those groups, it is assumed.

These actors are likely to experience alienation (in Seeman's terms):[39] normlessness (can't achieve), and meaninglessness (can't predict incidence of future rewards, and the performance of activities which are unrelated to larger life), and powerlessness (can't control outcomes of actions). "Alienation" is defined by Faunce as two dimensional: (1) self-estrangement (withdrawal of investment from activities), and (2) isolation (the use of different criterion for self-esteem maintenance than the status assignment system employs). These alienated responses of withdrawal and isolation preclude the willingness of actors to contemplate autonomous behavior which they anticipate would result in negative evaluation because they have already withdrawn the opportunity for the group to evaluate their estrangement or have substituted another set of esteem criterion (isolation). The high incidence of alienated responses are likely to be manifested either in "apathy" (in response to powerlessness), "overconformity" (in response to meaninglessness), or "lowering of aspirations" (in response to normlessness), all of which tend to undermine the bases for autonomy. Furthermore, these alienated responses may be predicted from the industrial structure because they are rooted in the structure itself.[40]

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[39]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December 1959), pp. 748ff.

[40]Faunce, p. 13.

The Effect of Organizational
Structure on Autonomy

Presthus describes three types of performance reactions to the powerlessness, meaninglessness and normless-less of the bureaucratic situation, and documents the inability of actors to change their own institutions and lives.[41]

The first type, the "indifferent individual," responds to the situation by withdrawing his self-investment in his employment (self estrangement). Thus he has, in effect, responded to the need for change by saying "it's not worth the frustration and effort required to change the organ-ization." He is "estranged" from himself in regard to his role in that he has withdrawn his "self" from it when he is doing it. He is "isolated" from those in his work because he has substituted different self-esteem criteria so that the factors important to evaluation on the job are no longer important to him. Presthus is correct in expecting no auto-nomous behavior from him in his alienated condition.[42]

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[41] Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), esp. Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

[42] Presthus clearly depends on Merton's classic state-ment. Merton describes a "bureaucratic personality" who has given up the personal struggle against the conflict and pro-vides "efficiency in general and inefficiency in specific regarding the needs of the clients of the institution." Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Social Forces, XVII (November 1940).

Presthus' second type, the "upward-mobile" must per-
form in accord with the needs of the institution because of
his self-esteem identification with the institution.
Presthus correctly expects no innovation from him either
because he cannot tolerate any possible negative
evaluation and therefore is not capable of autonomy.[43]

Presthus' third type, the "ambivalent," is the only
type Presthus believes is capable of innovation. Yet,
Presthus observes "he is actually unsuited for bureaucratic
life." He identifies with the institution and receives self-
esteem confirmation from it at the same time that he object-
ively observes changes which need to be made in it. However,
challenging the institution threatens its personnel and they
react by giving him a negative self-evaluation (and later by
trying to eliminate him). Thus his need for esteem confir-
mation and his improvement of the institution may be seen as
largely incompatible, hence Presthus' use of the term

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[43]An example of the upward-mobile type is French's
description of the absentee managers at the controls of
"Chromeboat Company" as vertical/cosmopolitan in orientation.
They cannot respond to the needs of the local community when
they conflict with national corporate needs because their
career hinges on their obedience to the institutions.
Robert Mills French, The Community: A Comparative Perspec-
tive (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Press, 1969), pp. 392-
409. Similarly C. Wright Mills writes of "organized irre-
sponsibility" in an innerlocking vertical power structure by
which actors are prevented from being responsible." C. Wright
Mills, Power Politics and People, edited by Irving L. Horowitz
(New York: Ballentine Books, 1963), pp. 292-305.

"ambivalent" to illustrate this conflict.[44] Presthus, thus

in the end, offers a literary tragedy. He shows the need to

change modern institutions but persuasively shows how each of

the three types cannot perform the needed service.

Autonomy in Industrial Society

In light of the literature discussed suggesting the

problem of, on the one hand, alienation, and on the other, the

innovation requirements of modern institutions, this thesis,

building on Riesman, proposes a fourth type, the autonomous

type. He would be individuated (in Fromm's sense) in that he

would be a product of a differentiated culture and therefore

capable of perceiving the alternate behaviors required for

autonomy. (This eliminates second and third generation rural

utopian members.) For example, it would be expected that the

isolated Shakers of Noyes' day would not have been exposed to

sufficient social differentiation to have developed in them a

self-identity distinguished from the primary group.

The modern autonomous type might live in an urban

utopian group, where he would be individuated because of his

frequent contact with differentiated society. He would also

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[44]Blackington and Patterson's "professional" has the
ethical standards to support his responsible behavior (such
as a medical ethic). However, the authors argue that it may
be impossible to be a "professional" in a market-place domi-
nated society. They claim that the need for a professional
to attend to his own career as a factor of labor in the
market-place may cripple his professional autonomy as well as
his ability to help reform the institutions to which he
belongs. Frank H. Blackington and Robert S. Patterson,
School Society and the Professional Educator (New York: Holt,
Rinehart & Winston, 1968), esp. Parts I and II.

be employed in modern institutions (rather than in a utopian-
owned industry), and therefore in a position to effect change
in that institution (he may attempt to change it from the
outside as any other citizen, but this is a different
problem).

One critical factor, following Faunce, is that he
would be a member of a highly articulated reference group
which might sustain his autonomy in his employment against
work pressure for conformity. Thus he need not withdraw his
self-investment (as the "indifferent") nor capitulate to it
(as the "upward mobile") nor is he hamstrung by it (as the
ambivalent). Rather, the high articulation of the reference
group might support the challenge to his self-esteem from a
potentially negative evaluation from the work institution.
The utopia also might support him in the face of challenges
such as loss of job or illness.

Therefore, it is logically possible to claim that an
individuated actor from an urban utopian group would be
better able to withstand the potentially negative self-
evaluation which deviant or autonomous behavior might elicit
than would a similar actor whose reference groups were of
low articulation. He would be able to withstand it because
his self-esteem would be protected by the highly articulated
utopian structure.

It is also possible to claim that the source of such
autonomy would be the unique combination of high differentia-
tion (to insure individuation) and high articulation (for

self-esteem maintenance) of the urban utopia. Such a combination is rare in the modern world. The industrial man, even though he may perceive alternatives, often does not have the self-esteem maintenance to permit the risk of negative evaluation required by autonomy.

Since this literature and logic suggest it, one of the tasks here will be to examine U.P.F. to see if it has such a unique structure of high differentiation and high articulation and to note any evidence that this combination does, in fact, permit a high sense of autonomy.

With the material from the 19th Century utopias now available, and with a conception of autonomy and its sources, it is possible to proceed to a systematic analysis of U.P.F.

The Use of the Structural Variables

The variables derived from the 19th Century literature included the following: goal congruence, economic sufficiency, social articulation, selection and socialization of participants, religious philosophy and practice, and leadership and decision making. These may now be used to investigate U.P.F.

Since U.P.F. is religious in nature, its philosophy and goals are highly determinative of the other structures. Therefore it becomes important to examine it first. (Chapter III) With the members' goals available from Chapter III, it becomes possible (in Chapter IV) to examine the group's relations with sponsors by comparing sponsor goals with

member goals. Such a comparison reveals varying degrees of goal congruence and conflict of interest which could prove fatal to U.P.F. (as it did to several of the 19th Century groups). In addition, the chapter notes the economic sufficiency of the group as a basis for judging the group's ability to minimize the potentially dangerous consequences of goal conflict. This chapter is entitled "Systemic Linkages and Boundary Maintenance (Chapter IV).

Having completed the examination of the potential external relationships, attention is then directed to internal matters. The structured relations among the members are examined in two dimensions: first, the group's economic structure and any conflict among the members which it generates (such as family units competing for limited finances, Chapter V); second, the social structure including the decision making process and structure and any social conflict which these generate (such as members competing for limited status or power, Chapter VI). Although the distinction between social and economic conflict seems arbitrary, it is useful for analytic purposes to identify any sources of conflict.

The examination of the internal structure of the group is concluded by considering the other important mechanism noted in the 19th Century experiments: selection and socialization of members (Chapter VII). Finally, a summary chapter notes the effects of these mechanisms upon the viability of the group and on the autonomy of the members in

their job roles. A preview of the chapters, their focus
and a notation as to their parallel structure in Loomis
and in Faunce follows in Table 4.

TABLE 4.--A List of Variables Considered in Each Chapter and Corresponding Categories in Faunce and Loomis

Chapter	Corresponding Categories and Page Numbers	
	Loomis[45]	Faunce[46]
III. Philosophy and Goals: including such factors as goals of the members, shared beliefs, norms and commitment to common tasks and to other group members, shared ritual practices	Knowing, p. 11. Norming, p. 16.	Conflict of interest (between groups), p. 7. Structural differentiation, p. 6.
IV. Systemic Linkage and Boundary Maintenance: systemic linkages with "outside" groups, goals of any outside sponsors, potential threat of such sponsors to group longevity, the income production system of the group and its ability to satisfy such outside demands	Boundary maintenance, p. 31. Systemic linkage, p. 15. Achieving, p. 15.	
V. Income Allocation: including the income distribution system and its effect upon cohesion or conflict between individual members		Conflict of interest (between individuals and role positions), p. 7. Isolation, p. 7. Social integration (articulation), p. 6.
VI. Articulation of the Community System: the norm of the social system, its facilities, the status and power structure, social conflict of interest, social isolation, specialization, the decision process and structure	Dividing the function, p. 19. Ranking, p. 23. Controlling, p. 20.	Division of labor, p. 5. Status-power, p. 5. Conflict of interest, p. 7. Social integration (articulation), p. 6.
VII. Selection and Socialization of Members: any membership mechanisms, their effectiveness in relation to the unique socialization demands on a utopian group	Socialization, p. 34.	
VIII. Summary of Findings and Implications: a summary of the group's structure, a summary of the group's impact on autonomy, implications of the study, recommendations		

[45]Loomis, Ibid.
[46]Faunce, Ibid.

CHAPTER III

PHILOSOPHY AND GOALS OF URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP

The philosophy of a group is the shared ideology among the members which contains the symbols and ritualization of the members' relationship to that which they consider sacred or central. This ideology results in commonly held goals for the group and for the members, a common rationale for beginning the group and shared norms, commitments and tasks for the group's continued existence.

This chapter will begin the task of describing the group by analyzing these determinative dimensions, its philosophy and goals. This will set the stage for the examination of other dimensions of the group.

First the group will be located in its uniquely urban setting. Next, the history of the group will be described. This will reveal the centrality of the "Anabaptist vision," the theological/historical underpinning of the experiment and will permit a description of the philosophical convictions of the group. Then the religious practice will be described, both because it is an important part of the life of the group and because it is one of the more obvious reflections of the philosophy and goals of U.P.F. These together provide a picture of the goals of U.P.F. The goals

may then be compared to the purposes of the socialist and of the religious groups of the last century.

Geographical Location

Urban Place Fellowship is located in Bedington, a suburb of Brawn, one of the largest metropolitan areas in the country. Brawn is the center of an urban sprawl connecting other smaller cities to the north and to the south into a megalopolis. Brawn offers many employment opportunities for the members of Urban Place Fellowship: in commerce, education, medicine, social work and in the church. (See Chapter I) Commuting to work is always a problem but Bedington is the first suburb to the north in a series of suburbs which ring outward like parasites around Brawn. Thus Bedington's commuters are reasonably close to their employment in Brawn. Several bus lines, two major auto arteries and three rapid transit lines feed the commuters into the city with reasonable dispatch.

North and east of Urban Place are other upper-middle class and wealthy sections. Thus the motorist passing from the wealthy north or east of Bedington into the south-central section views some interesting contrasts. This area is predominantly residential, interspersed with local shopping areas. It conforms to the image of the inner city with its turn-of-the-century row dwellings. They are, to be sure, generally well kept, yet they contrast sharply with the wealthy north and the lake strip.

Going south, a motorist who had wandered off the main arteries might notice a street named Urban Place. It is this street which gives the Fellowship its name and on which Urban Place purchased its first dwelling. However, the motorist would note nothing of the presence of the several Fellowship buildings on the few blocks surrounding Urban Place, except for two small signs on the door of 727 Urban Place which read: "Urban Place Fellowship" and "Urban Place Day Nursery." The Fellowship buildings, although they are single houses interspersed between two and three story apartments and an occasional row house, are indistinguishable from the neighborhood.

Much of the Fellowship's life is not visible from the street. One has to leave his car and attend the Coffee House or the members' meetings to feel the concern which the members share for one another and for others and to discover the ways the members have attempted to put their beliefs into practice.

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History of the Fellowship

The Anabaptist Vision

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The founders of Urban Place Fellowship see the Anabaptist and "radical" groups of the 16th Century Reformation as their mentors.[1] The Anabaptists challenged the Holy

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[1]For a more complete discussion of Anabaptist history see Harold S. Bender, The Anabaptist Vision (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944).

Sacrament of baptism and desired to separate the decision-
making of the Christian "brothers" from that of the eccle-
siastical and political authorities.

The Anabaptists, in fact, called for the Reformers
to go further than restoring the place of the layman in the
worship and mission of the Church and reasserting the cen-
trality of the Holy Scriptures. The radicals' claim, in
effect, was that every area of life was the concern of the
Christian. To restore the whole of life to the area of the
sacred, the Church itself had to be re-conceived. They
pictured the early Christian groups as communitarian and
dependent upon God for guidance and direction as opposed to
the hierarchal authority of the Roman civilization. They
saw the emperor Constantine's adoption of the Christian
faith for the Empire in 300 A.D. as a co-optation of the
Christian groups into the service of the state and therefore
no longer in the service of their Lord. In this light,
they insisted that Luther's and Calvin's reformation had
retained the co-opted and illegitimate relation of the
Church with the state rather than reforming it to the commu-
nitarian norm of the early Church. The radicals claimed
that the reformers defined the Church in geographical-
political forms so that Church and society were coincidental.
It was this universalistic concept which permitted the
reformers to resolve local authority questions with the
agreement that the local prince or government would decide

on the character of the Church in his domain, Roman
Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist.

The Anabaptists protested that the society at large
may not be expected to accept the discipleship of Christ.
The "way" is as hard as a "camel going through the eye of a
needle." The Church, if she is to be faithful to her Lord,
must be defined by committed adults, not by ministerial-
governmental bodies. Those individuals ready to follow the
"call of Christ" could be identified by re-baptism. They,
and only they, could constitute a Church which was a fellow-
ship of believers, determined to be radically obedient to
their Lord, regardless of the consequences. This new
authority, a communitarian authority, claimed that God's
will could be discovered best in the context of those who
had committed themselves to him rather than in the Church
(a hierarchal authority) as the Roman Catholics insisted or
in the Bible as the Protestants insisted. These concepts,
to be known as the "Anabaptist vision," were to influence
the structure of U.P.F. and their commitment to radical
discipleship over four centuries later.

Understanding of Human Nature

An important notion implied in the Anabaptists' con-
cept of communitarian authority as the way to appropriate
the will of God is their faith in human nature. They claimed
that the ancient Biblical view was that man as God's crea-
tion was intrinsically good (even though he was continually

disobedient).[2]   However, the theological claims of a growing

and powerful church in society were that man was basically

evil and inherited the sin originally performed by his fore-

bears.[3]

The Anabaptists believed that the reason for the

emphasis on man's sin was to place man's salvation beyond

his own ability and make him dependent on a hierarchal

church. Later Robert Owen and the socialist reformers

(although not theological in origin) as well as Noyes,

Ballou and other religious utopians adopted beliefs similar

to those of the Anabaptists claiming man was basically good

and therefore capable of reform. His evil ways were a

reflection of a competitive society which generated destruc-

tive human relationships and therefore destructive people,

the utopians claimed. If a "cooperative society" were sub-

stituted for the "competitive" one, man's good nature would

be permitted to prevail and constructive rather than

destructive relationships would surely result.[4] The main

difference between the religious and the socialist utopians'

views of man was only that of the difference in the

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[2]The Dordrecht Confession (1632) of the Mennonites
illustrates this posture.

[3]The creed formulated by the "Synod of Dort" (1619)
with its description of the "total depravity of man" illus-
trates this stand.

[4]Hielbroner paraphrases Robert Owen's writings.
Robert L. Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New York:
Simon & Schuster, 1953), p. 102.

consequences of the communitarian efforts. The religious believed the Kingdom of God would result; the socialists worked toward an atheist utopian state.

U.P.F. believes man is basically good. However, they are not optimistic like many of the 19th Century socialistic groups which believed they could establish a utopian order which would reproduce itself and spread throughout the society. Some of the religious groups hoped for a similar influence in trying to bring about the "Kingdom of God." U.P.F. rather believes it can change little in society but that its members are capable of restructuring their relationships with their fellow utopians, discovering and responding to "God's will" in the tasks and possibilities which are theirs both within and without the "fellowship of disciples."

The Origin of the Fellowship

In 1952 a turning point occurred for the small group of Scripturite[5] students and ministers. During a two-week retreat, they and their families assessed the current situation, in the light of the Anabaptist vision. Although their own denomination claimed it was the carrier of the "radical vision," the group came to see that the denomination was actually in the position against which the Anabaptist

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[5]Scripturite is a code name for a small Protestant sect which originated in Europe.

reformers spoke--that of building another giant denomina-
tional body to compete with the others, coinciding more and
more with social and political structures and standards to
maintain its new size and membership.

The group began to conceive of a Church as had the
Anabaptists, defined by adults who were pledged to follow
Christ. They pictured members who would support one another
in the search for God's will. Their support would be economic
and social as well as spiritual. They pictured, for a model,
the group of disciples whom Christ had gathered about him,
supporting one another in their discipleship. Also, they
decided that if this way of obedience was to be valid for
modern society it would have to be workable in a city.
Reports of other modern "radical" groups encouraged them,
but all the other groups which lived together as a fellowship
were in rural areas. They decided that they would have to
experiment on their own.

Several members of the group began to plan deliber-
ately toward these goals. They were students and teachers at
one of the denominational colleges and seminaries located
about 150 miles from Brawn. They began to share their
finances and decision-making.

Their experiments moved them toward the next step.
In 1957 the group found a house in a part of metropolitan
Brawn. Its address was 727 Urban Place in suburban Beding-
ton. That year Jessie and Laura Mission moved in. They

were followed by Joshua and Judy Leaven later that same year.

The next year, Dick and Ellen Miracle, one of the original group at the seminary, joined Urban Place with their children and added their strength to the fellowship. Another house was secured and renovated at 714 Urban Place for the Miracle family.

In their attempt to embody their commitment to radical discipleship and to communitarian authority, these Urban Place members had structured a "brotherhood of commitment" with implications in at least five areas of their lives: (1) a place to live (they had chosen to seek accommodations that all were within a block of one another); (2) finance (they pooled their income into a common treasury and were reimbursed according to their needs); (3) personal relationships (they attempted to be "open" in their relationships with one another); (4) decision-making (they attempted to search together for God's will for their lives and fellowship); (5) service to society (they attempted to follow God's will, as it was revealed to them, in service to society both through their individual vocations and through the Fellowship as a unit).[6]

Now, 13 years after the Mission's original move into 727 Urban Place, the Fellowship had grown to include 36 adults and 52 children as well as 12 adults and their

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[6]"The Way of Love," an Urban Place Fellowship pamphlet.

families in various stages of becoming members.

Religious Practice

The weekly worship meeting is held on the first floor of the central building on Urban Place. (See Figure 1)

The entire service of the Fellowship (see Appendix E) consists of a few songs, several introductions of visitors and neighbors, a statement of the concerns of the members, a brief prayer, a drama and a discussion. It reflects the central understanding of the members, that of a commitment to "radical Christian discipleship." This discipleship involves two dimensions: a commitment by the faithful to active expression of beliefs, and a range of expression which includes "every area of life." The active dimension is expressed in the worship by (a) the direct activity of the participants such as the acting out of a play, (b) the identification of the members' concerns and their expression in the prayer, (c) the rotation of the leadership roles such as song leader and prayer director, and by depending on the worshipers and guests rather than a staff member to set up and dismantle the furniture.

Equality of roles is seen in the fact that none of the several elements of the service was performed by an "official" person such as a priest or a choir director and only in the prayer were the members less than active participants. There were no activities where a priest with special gifts or power performed a "liturgical" work on behalf of

the members. In comparison with more usual Protestant,
Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christian rites, the U.P.F.
service could be characterized as "non-liturgical,"[7] not
being characterized by a particular form or ritual which has
meaning or power in and of itself. An act of prayer or
Baptism or worship would not be expected to carry any power
or bestow any blessing in itself nor would it matter whether
an ordained or a "lay" person performed the act. Acts are
instrumental rather than liturgical and are designed because
they fulfill some particular intrinsic need of the group.
Nor are they retained if they do not serve a present function.
Thus acts which appear religious, such as prayer and singing
of hymns, are not considered differently than any other part
of the common life of the Fellowship. They are submitted to
the common test of practicality in helping the group to
function better as disciples.

In this sense, as in others, the group reflects its
Reformation heritage, i.e., that the form of worship must
follow and facilitate the demands of discipleship. The mem-
bers believe that practices and priests may gather vested
interest, become permanent and may confuse and interfere with
the active demands of discipleship. Each one's relationship
with God is expressed not in ecclesiastical rites but in

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[7]From the Greek liturgos meaning "work." It origi-
nally meant the "work" which the faithful performed for God
and for others. U.P.F. members feel it has been perverted to
the "work" the clergyman performs for the parishioners.

relationships of active concern with others rather than per-
formed for him by a cleric or official.

The other dimension of the radical discipleship con-
cept observed in the U.P.F. worship is the commitment to dis-
cipleship in "every area of life." This is expressed in
several elements in the service: the expression of present
member problems and concerns for the world around them, the
translation of the Biblical stories into contemporary con-
texts, the use of modern instruments and tunes and even the
use of the living room as the location of the service. These
help bridge the usual distinction between the areas desig-
nated "sacred" and worldly concerns considered as "secular."
This bridging helps support the commitment of the members to
the radical discipleship in every area of life.

The bridging of the sacred and secular may be con-
trasted to some modern religious practices where secular
instruments, songs, and concerns seem out of place and where
"service" is clearly understood only in terms of the day of
worship and in the designated place of worship. This compart-
mentalization includes the cleric who, according to some in
protestant circles, is to "stick to preaching the gospel and
to stay out of politics." A comment from a U.P.F. member
illustrates the contrast with "radical discipleship."
"Either God requires our discipleship in every area of life
or not at all."

Many of the religious utopias of the last century

also maintained the unity of sacred and secular. The
planting of crops, for example, was considered by some to be
a religious act. However, their preoccupation with the
future "Kingdom of God" and their isolation from the world
distinguish them from the active sense of responsibility for
the present world that characterizes U.P.F. This sacred-
secular unity and the active engagement of the world are cen-
tral in the beliefs of U.P.F. and have exerted considerable
influence in the design and institutionalizing of the struc-
ture of U.P.F.

Goals of the Participants

The Fellowship as an End in Itself

Both elements of the Anabaptist vision influence the
way in which the Fellowship is understood as an end in itself
by the members. They believe a commitment to radical disci-
pleship in every area of life demands a particular social
structure to support such discipleship. The members do not
believe this is available in the more usual church structure.
The commitment to communitarian authority also requires a
particular social structure. They believe it requires one
which permits a high level of respect and honor for the indi-
vidual member due to his potential role of mediator of "God's
will." Both elements of the "vision" thus postulate the
existence and preservation of the Fellowship as an end in
itself.

In a folder entitled "The Way of Love" the members of
Urban Place describe the way in which U.P.F. has tried to
practice the "way of life" which Jesus Christ lived and
taught. The heart of Jesus' message, as the Fellowship
understands it, is the commandment that the disciplies "love
one another as he loved them." "In fact, the whole mission
of Jesus was concentrated on one thing--the coming together
of people who would love one another in this self-giving
way."[8] Thus, the goal and the means of achieving the goal
overlap. The means of discipleship, the Fellowship, is also
an end in itself. The "coming-together" or establishment of
a community is itself part fulfillment of Jesus' admonition.

This emphasis is also reflected in a study outline
the group uses with inquirers which offers a sample of commit-
ment. "I have decided to give myself and my all in the quest
for a just and loving community. . ." They believe community
is necessary because modern society militates against the
life of discipleship much as the First Century culture did
for the apostles of Jesus or the 19th Century society did to
the experiments of that day. The members mention in particu-
lar the national migrations of families which "cut themselves
off from relationships of care," and the "domination of
people by the economic life and by mass opinion." They claim
that these are central facets of our culture which diminish

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[8]"The Way of Love," p. 1.

the possibility of "truly human" life and relationships.
The shape and structure of Urban Place is designed to miti-
gate these influences and to structure possibilities for
people to relate to one another with concern after the
example of Jesus.

The view of Urban Place as an end in itself is
similar to the 19th Century experiments, particularly the
religious ones. However, the Urban Place people are not
captured by the romantic naturalism of the previous century
and they do not believe that the "city" or "capitalism" are
inherently evil. Thus they do not describe their search in
"utopian" terms or as attempting to bring into being the
Kingdom of God. They express little sense of escape from
the world. As Jessie Mission once expressed it, "Those who
have come to Urban Place to get away from the harsh reali-
ties of life have been greatly disappointed. Living
together creates more problems than it solves." "We hope
people will not come to Urban Place for their own motives,"
he claimed, "but rather for the total commitment to it. The
life of discipleship often involves a complete reshaping of
the person." It is the sense of personal confrontation and
relationship which is most characteristic of the central
goal of U.P.F. as an end, and, in this sense, it is most
similar to the 19th Century groups. Thus, U.P.F. in empha-
sizing the establishment of a group as an end in itself
shares at least this goal with the 19th Century groups.

The Fellowship as a Means to an End

Both the commitment to radical discipleship and the communitarian authority require viewing U.P.F. also as a means. The communitarian authority, itself a means of discovering "God's will," requires the existence of the group of disciples. The discovery of God's will in turn provides the direction for the radical discipleship or "mission" of the members. In addition, the accomplishment of the mission requires the emotional and economic support of the members by the group.

While the U.P.F. members do not believe they can exert a large influence on the larger society, they do express considerable concern for it. It is this mission dimension of the goal which distinguishes Urban Place clearly from any of the experiments of the previous century. Where the previous communities frequently tended to offer escape from the world, Urban Place claims to serve the world. While the previous communities were concerned solely with the quality of the relationships within the Fellowship, U.P.F. claims to be concerned with the outer influence of Urban Place upon the larger society as well. It is in this sense that the Biblical phrase "Kingdom of God" is used by Urban Place. Many of the 19th Century religious experiments used the phrase "Kingdom of God" to describe a utopian society which attempted to participate in the "Ultimate" as a geographic, often static, understanding of paradise on earth.

However, the Urban Place members use the phrase in the more dynamic participial form of "God's ruling his people." Both the Hebrew word for Kingdom (mamlakah) and the Greek (basileja) when translated into a participle would be rendered "reigning," i.e., "the kingdom of God is where God is reigning and directing his people." Thus Urban Place's understanding of itself in terms of the Kingdom of God is as a community which enables its members to be faithful disciples and thus responsive to God's reigning in every area of life. The Fellowship is not permitted to be content with expressing concern within its membership alone. It sees the Christian admonition as including all men in need, not just to one's "Christian brothers."

Urban Place employs various strategies to accomplish its mission. The members have always sent money to the mission agency of the denomination with which they are affiliated. They see part of their faithfulness as being an authentic and viable church, to serve as a model to influence other churches. They have attempted to start fellowships in other locations and support those started by others. They discuss the successes and shortcomings of these experiments, so the lessons become group knowledge and can be utilized for further trials. They picture their own community as an experiment also and therefore approach its evolution with a sense of discovery. They are finding, as "The Way of Love" states, "what life style will emerge when people come together in

love for one another." They ask particularly, "what differ-
ence will the metropolitan location make upon the fellowship?"

Another expression of mission is the efforts of indi-
vidual members to pattern their vocations, their employment and
their social and neighborhood activities on social needs.
Many members work as hospital staff members, public and pri-
vate school teachers and administrators, and social work per-
sonnel. Their location in Brawn provides for these types of
service through their vocations. This also distinguishes
clearly this dimension of Urban Place's goal as one which is
uniquely different from the rural communities of the last
century which were isolated from most vocational expressions
of service to society.

The members of Urban Place attempt to be careful
stewards of their time, talents and resources, so that the
"mission" is furthered. They often express guilt feelings
because their standard of living is "creeping upward." Some
things are not regulated by the welfare standard such as fur-
niture and house repairs and they feel these expenditures
have been too great in these areas thus leaving less money
for mission. They express concern for the seemingly frequent
moves among members. When one family leaves or a new house
is purchased and larger accommodations are available, the
family which is most "squeezed" may move, but this leaves
their house vacant, and a series of leapfrog moves may result.
They claim that each family which moves "leaves the house a

little better than they found it" (has remodeled it) and this
is too expensive. Also they question whether they should
have so much money "sunk into so many old houses" and wonder
if there would not be a cheaper way which would free some
funds for mission. Several people were distressed when their
investigation into starting an integrated housing project in
the city was cut off because part of their available funds
were needed to repair some of the dwellings. In comparison
with the 19th Century religious experiments Urban Place may
be seen as having the same central goal: that of establishing
a religious/cooperative community. However, the strong
dimension of social outreach beyond the borders of the society
adds a unique facet to Urban Place which has been called a
"mission" dimension. Thus Urban Place could be characterized
in terms of its goal as a religious/cooperative/mission com-
munity. This latter mission aspect is clearly reflected in
its metropolitan location and its utilization of the advan-
tages of the urban setting.

Summary

U.P.F. is a religious community which structures
support for its life style in the following ways: (1) a
shared philosophy, (2) a common expression of the philosophy,
(3) a respect for one another generated by their commitment
to "radical discipleship" and communitarian authority.

U.P.F., as has been shown, is a religious community
not only because the members worship together, but, in

addition, because they attempt to structure their common
life upon their relationship with a divine being and upon
the consequences of that relationship. To the extent that
members commit themselves to and structure their group
around this central commitment and belief Noyes would claim
that the longevity of the group is supported. This evidence
presented portrays a group which has attempted to structure
itself around this commitment--in its economic support, in
its social system, in its selection and socialization prac-
tices, in its religious practice, and as will be shown, in
its decision making practices. Thus, the shared religious
philosophy underlies virtually all community life and may,
therefore, lend considerable support to its potential longe-
vity and viability in an urban setting.

The existence of a shared philosophy or belief
supports the common expression of the beliefs--a positive
factor in longevity according to Noyes. However, the
worship service is not "required" of the members of U.P.F.
as it was in many of the religious utopias. Even so, there
is a moral suasion at work at U.P.F. which influences the
members' participation. Both the common commitment by each
of the members as well as the visibility of one's absence
generate a moral influence to participate. This influence
has a similar strengthening effect on the solidarity of the
group as required attendance of the religious utopias.

This chapter has examined the philosophy and goals

of U.P.F. It noted the group's urban location and the active, worldly orientation of its religious practice as reflections of its belief system. These beliefs comprised particularly a bridging of a secular/sacred realm which resulted in an active role of the members in worship and a sense of responsibility for the world.

These beliefs were traced to the "Anabaptist vision" of the Reformation period which postulated the need for a communitarian authority to appropriate "God's will" (rather than the church or the Bible) in support of a "radical discipleship in every area of life."

These beliefs were adopted by the founders of the U.P.F. Their goal was to structure a communitarian group as an end in itself and as a means of support for the radical commitment to "service" in every area of life.

CHAPTER IV

SYSTEMIC LINKAGE AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to describe describe Urban Place Fellowship's various systemic linkages with outside systems, to note employment of boundary maintenance behavior by such outside systems, and to analyze the fellowship's ability to respond to such behavior.

Systemic linkage refers to a structural and behavioral relationship between two social systems. The structural aspect consists of performance expectations and sanction power of one system over the other. The behavioral aspect consists of the actual performance of the systems, including boundary maintenance of one of the systems (employment of sanctions over the other when the other's performance does not meet its expectations).[1]

One type of linkage was noted, in the examination of the 19th Century groups (Chapter II), as having serious consequences. This was a link with an outside financial sponsor whose goals were not congruent with those of the group in question. The financial power of such a sponsor constitutes in Loomis' terms, an economic sanction power over the group. Several apparently "successful" 19th Century groups, such as Brook Farm, ultimately failed because of this phenomenon:

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[1]Loomis, <u>Social Systems</u>.

not because the members were dissatisfied, but because the
sponsors were. The sponsors, in maintaining their own
boundaries (from inadequate returns on invested funds), were
forced to withdraw their investments or foreclose a mortgage.
This ended the experiment. It is because of such experiences
by some of the 19th Century groups that is is important to
investigate U.P.F.'s experience with the boundary maintenance
behavior of any of its sponsors (including its ability to
satisfy such sponsors). Thus this chapter includes boundary
maintenance as one significant adjunct of systemic linkage.

To accomplish these purposes in the chapter, the fol-
lowing steps will be employed: (1) classify U.P.F.'s systemic
linkages according to the degree of sanction power which an
outside group enjoys, (2) describe the structure and operation
of each linkage, noting the extent of any sanction power over
the fellowship, (3) describe the fellowship's income produc-
tion system and its ability to satisfy any outside financial
demands, and finally, (4) since financial sponsor goals are
often not congruent with member goals, to note any effect of
such incongruency on the fellowship.

The Relationships of the Fellowship with Outside Sponsors

U.P.F. maintains several types of links with other
systems. These are of three types. Some involve a non-fiscal
relationship and lack the power of economic sanction (links
with churches, with other communitarian groups, with a
seminary and with the neighborhood). Some links involve a
partially fiscal relationship and have some economic sanction

power over individual members (links with governments and with employing institutions). Finally, some links involve a principally fiscal relationship with agencies which have economic sanction power (links with a denominational "mission board" and with a local bank). These will be discussed in turn below.

Non-fiscal Linkages

Links with Churches

U.P.F.'s desire to serve as a model of a Christian Fellowship brings them into contact with various local churches. The mutual influence is minimal, however. The churches serve as a contrast for the Fellowship members and heighten the identification of U.P.F. with the "radical" segment of Christianity. The churches occasionally become a source of members for U.P.F., but these are usually people who are dissatisfied with the churches and does not represent any sponsorship by the churches. Rather, it reveals a distinction between the two groups. U.P.F.'s goal involves experimenting with structures of "Christian fellowship." The churches, often committed to maintaining present structures, find such experimentation threatening. However, the churches have not engaged in any active boundary maintenance to date in relation to U.P.F., and since they are not in a sponsor relationship to U.P.F., they present little threat to U.P.F.'s existence. The linkage between U.P.F. and contemporary church groups is thus generally of low intensity and frequency.

Links with Communitarian Groups

U.P.F. enjoys several unusual links with contemporary communitarian groups. The links are limited to religious utopias, however, and do not seem to include the non-religious groups nor the rich experiences of the 19th Century's nearly eighty experiments, both religious and socialistic.

The links with the contemporary religious groups are via an informal "communications net" of people visiting and letters crossing back and forth. U.P.F. usually is in a sponsor role in these links because they presently enjoy greater financial resources than many of the experiments, especially some younger rural utopias. These groups are important influences on U.P.F., however. Those who visit U.P.F. from other utopian groups or those U.P.F. members who visit other experiments probably number between 200 and 300 per year. They bring practical reports of how other groups function as well as normative reports of the efforts and trials they are undergoing.

Since several of the groups understand their experiences in terms of a distinctive Christian life style and in some cases a "radical Christian" one, the groups, in effect, help validate one another's efforts and values. Thus the linkage of the communitarian groups to U.P.F. may be said to contribute to the structural articulation of the life of U.P.F. This articulation was acknowledged previously to be one of the requisites of a member's autonomy outside the

Fellowship in that it could support a member's self-esteem in the face of an expected negative evaluation which he might receive for an autonomous or non-conforming vocational act.

Although these normative and practical influences by other utopias are important in the life of U.P.F. and to the autonomy of the members when outside of U.P.F., they do not constitute a fiscal sponsor relationship with U.P.F. and, therefore, could not jeopardize the longevity of U.P.F. as has been discussed. Even if a sponsor relationship existed, the goals (to institute a religious cooperative society) are enough in accord with those of U.P.F. so that no potential danger would be predicted.

The Link with the Theological Seminary

U.P.F. maintains an important relationship to Moosehart Seminary and College--institutions of the Scripturite Denomination. The seminary was one of the sources of the historical scholarship which released the Anabaptist vision from under the shadow of Lutheran and Calvinist theology. The founders of U.P.F., it has been noted, consisted of students and faculty of the seminary inspired by the "vision." In addition to being an important source and carrier of the convictions undergirding the group, the seminary also provided a setting where the founders could "field test" the communitarian living ideas while still at Moosehart before trying the plan in Brawn. The seminary provides a continuing

reinforcement of the validity of the Anabaptist vision and
thus of the norms and symbols by which U.P.F. describes its
life and goals. As such, the seminary also functions for
U.P.F. like the communitarian groups by contributing to the
structural articulation of the Fellowship and thus to the
autonomy of the members in their vocational roles.

These various links with the seminary are maintained
by U.P.F. members who teach on the faculty of the seminary
as well as periodic visits of college or seminary students.
Some become interested in the U.P.F. experiment and move to
Brawn as members when they graduate.

However, such supportive relationships, important as
they are, do not provide any potential threats to U.P.F.
These links are more personalistic than institutionalized,
consisting generally of individuals who become persuaded to
the "radical" Christianity rather than of any "official"
support by the institution as a whole which could be termi-
nated if it found itself threatened by U.P.F. There has
never been any financial support by the seminary other than
a few faculty salaries whose loss would not significantly
disturb the life of U.P.F.

Links with the Neighborhood

U.P.F. engages in several systemic links with neigh-
borhood groups and agencies. Relationships with the immedi-
ate neighborhood continue to be harmonious. Unlike the

extended marriages of Oneida which generated the hostility
of its neighbors and forced the group to move, U.P.F.'s
practices are considered rather ordinary by its neighbors.
The group maintains the family and the family dwelling as the
basic unit of the Fellowship, and, aside from an occasional
misunderstanding about the common purse, the neighbors con-
sider the U.P.F. members to be groups of families who share
"church activities." (The local chief of police once heard
that there was a group in town practicing "communism." After
the common purse was explained by the members he was satisfied
that it was "only a church.")

There is even some evidence that the Bedington resi-
dents consider U.P.F. a valuable addition to the area.
Several residents claim the U.P.F. members would "take a
minute to help a person" when others would not. Others note
that "even the teenagers are hardworking and polite too."
The repairing and remodeling of the dwellings (which con-
cerns some members because of the expenditures of time and
funds) is the source of positive feelings by the neighbors
who note that "they always keep up their houses and that's
good for the neighborhood." Other neighbors see U.P.F. as a
stabilizing factor in a transient area. They cite the influ-
ence of U.P.F. in the face of an influx of black residents
as the persuasion of many white residents to remain. They
perceive U.P.F. as several hundred thousand dollars of real
estate which is committed to remaining and working to

stabilize the neighborhood. On that occasion, the U.P.F. members had gone door to door in the several block area to try to persuade their neighbors to remain. The size and dedication of U.P.F. undoubtedly permitted more influence than several single families would have exercised.

Other neighbors cite the efforts of U.P.F. members in obtaining the recreation program at Urban Park, a small recreational plot on Urban Place. Others mention the Urban Place Day Nursery, which the Fellowship staffs and houses, as a contribution to the working mothers in the area. The Fellowship uses the first floor of the 727 Urban Place dwelling for the nursery and supports Helga Charity, one of its members, so she can devote her full time to the nursery. They have also sent her to visit other educational experiments at home and abroad so she could improve the nursery.

Some of the U.P.F. members have been involved in other activities in Bedington. Some, concerned with the quality of the public schools, have attempted on several occasions to "buck the establishment and get some reform candidates elected to the school board." They have not enjoyed great success but were ready to try again. Some members have participated in anti-war and integration activities and marches. However, these are single individuals and the neighbors are not generally aware of their identification with U.P.F.

The various contacts the U.P.F. members experience

in the neighborhood all contribute to the diversity of rela-
tionships of the members outside the boundaries of the Fellow-
ship. Such diversity includes the vertical differentiation
of a member in various status and power roles. They also
include horizontal differentiation of specialized roles such
as parent-of-school-child to principal-of-school. The vari-
ety of these roles may be seen in contrast to a rural utopia,
whose members journey only infrequently into town for
supplies or advice.

Such horizontal and vertical role variety is required,
according to Fromm and to Faunce, to cause the actor to dis-
tinguish himself from others by identifying himself in
various roles.[2] This process of "individuation" is a pre-
requisite for autonomy. Thus it may be claimed that the
various linkages which U.P.F. experiences with its neighbor-
hood help provide the structural differentiation and thus
individuation required for autonomous behavior in a way which
the rural utopias could not.

Partially Fiscal Linkages

Links with Governments

The Bedington city council expresses little awareness
of U.P.F. other than to see that the group obeys local ordi-
nances and building codes and that their children attend pub-
lic schools (which they do). There is some evidence that

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[2]Chapter II revealed how autonomy is dependent on
indivuation (as well as articulation).

the council considers the Fellowship to be beneficial for
the neighborhood. The council is concerned about the
increasing number of rental apartment buildings in the area.
They have encouraged U.P.F. to purchase buildings (by making
allowances on building and remodeling requirements) because
they knew the building would be used by U.P.F. for single
family dwellings.

Other governmental units affect the Fellowship little
in carrying out its purposes. The state and federal govern-
ments relate to it primarily on a taxation basis. (The
U.P.F. classification for the Federal Internal Revenue
Service is a "Fraternal Order.") These linkages have little
effect except that a special set of financial records for
each family must be maintained so the families can validate
their "contributions" to U.P.F. Each family pays income tax
individually and deducts the difference between its income
and its expenditures as a "contribution" to the "Fraternal
Order." Thus a conflict of interest exists with these
governmental units. The State and Federal governments are
concerned with tax revenues and local governments with com-
pliance to zoning and educational ordinances. However, there
seems little reason U.P.F. could not continue to comply with
these since presently the Fellowship's income is clearly suf-
ficient to accommodate such expenses. Also taxes decrease
with income so a decrease in future income of U.P.F. would
decrease the tax burden accordingly. Only a misappropriation

of funds would create difficulty in paying taxes and this seems unlikely. (The accounting system will be discussed in the following section.)

Links with Employing Institutions

U.P.F. maintains many links with local institutions through its working members who are employed in various professional and non-professional roles in the urban area. As has been noted, the type of employment and vocation frequently reflects the "mission" or "service to people" orientation of U.P.F.'s goals. Many members work as hospital staff members, public and private school teachers and administrators and social work personnel both "lay" and professional. U.P.F.'s location in Brawn, one of the largest job markets in the nation, provides the range of job opportunities for the members, from psychiatrist to teamsters and shop workers.

These vocational links serve several important functions: (1) They generate the income which supports the Fellowship and pays the bills. Because the agencies provide such support they, in effect, stand in a sponsor relationship to U.P.F. (2) They supply the members with an increasing and up-to-date reservoir of skills and knowledge on a range of topics from finances to interpersonal relationships. For example, the training and experience which Joshua Leaven and Jessie Mission received in their roles at Brawn State Hospital were important and perhaps critical in helping

U.P.F. deal with interpersonal relationships in the Fellow-
ship, particularly in its early years. (3) The institutions
have, at times, provided some candidates for membership in
U.P.F. The members, as they relate to others in their voca-
tional roles, occasionally find like-minded friends or col-
leagues who investigate the Fellowship and occasionally join
the group. U.P.F. in turn provides several educational and
service institutions in Brawn with dedicated personnel. As
many as ten members have simultaneously worked at "Brawn
State," the local mental hospital. Several of these were
young men performing "alternate service" in place of military
duty. U.P.F. provided a place for them to live "outside of
commuting distance from their home" as is required by the
draft legislation. In many cases the members were instru-
mental in obtaining these jobs which were also acceptable to
the draft board. The members acquainted them with the opera-
tion of the hospital and encouraged them to perceive the jobs
as a means of "helping people" rather than as a mere source
of income or way to avoid the draft.

The members' experience in vocational roles has an
important influence on their autonomy also. The various job
situations constitute for each employed member additional and
significant role experiences. These roles are considerably
more systematic than the often random links with the neigh-
borhood. Also they expose the members to a broader and more
well-defined status and power distribution (vertical

differentiation) as well as to a broader and more well-defined division of labor (horizontal differentiation). As such they contribute to the self-identification of the members in comparison to a wide range of styles and alternatives. These would be expected to generate the wide range of alternative perceptions which Riesman claims is required for autonomy. Clearly this metropolitan setting provides a structural differentation which was unavailable to the rural utopias. Along with the linkages with the neighborhood groups, the linkages with employing institutions must be seen as major contributors to individuation and thus to autonomy.

The other central influence of employing institutions is upon community longevity. The employing institutions are related to individual members of U.P.F. who are on their payroll rather than to the group as a collectivity. The expectations of the agencies for a U.P.F. employee do not differ from that of any other of their employees: to perform adequately in the job role. Since many of the U.P.F. members have jobs involving service to people, their goals and those of the employing agency are frequently complementary rather than in conflict. However, even if this were not so, the individualized nature of such a sponsor link would mitigate against the loss of job and income by very many members concurrently. The temporary unemployment of one or a few members has happened several times and the remaining income has been sufficient to "carry" the Fellowship until the others obtain

employment. Although the employing agencies are absentee fiscal sponsors, it is unlikely that a conflict would materialize with a sufficient number of them simultaneously to threaten U.P.F.'s existence as did the absentee sponsors of the 19th Century groups. The diffusion of employment safeguards the source of income, and the common purse provides an economic "floor" under a member who perceives a course of action which may jeopardize his job. These factors provide the economic security which is needed to supplement the psychological dimensions of autonomy.

Fiscal Linkages

Links with the Mission Board

There are two sponsors who have linked with U.P.F. as a unit (unlike employing institutions) and stand in a fiscal sponsor relationship to U.P.F.: a church mission board and a local bank.

The earliest financial sponsor was a mission board of the Scripturite denomination. When U.P.F. began in 1957, the board loaned the young community a down payment for a house. They also supplied the monthly expenses for the group until income from the members' employment became adequate to support themselves. U.P.F. had also agreed to accept young mission trainees from the board into the Fellowship. The board hoped to provide training for these people by their experience in the Fellowship so they could serve in other projects of the denomination.

However, several of the people sent by the board had either severe emotional problems or little understanding and sympathy for the style of fellowship U.P.F. was attempting to institute. Consequently, many were unable to contribute to the solidarity of the group. However, the group's resources were apparently equal to the challenge; as Joshua Leaven, one of the original members, put it, "The Lord never seemed to send more problems than we could cope with." His counseling skill, as well as Jessie Mission's, were being sharpened at Brawn State by day and U.P.F. by night. Also, both original families were exceptionally stable and constituted a solid core so that, unlike many 19th Century socialisms, they were able to survive this early and difficult period.

U.P.F. was continually unable to reach a satisfactory understanding with the board concerning the "mission trainees." The board continued to send people with little understanding or sympathy for U.P.F. In effect, the board saw U.P.F. as a place to send recruits who were not capable of filling other assignments so U.P.F. could "straighten them out."

It became clear to the members that they would never achieve a satisfactory relationship with the board because their goals were too disparate.

During the first two years, however, others had heard of the experiment, visited, inquired first hand about the style and purpose of the group, and stayed on as members.

These people were better oriented and were frequently more mature. They brought added strength to the group. The members each obtained employment in Brawn and each continued to live on the "welfare standard" while the average income was considerably above this level. This difference began to generate considerable surplus funds. Some of these were sent to mission projects of U.P.F.'s choosing but much of it was sent to the board to repay the funds they had provided.

Between the second and third year the group had repaid nearly all of the money loaned--both for mortgage and for expenses--enough so U.P.F. could terminate its relationship with the board in good faith. The group then incorporated itself as a church, independent of any outside agency.

The relationship to the mission board had been helpful to the young group, primarily because it was a sympathetic source of funds. It permitted the Fellowship to govern itself without restriction but the relationship could not last. The board had little understanding of the demands of group living and even less possibility of selecting suitable candidates for membership while 500 miles removed from the Fellowship. It was to be a good lesson. The group was forced to face the problems of membership--selection and orientation--more squarely. The board had actually constituted a financial sponsor relationship in a similar fashion to the lenders and landlords who had foreclosed on several 19th Century socialisms. The link with the mission board

could have been fatal to U.P.F. in two ways. The Fellowship may have continued to receive recruits who were unsuited for such a cooperative venture. Unless additional mature and stable members had been available the group would not have been expected to maintain the internal cohesion necessary to survive; a phenomenon similar to the many failures of the 19th Century socialisms whose members had little common commitment or interpersonal experience to bond them together.

The other way the link with the board may have been fatal to U.P.F. was that the board, if it had been unsatisfied with the performance of U.P.F., could have simply stopped sending funds and called for the repayment of the loan. This would have caused the sale or mortgage of the Fellowship dwellings. U.P.F., in repaying the funds to the board, did not eliminate the second alternative, that of foreclosure. They only transferred it to another agency--the bank--as will be seen. However, they did eliminate the first possibility of diluting and disrupting the internal cohesion of the group by accepting recruits from the board. After that link was broken, they could present to a prospective member the challenges and inquiries which they thought appropriate "to the life of discipleship" rather than to serve the manpower needs of a church denomination.

Links with the Bank

The mission board remained willing to supply funds even after the incorporation of U.P.F. (the Fellowship

needed mortgage money to buy additional housing). However, the group felt that if they accepted the board's funds they would have to accept the board's recruits. The board could still send recruits in any case, but U.P.F. felt it could receive them on their own terms if it remained free of commitment to the board.

Thus the local banks were visited and U.P.F. was found to be a good financial "risk." The expectations of the bank were considerably simpler than those of the mission board. As long as the payments were made on time, the insurance regularly maintained on the buildings, and the buildings physically maintained, the Fellowship was free to go its way. However, the bank would not "carry" the Fellowship through the difficult periods as the "board" would have done and would be expected to foreclose the mortgage if the group did not meet its obligation. Such a relationship clearly constituted a conflict of interest between the financial goals of the bank and the communitarian aims of the Fellowship.

Thus the bank constituted an absentee sponsor relationship similar to those of the previous century. The bank clearly could have foreclosed the mortgage and taken possession of the dwellings, terminating the existence of the Fellowship in that location. U.P.F. clearly has the same type capitalization as those Owenite and religious groups of the former century who had to borrow funds from creditors, thus

generating a conflict of interest with this absentee sponsor. Thus U.P.F. must be classified as a "debtor" community in contrast to the "benefactor" experiments such as New Harmony where the land was purchased outright for the group, eliminating any mortgage-holder relationship.

Conflict Between Urban Place Fellowship and Absentee Sponsors

This section will examine more closely U.P.F.'s source of financial support in relation to its need to satisfy the banking institutions and avoid the foreclosure difficulties observed in several 19th Century socialisms. To accomplish this, some quantitative comparisons between U.P.F.'s income and its expenses will be examined. Then the mechanisms which determine its income and expenses will be compared to those of the 19th Century's socialisms to reveal sources of strength or weakness. A final section will examine the relationship between the U.P.F.'s members and three types of agencies whose systemic links with U.P.F. may generate structural conflict with the members. These are mission recipients, absentee sponsors and vocational colleagues. These will complete the assessment of U.P.F.'s systemic linkages as they influence its longevity potential and other aspects of its life.

The Machinery of Fiscal Support

U.P.F. regularly receives its members' weekly paychecks into the common purse totaling approximately $160,000

annually. (See "average income" Table 5) The Fellowship's

goal of service to society enjoins them to live at the

TABLE 5.--Estimated Yearly Income and Expenses of
        Urban Place Fellowship[1]

INCOME--estimated total yearly (20 employed persons, range $5,000-$18,000)	$160,000
LESS:	

EXPENSES--estimated total food, clothing, etc.
    distributed by formula based on Brawn City
    welfare formula (19 family units)
	100,000

BALANCE AVAILABLE FOR MORTGAGE AND OTHER USES IN COMMON (37% of total income)	60,000
LESS:	
MORTGAGE PAYMENT (8 buildings)	20,000

"CUSHION"--available for discretionary common
    expenses such as mission, college, and
    building repair
	$ 40,000

[1]These figures were estimated by one of the knowledgeable members of the group.

minimum or "welfare" level of expenditures. This level

represents an amount for each family for daily expenses such

as food and clothing. It is allocated to each family accord-

ing to the Brawn welfare formula (by family size and age of

members). The total of these living expenses for all 19

family units equals approximately $100,000 annually. (See

"expenses" Table 5) The difference between income and expen-

ditures is $60,000 per year or 37% of total income. This

means that 3 of every 9 dollars earned is available, if it
should be required, to satisfy absentee sponsors. This is a
remarkable amount when contrasted with the marginal perform-
ance of the 19th Century socialisms. Even after the $20,000
yearly mortgage bill is deducted (1 of every 8 dollars
earned) a $40,000 "cushion" remains (2 of every 8 dollars)
and cushions the group against unforeseen circumstances.
This sizable fund means that the total group income can be
reduced by 25% or 1 wage earner in 4 could be laid off with-
out jeopardizing the financial stability of the group. The
Fellowship does not regularly send $40,000 per year to
mission projects: they send closer to $7,500-$10,000. The
balance is distributed among the following: education costs
such as college for their children, local mission projects
such as painting a neighbor's house or paying his medical
bills, and repairs to group buildings. The $40,000
figure does indicate the magnitude of the surplus which the
Fellowship generates. The combination of the unique source
of income and the minimum level of fixed expenditures pro-
vides a cushion for U.P.F. which only the considerably older
religious communities of the 19th Century enjoyed and which
the group can expend according to its priorities and commit-
ments.

A closer comparison between U.P.F. and the 19th
Century socialisms will reveal more clearly the source of
U.P.F.'s apparent financial stability.

The Fellowship Compared to the
19th Century Experiments

As has been noted, both U.P.F. and most 19th Century groups were burdened by a debtor status and both employed the common purse (communism) or the joint stockholder variation (socialism) so that the entire income of all the members would be available to meet expenses in both situations.

The central distinction between U.P.F. and the 19th Century groups is location, the urban situation of the former and the rural location of all the latter. This has implications both for the income and the expenditures of the groups and thus for the financial ability to satisfy absentee sponsors.

The Effect of Income and Expenses on Longevity

Fixed expenses.--The main factor influencing the fixed expenditures of the groups is the financial structure of the central fixed expense, the mortgage. This debt, in the 19th Century groups, reflected the purchase of land for farming as well as housing while that of U.P.F. represents housing alone. Land for farming or manufacturing is actually the purchase, in an economic sense, of a factor of production. Thus it must be purchased in sufficient quantity so that its yield will support at least the needs of the members as well as a balance to pay off the mortgage. Furthermore, land was often purchased in sufficient quantity to support not only the size of the groups at the time but the future

desired size of the group (often three to five times larger than immediately needed according to Noyes' figures) because it was feared that the land would not be available at a future date. Also the optimistic founders pictured the community swelling to its maximum size very quickly. Moreover, the group had to purchase sufficient "improved" land as well, including housing for the present members. Thus, the groups frequently incurred a heavy fixed expense at the outset.

U.P.F.'s purchase of housing, on the other hand, reflects not a production investment (that being supplied by the employers of the members) but merely the housing to provide for the present members. The first three members, having small families, lived together in one dwelling (but had three incomes). Later, larger families arrived, each of which required an entire dwelling, but who added more incomes. Thus, the mortgage debt increased directly with the increase in members but not as fast. This linear relationship did not hold for the agrarian groups who frequently burdened the founding families with the fixed debt of the future size of the group including both housing as well as land.

Variable expenses.--Another factor which distinguishes the expenses of U.P.F. from the rural utopias is the living expenses--those costs incurred by the residents in daily living such as food and clothing. These expenses vary almost directly with the number of residents in a group. The

distinction between the two types arises because the mission
philosophy of U.P.F. implores the members to live on a mini-
mum level of necessities so that maximum amount remains for
mission projects. This is reflected in the "welfare" level
which each U.P.F. family is granted for its food and clothing
expenditures. The effect of this is to generate a larger
cushion between living expenses and income which is available
first for fixed expenses and then for discretionary allocation.

In contrast, the residents of many of the socialist
utopias (not the religious groups) had high expectations of
the "manifold economic benefits of cooperative living" from
evangelistic enthusiasts such as Robert Owen and later
Horace Greeley. Any surplus of income over expenditures
was quickly utilized for the comforts of the residents rather
than to increase output, reduce fixed expenses, or serve
causes agreed upon by the community.

Income.--The central distinction influencing the income of
U.P.F. in comparison to the rural utopias is the employee
roles of the U.P.F. members vs. the entrepreneur roles of
the rural groups. As entrepreneurs the earlier utopians
faced the usual difficulties of starting an enterprise.

Once the initial investment in land had been com-
mitted there was usually little cash remaining for equipment.
This resulted in a low productivity and thus a low yield.
Also many of the enthusiastic residents had come seeking

escape from urban life and were unsophisticated agricultur-
ally. Farming, as the single source of employment, demanded
that all the residents engage in the farming enterprise
whether skilled in the science or not. Those few groups who
started manufacturing operations offered some additional
variety of employment; however, these were only the older and
wealthier groups. Consequently, according to Noyes, the
uninitiated agrarians frequently purchased poor land and
employed inferior husbandry techniques, also insuring low
yields from that land which was planted. Frequently the
amount of land which the small founding group could cultivate
was only a fraction of that purchased, yet they retained the
mortgage burden for the entire plot. This resulted in a low
output in relation to the land investment.

In contrast, the U.P.F. members, in employee rela-
tionships to employing institutions in the city, were free
to seek employment in the type of enterprise which maximized
their own abilities and interests as well as to seek the
situation of highest productivity and remuneration. Thus
the problem of productivity was shifted to the external
entrepreneur who, in effect, had to compete for employees
by offering the maximum wages.

In addition to the 19th Century problem of low agri-
cultural yield was the problem of the lag time from when
the necessary resources were committed until the output was
realized. Once the planting has taken place the size of

the output is a fixed amount and cannot be increased until the next planting season and no output is realized in the intervening period to cover the ongoing expenses. The lag is not difficult to cope with if the group has a surplus to provide for expenses, but many socialist groups were hard put to generate such a surplus. But more difficult was the occasional influx of new residents after the planting. The planting may have been the maximum capable by the previous group, but its yield would have to be divided among a larger group--leaving less surplus to meet the mortgage payment.

The desire to intensify labor in relation to the amount of land influenced the young groups to seek more members. However, it was only accidentally that they arrived in time to increase the acreage under cultivation and thus to provide an incremental yield to offset the added burden in the short run which the new members represented.

Worse yet were the vagaries of weather which often reduced the yield below even the needs of the original group, not to mention those of an increased number of residents.

In contrast to this, U.P.F.'s expectation for each new member to obtain employment insures for each new member an increase to the group income to offset the additional expenses he represents. In fact, the welfare standard and the use of one dwelling for two or three families guarantees that the new income is larger than the increased expenses. Thus, each new resident adds an increment to the cushion

rather than representing a burden on the group. Also unlike farming, the new employees' income is realized almost immediately (according to the pay period of the employer) rather than a season later.

Two factors could prevent the operation of the corresponding increase of income with additional members which U.P.F. enjoys. One would be an economic "recession," the other would be an increase of low skill residents who would not be able to obtain employment readily. These dangers are minimized by several factors. As was noted above, U.P.F.'s cushion would be expected to cover both living and mortgage expenses until as many as every fourth employee was laid off. The Fellowship easily weathered a tight employment situation in the recession of 1959. The unemployment rate in the Brawn area did not come close to the 25% level and the unemployment rate of U.P.F. workers was considerably lower than the city rate. U.P.F.'s low rate may be explained by the service and professional employment of many of the residents whose unemployment rates were less than in manufacturing sectors. An economic "depression," however, would be expected to alter the situation to degrees varying with the intensity of the depression. However, the wage floor provided by various forms of unemployment compensation would still be expected to provide for the "welfare" level expenses of the group.

The other circumstance, that of an increase in unskilled personnel who would have difficulty obtaining jobs,

has not materialized to date. However, this would be partly accounted for as in the past by the professional members helping to locate jobs in the expanding "service" fields for the new members. Thus the variable structure of the expenses as well as the income of U.P.F. permits nearly a linear correlation between them which insures a continually larger "cushion" in relation to long-term commitments. This "cushion" against the demands of absentee sponsors reveals the favorable position of U.P.F. in comparison to the previous socialisms and permits a favorable prediction of longevity for U.P.F.

In summary, the examination of the current average income and expense figures of U.P.F. revealed that a considerable amount (37% of total income) was potentially available to meet fixed expenses, even though part of this amount was usually expended for "mission" projects (not a fixed commitment). The favorable ratio was expected to remain roughly constant as the number of members increased, although the "cushion" in absolute amount would increase.

Conflict Between Members and Mission Recipients

U.P.F.'s systemic linkages would be expected to have important influence on the relationships of the members to outside systems such as mission recipients, absentee sponsors and vocational colleagues. Potentially the payment to such outside recipients would reduce the amount available to the members. For example, if an increase to "Rural Farm," a

communitarian group, were accompanied by a decrease in the allocations to U.P.F. families, a conflict of interest would be said to exist. This would be expected to generate friction between the members who advocated supporting the "Farm" and those who opted for the family allocations--both highly normative to the beliefs of U.P.F. However, the common purse and the welfare budget reduce this potential because U.P.F. families theoretically are already making the maximum amount of funds available for mission projects. Thus, mission spending can be defined as secondary in financial priority to family necessities. Because of this and the "cushion," the funds sent to mission projects are always surplus after family expenses and mortgage have been subtracted. In the case of a loss of the cushion, the family expenses, as first priority, would be paid in full and the mission expenditures reduced if necessary. Thus, under all circumstances, a payment to a mission recipient has no influence on member families and therefore the potential conflict of interest is seldom actualized.

The potential for friction between members regarding the specific allocation of the mission funds still exists. This is not so serious because it is an interpersonal conflict (following Faunce)--it represents differences of opinion among the members and can be resolved by discussion or compromise. It does not represent structural conflict-- conflict of interest which would not be negotiable because

the welfare of the family units would be in question. The
avoidance of such conflict of the members with mission reci-
pients permits the fulfilling of this dimension of the
group's goal. This contributes to the identification of the
members with one another and thus the solidarity of the
Fellowship. Also, in actualizing one of the stated goals of
the group, that of service, it increases the fit of arti-
culation of several parts of the Fellowship, service goals,
financial structure, member commitment and member consumption.

This phenomenon is not comparable to the experiences
of the 19th Century utopias since they were most frequently
conceived as entities in themselves and did not appear to
include a service dimension, directed to any outside recipi-
ents of their services or funds. However, a comparison may
be drawn with modern churches and families. The common
experience is of a church squeezing its budget to meet a
financial commitment to a regional or central denominational
agency. An increase in mission funds frequently means a
decrease in current operating funds--a conflict of interest.
Frequently, the conflict is accompanied by hostility between
the members who advocate one expenditure over another. The
fact that both expenditures, support of programs and mission
giving, are normative to the self-understanding of the church
means that the hostility is usually intense and a loss of
articulation or fit between the parts may occur. The hostility
and loss of articulation can lower the identification of the

members with one another and with the church.[3]   These further
reduce the church's ability to raise funds and meet its
commitments.

The members of U.P.F. sense the inability of the
institutional church to resolve the conflict for itself
and its members.. They note the attachment of the church to
its institutional wealth and find it strange that "the
churches court the rich young rulers of our time instead of
challenging them." They claim also that the churches have
failed miserably in asserting the primacy of love over the
economic life of their members.

In effect, the churches are trapped by conflict of
interest. Since they are not committed to a minimum level
for themselves nor to urging their members to consider such
a minimum, each monetary increase is potentially available
both for budgetary needs and for individuals and agencies
outside itself. Thus there is a conflict of interest which
reduces internal cohesion and articulation.

U.P.F., by stipulating the minimum consumption level
for itself, automatically provides all revenues above this
level for others. When revenues are reduced below the

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[3]Many clergymen and laymen who have "dropped out" of
the church cite the inability of the church to live up to
its "mission" among the causes for their disenchantment.
Even though often the most visible reasons for such disen-
chantment are current "issues" such as "race," this analysis
suggests that a more fundamental difficulty underlying all
"mission giving" and complicating the church's response to
the "issues" is the above structural conflict of interest.

minimum level, the group is justified in stopping its mission
contributions--thus avoiding the conflict.

Similarly, a family which attempts to express its
concern for segments of society by contributing part of its
income to other agencies experiences this conflict. Any
funds it offers to such groups must reduce the amount avail-
able for itself. The conflict can create friction among the
affected family members, reduce family cohesion and reduce
the articulation between what it professes and how it behaves.

U.P.F., by the common purse, welfare level spending
and financial cushion, has minimized this structural con-
flict between the members' needs and those of mission
projects. The resulting increase in group cohesion and arti-
culation between goals and performance would be expected to
contribute both to group longevity and member autonomy out-
side the group.

Conflict Between Members and Absentee Sponsors

The conflict of interest between U.P.F. as a
collectivity and absentee sponsors such as the local bank has
been discussed above. The adequacy of the group's income
structure and welfare level spending to generate a surplus
and satisfy such sponsors was noted. This section examines
any influence on the members from such a conflict.

The sponsors of utopian groups seldom fall into a
normative category, that is, they do not believe they "ought"
to support them but rather that the linkage is a necessity.

This holds true for U.P.F. Thus, the question of articula-
tion in terms of members' identity is as easily resolved for
absentee sponsors as was the potential conflict with their
assistance to "Rural Farm." Thus, the question may be
analyzed in terms of the imposition of the external demands
on the family budgets. The function of the "cushion" to pro-
vide both the welfare necessities as well as to satisfy the
sponsors has been noted previously, thus minimizing any con-
flict between the members and the sponsor. The elimination
of the surplus would, however, recreate the conflict causing
the members to reduce their purchase of necessities to meet
the commitment to the sponsor. This would be expected to
create hardship and also possible friction among the members
in reaching new decisions regarding expenditures, thus
reducing cohesion and also adversely affecting the longevity
potential.

In addition, some of the members would be expected to
attempt to relieve such hardship by increasing their income
by seeking "raises" in salary or new positions. This would
reduce their autonomy, not because the articulation of U.P.F.
would be affected, but because they would need to protect or
enhance their income and thus their obedience to management.
In addition, any move to a new employer for financial reasons
would eliminate their usefulness in reforming the former
position, the original purpose of the search for autonomy.
However, the linear relationships between income and expenses

in U.P.F. (new members bring increased income in proportion to increased expenses) was expected to protect the cushion and thus continue to minimize the potential conflict and protect the cohesion among the members.

Conflict Between Members and Vocational Colleagues

It was described previously how the members of U.P.F. maintain vocational roles in various institutions in the urban area and thus provide the income for the Fellowship. The individual nature of this linkage was noted. However, the potential conflict between the members and their colleagues was not noted. This conflict exists because of the pyramidal shape of the employing structures and the competitive structure of the "job market." The existence of a limited number of status and reward positions reduces the possible range of cooperation among the colleagues to achieve the goals of the organization. Also, the competition for status reward positions would be expected to increase the incumbent's conformity to superordinate and group norms and thus decrease the possibility of autonomous behavior.[4] However, U.P.F.'s welfare budget and the common purse minimize this conflict in the working members of U.P.F. in two ways: they reduce the pressure and resentment from the other members of U.P.F. and they reduce the pressure from his own family.

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[4]This is Presthus' major hypothesis. Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

The common purse, in breaking the relationship
between one's salary and the U.P.F. consumption level, mini-
mizes the pressure from the Fellowship. His salary may
increase or decrease, but the Fellowship members will con-
tinue to consume at a "welfare" level. Also any resentment
by one member who contributes more than another, for example
A's $15,000 per year compared to B's $5,000 per year, would
not be expected to be sustained. Even if B's salary were to
increase to $15,000, the consumption of both families would
remain the same. Thus, "pressure" from the Fellowship mem-
bers for a member to compete for a larger salary is quite
low.

For the same reason, the "pressure" upon a member
from his family would be low. Without the commitment to the
welfare budget, a member might attempt to achieve a higher
reward position for the increased benefit it would bring to
the group and the increment it would bring to his own family.
However, the "welfare budget" at U.P.F. results in no
increase to his family or to the group, but rather to surplus
for mission. Thus, the pressure from a member's family is at
a low level.

The observations of the members confirm the descrip-
tion of low vocational pressures. Several members of U.P.F.
report that they enjoy a "relaxed attitude" with respect to
their income. "We don't always have to be concerned about
buttering up the boss or looking for a better paying job,"

they claim. Jacob Deed, one of the employed members of
U.P.F., observed that he had lived in other communities
which were "always after you to make more money; it created
a lot of pressure. Here we can take a job because it's
interesting. It's much more relaxed."

The vocational consequence of such a reduced competi-
tion would be that one would be permitted to exercise any
potential for autonomy which may have been generated by a
highly articulated reference group, rather than having it
"short-circuited" by competitive conformity. Free from com-
petition with colleagues, he would also be able to engage in
various forms of cooperation with them to accomplish desired
ends.

Several informants at the large state mental hospital
where many Fellowship members work reported behavior by
U.P.F. members which was not observed in colleagues whose con-
flict of interest with other colleagues had not been resolved.
The informants had witnessed some U.P.F. members willing to
forego "credit" for themselves to let others "take the
credit" to obtain various kinds of cooperation from colleagues
such as increased services to patients. Also, the informants
had observed some U.P.F. members willing to undergo the
"hostility and pressure by some superordinates and some col-
leagues" to protect patient services. While the reduction of
the conflict between the U.P.F. members and their colleagues
and superordinates may not have directly caused such behavior,

it may have reduced an undue dependence on superordinates
or competition with colleagues and permitted such behavior.

Summary

This chapter has enumerated and described U.P.F.'s
various systemic linkages. Three types were discovered.
Some were non-fiscal in nature and had no economic sanction
power (links with churches, with other communitarian groups,
with the seminary and with the neighborhood). Others were
partially fiscal relationships and had limited economic
sanction ability or had such only with reference to indi-
viduals and not to the group (links with governments and
with employing agencies). Some links constituted princi-
pally fiscal relationships in that the agencies had vital
economic sanction power. If the group had not met their
expectations, the sponsors would have been expected to pro-
tect their boundaries, employ the sanctions and potentially
terminate the existence of U.P.F. The mission board and
the local bank were discovered to be in this latter cate-
gory. The early solvency of the group permitted a termina-
tion of the linkage with the mission board before any
significant consequences resulted. The dependence of the
Fellowship upon the banking institutions was acknowledged
to be a continuing source of potential danger.

However, the chapter noted that the income structure
of U.P.F. in relation to its expenses generated a large

proportion of its income (40%) which was available to meet the expectations of sponsors such as the bank. The urban location, the employee status of the members and the "welfare" consumption level was seen as the source of such high income and low expenses. In comparison to the 19th Century socialisms, U.P.F. bought only housing and that only as new members required it, limiting their fixed expenses (mortgage), while the socialisms often bought sufficient land and dwellings to provide income for the expected future size of the group. U.P.F.'s commitment to the "welfare standard" minimized current expenses in comparison to the high expectations and expenses of many of the socialisms. U.P.F.'s employee source of income, it was noted, provided a steady and adequate income for each member as he joined, in effect permitting him to pay his own way. Many socialisms, in comparison, suffered from low productivity associated with poor land and equipment, "inexperience," poor weather, and a disfunction between the acreage planted and the number of members to be supported by it at any given time.

These advantages generated an early fiscal solvency for U.P.F. enabling it to minimize or eliminate its conflicts of interest with absentee sponsors and thus increase considerably its potential longevity. In addition, the common purse and its related mechanisms of "welfare" consumption and communal ownership of property along with the "cushion" of income over expenditures helps reduce several conflicts of

interest which would have interfered with member goals. These resulted in the provision of member necessities in spite of other members' extra needs (reducing conflict between members), in spite of gifts to mission recipients (reducing the conflict with recipients), in spite of commitments to absentee sponsors (reducing the conflict with sponsors), and, finally, in spite of competitive vocational hierarchies (reducing the conflict with superordinates and colleagues in employment situations and fellow utopians at home).

CHAPTER V

INCOME ALLOCATION

Introduction

Those experiments of the previous century which were
not closed by absentee sponsors failed because of internal
dissension, often caused by conflicts of interest among the
members. This chapter and the next will attempt to describe
the internal operation of the Fellowship. The present
chapter will note the effects of the economic structure, and
the next chapter the effects of the social structure.
Whereas the previous chapter considered U.P.F. as a collectiv-
ity, examining relationships with external sponsors, this
chapter will view the individual members and examine rela-
tionships among the members within the Fellowship.

To accomplish this, it will give further attention
to the economic life of U.P.F., the functioning of the
"common purse" which is the distribution mechanism of the
group, and its effect upon the relations between the members.
The previous chapter noted the important effect of the
"cushion" generated by the various sources of employment in
minimizing the conflict with external sponsors. This chapter
will also examine any influence of this cushion on the
internal accord of the members. U.P.F.'s financial structure

139

will be compared to the 19th Century groups. The members'

understanding of the financial mechanisms will be noted

to provide a comparison of their expectations to actual

performance.

The result of any internal structural conflicts

would be a loss of cohesion among the members--an important

factory in longevity. Another result of structural con-

flicts, according to Faunce,[1] is a decrease in articulation.

Specifically, Faunce claims that "conflict" and "isolation"

are two dimensions of articulation. The conflict, it will

be seen, is central to this chapter; isolation is signifi-

cant in the next.

The Mechanics of the Common Purse

Although most members are aware of the effect of

the economic disciplines on the Fellowship, few are cognizant

of or even need to know the legal and fiscal details of its

operation.

The common purse functions in four simple steps:

(a) the members place their paychecks into the common purse,

(b) a common amount is returned to each family unit for

expenses such as food and clothing, (c) the expenses incurred

by the Fellowship as a collectivity, such as the mortgages,

are paid, and (d) the balance is available for "mission"

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[1]The dependence of autonomy on articulation was
treated in Chapter II above.
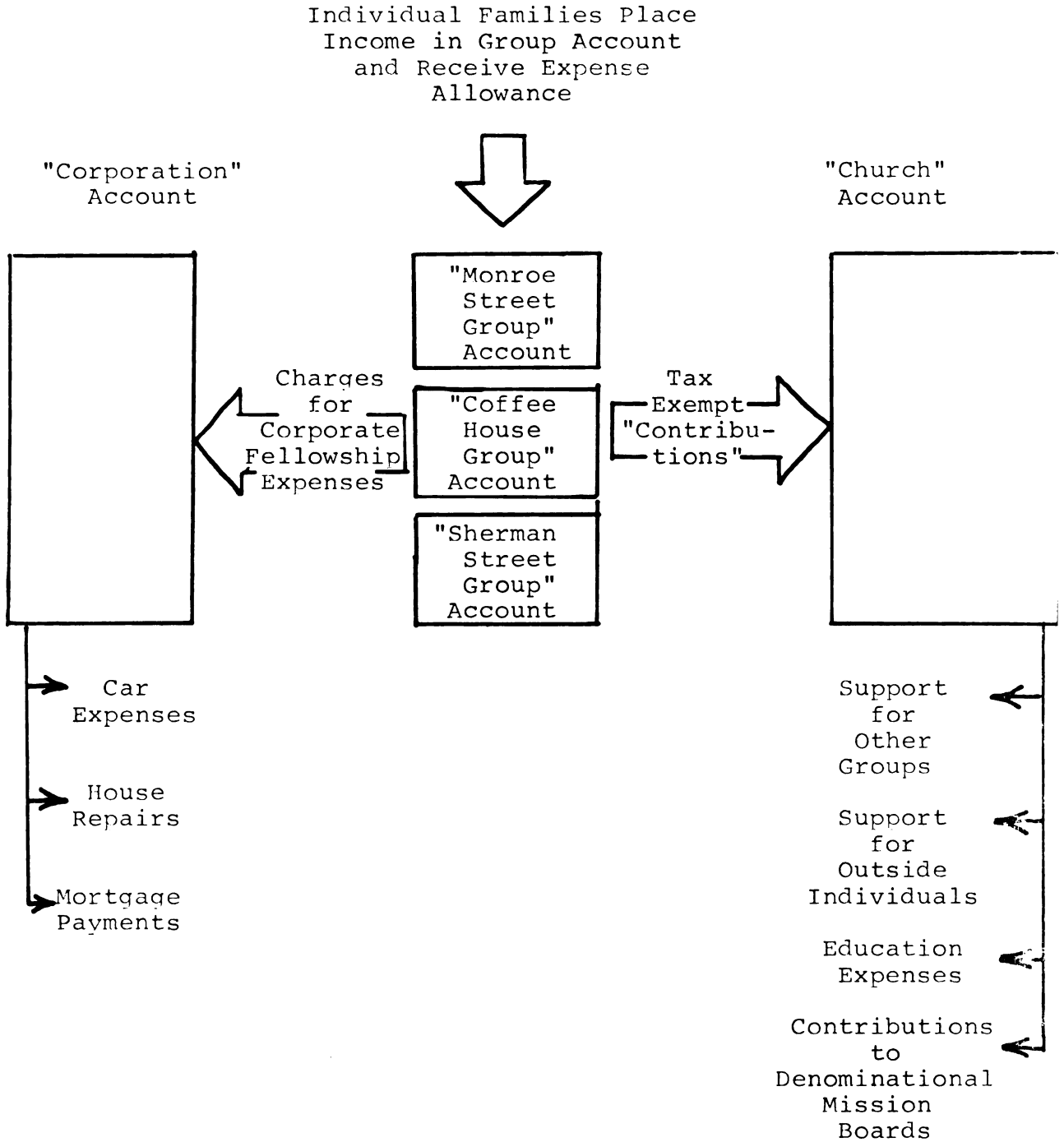
projects and is paid accordingly.[2]

However, early in the life of U.P.F. the members

discovered a need to document their finances for income tax

purposes. They had sought and gained, under poor advice,

an Internal Revenue Service designation as an "apostolic

order." However, this did not permit the deduction of their

"contributions" to U.P.F. from their taxable incomes. If a

family earned $10,000 and lived on $6,000, the family felt

it should be allowed to claim $4,000 as a deduction from his

taxable income. Recently they discovered that a "church"

designation would permit the deduction of "contributions"

from the individual tax returns. They have applied for the

new status and established a financial arrangement to docu-

ment all deductions from their individual tax returns.[3] They

have established five bank accounts. Three of the five

accounts are used for the income and expenses of the three

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[2]There is a committee of five members which facilitates
this process. It is called the "financial committee," and it
investigates group expenses and mission projects [(c) and (d)
above] and makes recommendations to the Fellowship. For
example, it may investigate and recommend hiring a local
rodent control service for the group's old buildings or
initiating a local integrated housing complex for the neigh-
borhood. The five members are selected by consensus because
of their financial expertise. Their recommendation to the
monthly plenary member meeting places them in a "staff" rela-
tionship to the common purse machinery. (Figure 2)

[3]They have never objected to paying taxes although
they, like many private individuals, feel strongly about
such government expenditures as the military budget. They
feel they should avail themselves of every legal tax exemp-
tion because they can expend the funds in accord with their
purposes of "mission."

Figure 2.--Mechanics of the "Common Purse"

Individual Families Place
Income in Group Account
and Receive Expense
Allowance

"Corporation"
Account

"Church"
Account

"Monroe
Street
Group"
Account

Charges
for
Corporate
Fellowship
Expenses

"Coffee
House
Group"
Account

Tax
Exempt
"Contribu-
tions"

"Sherman
Street
Group"
Account

Car
Expenses

House
Repairs

Mortgage
Payments

Support
for
Other
Groups

Support
for
Outside
Individuals

Education
Expenses

Contributions
to
Denominational
Mission
Boards

small decision making groups (see Figure 2). Each member of U.P.F. belongs to one of the groups. A fourth account is the corporate account (see Figure 2). This account receives income from the group accounts and makes payments for that class of Fellowship expenses which is not deductible for income tax purposes. The fifth account--the "church account" --receives income from the groups and makes those payments for the Fellowship which are deductible from the members' income taxes.

The treasurer of each small group collects the paycheck of each individual in his group and deposits it into the small group account (see Figure 2). He then returns an amount to each family for monthly expenses of food and clothing. Next he pays "charges" to the corporation account. The "charges" are a way of apportioning to each family a part of Fellowship expenses such as for automobiles and mortgages so the individual family income may be reduced by an appropriate amount and thus reduce each family's income tax levy. The charges also reflect other expenses such as lumber, plumbing supplies, and insurance on the buildings.

After the "charges" for each family are remitted to the "corporation" account from the small group accounts, the balance of the small group account is then "paid" to the church account. Frequently, a small amount is returned for extra expenses such as guests' food so the feeding of guests does not create a burden on the individual families.

The payment from the small group into the church account constitutes a tax exempt "contribution." The treasurer for each small group records each family's income, their expenses and their deductions and gives them the information at the year's end for their income tax report.

After any reimbursement has been made to the families from the church account, the balance is available for the mission of the Fellowship in its various forms, such as support for other communitarian groups, payments to the denominational mission board or contributions to individuals the group is helping with educational or medical expenses.

An example of a normal situation will clarify the flow of funds. A typical family's monthly income is approximately $650. Thus, their payment to the small group is $650. Their allowance from the small group in food and clothing, according to the size and needs of their family, might be $300, leaving a balance of $350 in the small group account. Their housing and transportation "charges" might be $200 which would be remitted to the corporation account leaving a balance of $150 in the group account. The $150 would be transferred to the "church account" which might return $50 to the group account and then to the family in compensation for Fellowship guests they had boarded or for other expenses. The $100 balance in the "church" account would then be available for "mission" projects.

The system accomplishes several desirable accounting

functions for the Fellowship. (1) It provides a mechanism
of collection and distribution. Because the mechanism is
"formal" and not personal, it relieves any particular member
of the potentially unpopular task of enforcing a group com-
mitment to a "welfare standard." In addition, it directs
members' dissatisfaction, if any, back to the entire group
where the commitment originated. (2) The mechanism pro-
vides the income tax information which the Federal govern-
ment demands in order that the families may deduct the "con-
tributions" to the "church" account from their taxable
income and accurately reflects costs of communally-owned
cars and dwellings. (3) The mechanism provides several
kinds of information upon which the group may base decisions.
Primarily, it indicates the amount, after expenses have
been met, which is available for "mission projects." It
also indicates if any families are having difficulties
staying within expenses.

The Reduction of Member Conflicts

The financial mechanism provides, in addition to the
accounting benefits noted, an important non-financial influ-
ence. This section will examine this important influence
which reduces conflicts of interest arising over the produc-
tion and distribution of scarce goods and resources. The
most obvious conflict in any system is a competition among
members for an inadequate amount of resources. In a family,
if the income remains inadequate,when the husband wants

extra funds to purchase golf clubs the wife will have less for a new dress and a conflict of interest may be said to exist between them.

The situation is similar to that of U.P.F. except that the potential conflict is between family units as well as between members of the same family. The common purse defines each family unit as equally worthy of scarce resources at whatever overall level of consumption the group chooses. Rather than a rule such as the family which earns the most receives the most, as in Fourierist utopias, U.P.F. claims that the family which needs the most should receive the most. Thus, each family unit is equally worthy of scarce resources. "Equality" is defined as in Marxian doctrine or early Christian practice, not as each receiving an identical amount such as $300 per month, but that each unit receives an amount in similar proportion to their need. This, however, generates the problem of defining "need." The budget assists the group by institutionalizing the concepts of "need."

Judy Leaven, one of the wives, in describing the concept of "need" explained, "We get $113 a month for food for our family of four. For clothing we get $5 a month for each child, $12 a month for teenagers or adults, and double that for each working person." Another member, Matilda Grant, whose family had eight members, quoted a figure of $289 a month for everything--clothing, household, entertainment, and food. "However, the Fellowship account takes care of doctor

bills, furniture and repair costs, car and housing costs."
She also claimed that each of her children had foot trouble
and required the services of a specialist and the Fellowship
had always seen that they got the required care.

Matilda indicated a sentiment common to many. "The
'welfare' budget is at times 'difficult' to live on, but if
one believes that other people are more important than money,
he ought to live that way--besides if all the other members
can live on the budget, we can too." Thus, the common purse
and the welfare budget, by defining each family as "equal"
and stipulating the allocation to each, reduces a potential
conflict between the families for the limited resources of
the group. An increase in the "needs" and the allocation to
one family, rather than reducing the allotment to the other
families as in a competitive situation, would have no effect
on them unless their needs changed. In addition, the low
level of competition and common definition of "need" gener-
ates feeling of a common struggle and an increased sense of
identity among the members--"if the others can live on the
welfare budget, we can too."

The budget resolves for the members only those allo-
cation questions such as food or clothing which it covers.
Another area of potential competition is non-standard expen-
ditures such as television sets and summer vacations. These
create potential conflicts because they come not from the
family allotments but from the Fellowship funds. It is

apparent to the members that expenditures by some families
could reduce that available to others—a competition situa-
tion. The commitment to a "welfare" consumption level,
however, aids in the adjudication of such items so that all
are subjected to the same "rules." The welfare concept
permits the group to eliminate some items, such as color TV
receivers, as "luxuries" and therefore inappropriate for any
members. Other items have come to be defined as "necessi-
ties" such as medical and educational expenses. Even vaca-
tions have been recently defined as a necessity so the
family may "relax from the rigors of the husband's job and
from the city." Vacation expenses are usually granted to
each family, not as a matter of course as are the allotment
items, but as each family's plans become known.

Other expenditures are non-recurring items and there-
fore cannot be regularized, like family vacations, and are
not clearly luxuries or necessities, but are one-shot items
such as the Herald's trip to the theology conference. These
are also discussed in the small groups and decided "on the
merits of the case." Thus, some competition is possible in
this arena. However, the equality concept, that all members
should potentially be eligible for the same benefits, helps
reduce competition significantly.

Another important feature is that the common purse
helps reduce the competition between families for most of
the non-budgeted expenditures. The communal ownership of

homes, land and automobiles, in effect, places these items, which in western society are frequently objects of severe competitive relationships, outside of the competitive arena.

The final class of expenditures are "luxury" items such as television sets. These are funded by the individual families and thus are taken out of the arena of the group decision making altogether. These become decisions of the individual families, and, because family allocation is based on necessities, it has no provision for luxuries. However, if a family chooses, it may, for example, reduce its expenditures for clothing to save some funds for a TV set. The TV sets that are visible in the Fellowship are consequently inexpensive or used sets.

The lodging of the decision on luxury items with the families, in effect, shifts the competition to the arena of the families. This has generated some strain among some of the family members although this is little different than the strain of budget decisions in any modern western family.

A final mechanism, the "cushion" of income over expenditures at U.P.F. not only reduces the actual competition between families for non-standard items, but actually prevents competition for budget necessities. In effect, the cushion permits the Fellowship to deliver on its promise to provide the welfare level allotment to each family and not to fall below it, as well as to actually decide each discretionary case "on its merits." If the income of the

Fellowship were not sufficient to cover the "welfare"
expenses of the member families, the clothing and food allot-
ments, which are not budgeted and therefore removed from the
sphere of competition, would need to be continually adjudi-
cated as well as those non-typical needs such as vacations
or medical bills which are currently decided upon case by
case. Family A might claim it needed its regular food allot-
ment because it had some sick children while other families
would receive less than their "share."[4] The factor which
prevents this source of conflict is the maintenance of the
"cushion" of Fellowship income over total expenditures.
This permits the group to actualize its commitment to equal-
ity of distribution in budgeted items. The cushion and the
commitment to a welfare level of consumption permits the
group to decide each non-budgeted case on its merits rather
than by economic necessity and thus helps reduce the competi-
tion in this area. Clearly, if the members were not confi-
dent that the funds were available to meet such expectations,
they would be more likely to compete for the needs of their
family. (Family A's education vs. Family B's vacation.)
The ability of the common purse and welfare spending to
support communitarian decision making so that each case is

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[4]Because of the strong communitarian norms of U.P.F.,
it might be just as likely that Family A would argue that
Family B needed extra. However, this is immaterial as con-
concerns the structural conflict that would arise on needs
which are presently regularized.

decided on its merits thus reduces such competition by potentially providing both Family A's and Family B's needs.

In summary, U.P.F. is able to reduce potential and actual economic conflicts of interest among its members relating to the distribution of resources. Most important are the common purse and welfare budget which distribute resources to families equally according to levels of "need." The "cushion" permits the actualization of the welfare level and avoids the competition for goods at a new set of priorities below that level. The "cushion" also permits delivery on the corporate commitment to all family "necessities" such as medical bills and on most "borderline" cases which may be decided on the merits of the case, so no conflict is structured in those areas. Finally, the definition of homes and cars as communal property and that of luxury items as subject to individual family decisions eliminates both these areas from the competitive sphere.

Comparison to 19th Century Groups

Some Owenite and religious communities of the 19th Century attempted to reduce competition among the members by distribution mechanisms similar to U.P.F.: a common purse, dwellings held in common, and distribution according to need. However, some of these groups apparently failed in eliminating such competition because they failed to achieve a "cushion" of income over expenses with which to support the common purse. Consequently, the members fell into dissension

about the distribution of an inadequate income, a conflict
which many of the religious groups and also U.P.F. were able
to avoid.

In addition to the lack of a "cushion," most
socialisms had little commitment to a low or minimum con-
sumption level. Rather, the members expected to reap economic
as well as social benefits. This expectation contributed to
a competition for scarce resources. The religious communities,
in comparison, often assisted the functioning of the common
purse by a commitment to a "minimum" level of consumption,
and the maintenance of a cushion of income over expenses,
effectively reducing competition.

The Fourierists, in comparison, were not committed to
a common purse but rather the "joint stock" principle. They
calculated the distribution of the total income to which a
member was entitled by adding one amount for the effort he
expended and another for the number of "shares" he held.
Thus, member A could potentially have received considerably
more than member B due to holding more stock as well as
working more hours during the accounting period in question.
Fourier and his advocates believed that competition would be
eliminated or at least harnessed to the benefit of all because
A's increase in productivity would result in an increase to
all shareholders. Thus, if A labored 100 "units" more than
B and each held the same number of shares, A's wages might
be $15 more than B's. However, the "dividends" to both A

and to B might be increased $3 due to A's extra labor. Thus, B's reception of some of the gain from A's increase in production must be seen to minimize the competition between them. Thus, it is not a simple conflict of interest for limited resources, because what is in the interest of A also benefits B. However, they may compete against one another for increasing resources. This permits member A to retain and thus consume more than member B. In addition, many Fourierist experiments had production difficulties similar to the Owenite groups. The absence of a "surplus" must have generated situations where some members from extra labor and large holdings of stock had more than enough income to meet their needs where others received inadequate amounts. Thus, the fact that A's increased efforts resulted in a differential increase over B may have generated some competition between them, not for limited resources, but for an expanding resource as well as to increase each one's self-identity with his output level and with his consumption rather than with his commonality with his neighbor. This attempt to increase production by harnessing self-interest appears to be a mixed blessing generating some conflict and opening the door for resentment and focusing of member attention and identity on consumption rather than on the common concerns of all the members.

Another feature of the Fourierist groups was the existence of stockholders living outside the group who

received part of the income without contributing "labor" to its increase. This arrangement did actually constitute a conflict of interest, as was noted in Chapter II, for distribution of fixed production. This would be particularly noticed where a member living in the group had only a few shares and depended on his units of labor to support his family. Those "absentee" shareholders who received income only from stock (and those members in the group with large stockholdings) would find it in their interest to distribute more of the production to "shares" and less to labor. The family with few shares would desire more to labor and less to shares. This case illustrates the minimum amount of harmony of interest and the maximum degree of conflict in the joint stock arrangement. The actual practice would not be expected to have been such an extreme condition so that varying degrees of conflict would have existed among the members for an increasing output of labor and the distribution of that output to shares (of members or absentee shareholders) or to labor. These sources of conflict, in addition to the often high expectations for consumption and frequently a low level of productivity, apparently generated much of the discord and shortness of longevity which the records indicate.

The Owenite and religious groups as well as U.P.F., in comparison to the Fourierist conflicts of interest, defined each family as equally qualified for the group

output. This separation of the income of each family from their output eliminated the Fourierist type of competition and, it would be expected, increased the identification of the members with one another and thus the group cohesion, a positive influence on longevity.

In addition, U.P.F.'s unique commitment to the welfare level, and the existence of a surplus such as the religious groups enjoyed, reduces the conflict between members of U.P.F. to a similar low level of the long-lived religious utopias. It would be expected that this reduction in potential conflict would support member cohesion and thus longevity.

Summary

In summary, the common purse and its related mechanisms of "welfare" consumption and communal ownership of property along with the income "cushion" do much to reduce structural conflict and competition among the members for limited resources and to help actualize some of the group's goals. The definition of each family unit as equally justified to receive the resources of the Fellowship according to their needs, and the specification of "needs" at a welfare level, reduce any likelihood of competition for necessities. The "surplus" provides for the provision of these "non-budgeted" necessities so they may be adjudicated by the communitarian norm rather than by competition. The definition

of dwellings and automobiles as communal property and the definition of luxuries as family decisions places both out of the group decision making and therefore out of the competitive arena.

The various aspects of the common purse support the desires of the members to become detached from their property so they may identify with people. The common purse, its definition of equality of all in terms of their needs, the common effort to live at a "welfare" level, and the common ownership of dwellings and vehicles (those goods most likely to generate personal identification) all discourage the identification of people with their goods. Consequently, they encourage, by emphasizing the commonness of all, the identification with one another.

In comparison with the Fourierist groups of the last century, U.P.F. seems to enjoy the same reductions of conflict as the Owenite and the religious groups with their common purse, common property, and understanding of equality. In addition, U.P.F.'s unique commitment to a minimum consumption level reduces member conflicts for non-budgeted expenditures as well as to help insure the "cushion" which itself reduces potential conflict by permitting the group to actualize its commitment to treat all members "equally" according to "need."

These factors permit the group to achieve one of its goals, making decisions according to what is "right" rather

than by financial necessity, as well as helping the members become detached from material possessions and identify more with persons.

The result of these influences is an increased group solidarity, a positive influence on potential longevity, a reduction in conflict, and a positive influence on longevity.

The next chapter will focus on social structure rather than the economic conflicts among members. It will attempt to note isolation among the members as well as social conflict, the other dimension of articulation.

CHAPTER VI

ARTICULATION OF THE COMMUNITY SYSTEM

Articulation, according to Faunce, is a measure of the "fit" of the members together in the social dimension without isolation or conflict of interest. It is facilitated by adequate social patterns and round of life. It is reduced by a highly developed division of labor and status-power hierarchy and by isolation and conflict of interest among members.

Communitarian groups must provide at least three things to fit their members together and accomplish their common tasks: a cluster of <u>norms</u> to guide the members' interaction and conflict management; <u>facilities</u> or collective patterns to accomplish group tasks, structure the round of life and build group cohesion; and a <u>social structure</u> consisting of some division of labor and some status-power hierarchy to structure the members' interaction and task accomplishment.

According to Faunce, norms, facilities and social structure may articulate the members together as well as create conflict of interest and isolation. Therefore, these must be examined carefully to note any contribution as well as detriment to articulation which they may generate.

The central interaction norms are "openness" and "integrity." Openness refers to the direct communication of sentiments between members; integrity to the equalizing of the members in a dispute as to the management of their conflict and the avoidance of manipulation.

The facilities consist of an ecological arrangement, the "proximity of housing" and five group activities: the "member meetings," the common meals, the "work day," the worship service and the "coffee house." The proximity of housing refers to an ecological arrangement of the dwellings within walking distance of one another. This facilities the several common activities as well as to directly reduce member isolation. The member meetings are weekly gatherings of members for conflict management and decision making. The work day is a semi-weekly gathering to accomplish building projects and maintenance. The worship service is a weekly meeting of religious affirmation and teaching (considered in Chapter III above) and helps reconfirm the common goals of the group. The coffee house is an informal weekly recreational gathering and helps bridge communication gaps with members and local neighbors. These facilities together generate a common round of life which helps articulate the members, reduce isolation and build group cohesion.

However, the accomplishment of these tasks requires additional social structures. The social structures consist of a division of labor and a status and power structure.

The division of labor, according to Faunce, is a horizontal differentiation of members into various role positions to accomplish the tasks of the system. U.P.F.'s division of labor is characterized by a rotating job structure which calls forth various members according to the skill requirements of the task at hand. This helps avoid the permanent placement of members into roles or offices which can isolate members from one another and generate conflicts between role positions. This, in effect, reduces the degree of horizontal differentiation.

A status and power structure, according to Faunce, consists of a hierarchal pattern by which members or officers are accorded differential honor (status) and a differential ability to direct the behavior of others (power). Only four status-power levels were observed at U.P.F. and the significance of these were further reduced by the detachment of the physical symbols of differential status and power from the members. This was accomplished by the communal ownership of houses and cars and the common purse which eliminated the income differential.

According to Faunce such group accommodations (a norm, facilities, and a social structure) may reduce group articulation as well as enhance it. It is increased by an articulating round of life and a norm for conflict resolution. It is decreased by isolation, conflict of interest and a high degree of vertical and horizontal differentiation.

U.P.F. was found to have an interaction norm and a round of life adequate to generate group cohesion, reduce member isolation and provide for the accomplishment of group tasks. These, in addition to the low differentiation of status and power and of division of labor structures, generated a high articulation community system.

These three categories--the interaction norm, the facilities, and the social structure, will now be considered in turn.

The Interaction Norm--"Openness"

The Commitment to "Openness"

The literature of U.P.F. observes that "Christians can live together physically and still have little genuine love for one another." To facilitate the kind of member interaction they desire, the members each commit themselves to what they call an "openness" in their relationships with one another and attempt to structure various occasions to support this quality of interaction. Openness includes such ingredients as interpersonal management of tension, direct communication of sentiments, shared decision making and shared resolution of conflict.

The 19th Century religious utopias apparently had equally effective mechanisms of conflict resolution in their practices of "confession" and authoritarian problem solving models. However, many of the socialist groups had few or

none of these resources, little or no commitment to a common
relationship model, few or no group meeting structures for
conflict resolution and communication of sentiments, and few,
if any, persons with interpersonal skills and training to
facilitate group processes in the absence of authoritarian
leadership.

U.P.F., with the common relationship model, the
group meeting structure, and the dispersed resource persons,
has a different but similarly strong mechanism for conflict
resolution as did the long-lived 19th Century religious
groups and therefore a strong longevity potential in regard
to this factor.

In addition, the commitment to openness actually
helps to place disputants on an equal footing in a disagree-
ment because of the direct communication of sentiments and
group management of tension. These permit a high degree of
self-identification of the members with one another which
reduces "isolation" between members and thus increases arti-
culation.

This section will begin with a description of the
member meetings. This will provide the setting for an
episode which reveals the unusual quality and potential depth
of relationships structured by the commitment to "openness"
and the other facilities. The analysis will also permit the
uncovering of the "integrity" model of human relationships
utilized by the group and some of the human and structural

resources they assemble to actualize it.

An Illustration of Openness

Among the occasions the Fellowship structures are the "member meetings" (so named because non-members do not usually attend.) Meetings of the three small members' groups are held weekly. In addition, all three groups meet together in a monthly plenary meeting to facilitate communication among the three groups. The monthly meeting, like the small group meetings, often starts with a few songs. Victor Verity usually acts as moderator at the monthly meetings. Victor then indicates a rough agenda usually including "items of personal concern" followed by "items of business." The relegation of business to the bottom of the agenda reveals the group's high priority on personal relationships. Victor then asks for items of personal concern.

One particular item of "personal concern" at a monthly meeting reveals the quality and potential intensity of the relationships characterized by "openness." Steven Bush, one of the single young men, was first to break the silence of the group in thought. He indicated that he had worked through a particular "barrier" with Obey Grace. He described how his relationship with Obey had been designed to gain sympathy for himself. Whenever a point of friction arose between them, he had attempted to "shame" Obey into apologizing to him, winning sympathy from Obey and the

others. Obey had continually refused to give in to him,
however, and the friction grew between them. He began to see
Obey, a somewhat older and more experienced person, as anta-
gonistic and hostile toward him. In the context of the
Sherman Street group meetings, where both were members, the
friction had erupted into open hostility. The members of
the group had enabled Steven to see how he was unknowingly
trying to manipulate Obey. "I was acting like a kid," he
confessed. The knowledge of his own behavior required him
to reevaluate Obey's feelings about him. He had never asked
before. Obey had revealed that he "liked" Steven, certainly
did not dislike him, but he saw no value to giving in to
Steven's desires and continually backing down from his own
beliefs or apologizing to Steven insincerely. But his
failure to do so didn't mean he was hostile to Steven, he
claimed. Steven believed him. Steven concluded his remarks
by claiming that he had received a new understanding of him-
self and a new relationship with Obey as a result of the
encounter.

This episode illustrates the concept of "openness"
between members which they find so important. It involves
the acknowledgement of anger or dissension among the members
when it arises, rather than the avoidance of controversy.
It assumes that people who are committed to one another and
to a common purpose can resolve differences in the context
of the group and thus benefit personally as well as benefit

the group.

The members describe their commitment to "openness" in terms of two "barriers" to human relationships: one is "guilt," the other is "judgmental attitudes." The first, they claim, concerns one's own "shortcomings" which one usually tries to hide. "Thus we distort reality and close ourselves off from one another." This would be illustrated by Steven's admission that he continually overlooked his own contribution to any friction between him and Obey, believing the discord was the result of Obey's shortcomings. The solution, the Fellowship believes, is to restore "integrity": to help the person "acknowledge his behavior and himself"--and "to stop hiding and make a start with others in honesty." Obey's refusal to give in to Steven is a reflection of his responsibility to Steven, the group believes. It would have been easier to give in to Steven, but this would have avoided Steven's acknowledgement of his own behavior.

The other focus the group describes in relationships of integrity is "judgmental attitudes." This relates to feelings about "others' shortcomings" while "guilt" is a consequence of "one's own shortcomings." When another person disturbs us with his failures, we maintain a lofty distance, perhaps commending ourselves for our capacity for tolerance."[1] This attitude "distorts and poisons" relationships. The

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[1] "The Way of Love," a booklet written by the Fellowship, p. 6.

members call for "loving admonition in the spirit of genuine humility where another's shortcomings are involved." Where "our own sin" is involved they call for a "confession of failure" and "forgiveness" by the others. "The covenant for Christian disciples calls for constant surveillance against anger and destructive emotions, eradicating them as soon as one becomes aware of them by confessing our wrongs against others; and dealing with conflict of others against us as soon as they are brought to our attention."

The Fellowship commitment to "openness" and this type of interaction presupposes a concept of "integrity in human relationships" and how it may be brought about. The concept comes from Jesus' teaching of his disciples and how they are to live together as found in the Bible, Matthew 5:17-48, usually called the "Sermon on the Mount."

This model involves such ingredients as the inter-personal management of tension, the direct communication of sentiments, shared decision making and shared resolution of conflict. These function together to make the elements of the dispute more visible to the parties so that each has a more equal footing and can avoid a manipulative or superior-subordinate relationship.

In addition to the attempt to make the parties to a dispute equal in their interaction, the model postulates them as equal in a theological sense such as "all are equal in the sight of God." The interpersonal model is actually

a microcosm of the communitarian style of life with its high articulation permitting direct communication of feelings, group management of tension, and group decision making.[2]

Obey's refusal to capitulate to Steven actually reflects this model although it appears to denote a self-interest similar to that of an impersonal social encounter. Obey's refusal reflects the belief that to give in merely to satisfy the outbursts of another is "inauthentic" or patronizing, and, in effect, places the other in a "custodial" relation rather than one of "integrity." The fact that several members work at Brawn State Mental Hospital clearly makes them sensitive to custodial or manipulative relationships such as between staff and patients. (The members also advocate relationships of integrity at the hospital as well as at U.P.F.)

The part the Fellowship played in the relationship between Obey and Steven is unusual also. The group permitted the continued tension between the two for approximately two years preceding the reconciliation rather than separating them or attempting to adjudicate some settlement between them. The members apparently believed that Obey had some validity in maintaining his position. But further, they believed that the two must be permitted and helped to achieve a resolution themselves.

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[2]This is quite similar to the pattern among the modern day Hutterites and Amish. See Loomis, p. 212.

In addition to permitting the tension between the
two men, the Fellowship actually encouraged and increased
the tension. The continual interaction between the two men,
over meals, during the regular Saturday morning work projects,
at the coffee house or at worship together, finally brought
the friction to a climax. The existence of the Sherman
Street group, a group small enough to offer "air time" for
all, provided a semi-structured arena where the problems
could be brought and discussed. The presence of several
people with "helping skills" had influenced the entire group
with the "integrity" model. The operation of the small
groups in actualizing this model further explains the even-
tual resolution of Obey and Steven's conflict. Those with
professional training initiated the group's response to the
conflict, and the others, being less sure of an appropriate
course, followed the professionals' leadership. This
response consisted of three elements: "listening" to the
disputants in attempt to discover the problem, comparing the
problem to the "integrity" model to discover alternative
solutions, and sharing those findings with the parties so
they could more readily understand and select a solution for
themselves. These processes were apparently within the capa-
cities of many of the other group members, who, by imitating
the professionals, developed the skills themselves and con-
tributed considerably to the resolution of the conflict.
Thus, many in the group, having listened and observed

Steven's demands on Obey and having compared them to the
"integrity" model had concluded that for a person to desire
special treatment and sympathy from another was to desire a
"custodial" relationship. Since Obey was not "giving in"
and treating Steven in a custodial manner, the conflict was
on a responsible course, they concluded, and as long as it
didn't become destructive they should best remain on the
sidelines. They should offer their observations as to what
was "realistic" when asked but basically permit the dispute
to continue.

While channeling the dispute onto "realistic"
grounds, the group could permit the dispute to run its
course rather than forcing a resolution upon the parties.

The commitment to "openness" is thus quite specific
since it is grounded in a particular concept of "good" rela-
tionships, the "integrity" model. It involves the inter-
personal management of tension between members (rather than
one taking the "custody" of the other), and the direct com-
munication of sentiments so they can be dealt with by the
parties involved. With tension and sentiments in the open,
the parties may make joint decisions as to the resolution of
issues, thus avoiding the manipulation or patronizing of
either of the parties. The openness of the dispute, if it
remains unsolved, then permits the resources of the Fellow-
ship to be utilized. The professional and lay skills are
then available to help assess the capabilities of the

disputants, to help the disputing process avoid either psycho-therapy or manipulation, and help the principals move toward a resolution appropriate to a collegial relationship. Certainly the length and the intensity of the dispute between Obey and Steven is not characteristic of the daily frictions which develop among the members which are usually of a comparatively minor nature. Rather, it illustrates the outer limit of the range which the group experiences and thus describes the potential threat to longevity. It also illustrates the potential resources the group can bring to bear on such a conflict. The dispersment of professional people throughout the Fellowship, the existence of the three small groups, the commitment to "openness" of sentiments and the interpersonal management of tension implied in the "integrity" model constitute the resources which, to date, have permitted resolutions of lasting quality. There appears little to suggest these resources would not continue to be available in the future.

The next section will describe the activities the Fellowship has structured to facilitate the commitment to openness to accomplish the group tasks and to articulate the members of the group.

The Facilities and the Round of Life

Several of the facilities of the Fellowship are influential in maintaining openness: two ecological

conditions: the proximity of dwellings and the coffee house;

and four meeting patterns: the member meetings, the common

meals, the work days, and the worship services. With the

exception of the worship (see Chapter III) these have not

been individually examined yet as to their influence on

"openness" and the articulation of the Fellowship. This will

be the task of this section.

Ecological Conditions

Proximity of Dwellings

U.P.F. acknowledges the influence of territoriality

upon the frequency and intensity of the relationships among

the members. Each member has committed himself to choosing

a "place to live" in relation to the other members.

In the "Way of Love," a short Fellowship pamphlet,

the group claims that the choice of a place to live focuses

on one of the most disturbing social phenomena of the times:

"the thoughtless mobility and ethnic rootlessness of vast

numbers of city dwellers." "Men come to the city in search

of jobs often without deep consideration of the effect of

the choice upon any other than their immediate family--like

vast ant heaps." The pamphlet also indicates the importance

of members living within "easy walking distance" of each

other:

> . . . scattered, as many of us are during the working
> day across the sprawling network of the city, we want
> to come home in the evening to a neighborhood where we
> are readily available to each other without climbing

into our cars and going half a city away. We want our children to know in their daily life the reality of a closely knit circle of families and friends.[3]

The Fellowship had succeeded in limiting the member dwellings to a two-block radius (Figure 1) until 1968 when the need for housing for new members overran the availability of nearby housing. They purchased the nearest available dwelling--a four flat apartment building on Elmwood Street, some three and one-half blocks away but still within easy walking distance. The Elmwood location has not created significant problems (this will be discussed more fully in Chapter VII) and the group has been able to continue the frequency and intensity of interaction required by the commitment to openness and group decision making.

Many of the eight dwellings are large enough to house two or three families in separate flats--providing ready access to one another, yet still offering the privacy of separate family quarters (see Figure 1). Several houses are directly adjoining or across an alley from each other providing for ease of contact between the families. These constitute an "across the back-fence" communication system which permits the high frequency and high selectivity of communication which personal relationships require. (The communication system will be discussed below.) In addition, seven out of eight dwellings are within a one block radius. This

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[3]"The Way of Love."

permits a high level of attendance at the weekly group
meetings, worship services, "work shop," Fellowship meals
and the coffee house.

In supporting the frequency and intensity of members'
relationships, the proximity is supporting "openness"
directly as well as indirectly by making possible a high
level of participation in the other events.

U.P.F. could possibly increase its geographical iden-
tity and density by abandoning the family as the basic unit
as some of the 19th Century groups attempted. However, this
would be expected to generate more difficulties from com-
peting loyalties than the possible benefits it might provide.
U.P.F. has apparently structured a sufficient proximity of
dwellings, given its urban location and its desire to protect
family identity and privacy, to support its life style. The
participation of its members in its programs continues at a
high level. Also the gossip among the members reveals as
many who want more group activities and commitment as who
want less activities and more privacy. A rough balance seems
to have been obtained between group life and family privacy
which would suggest an adequacy of proximity and geographical
identity to support the life and thus the longevity of the
Fellowship.

Clearly the group enjoys a marked advantage over
other urban voluntary associations such as churches whose
members may be scattered over a considerable geographical

area whereby face-to-face interaction is reduced to one or a
few times per week.

The Coffee House

The coffee house is an informal meeting place where
the members gather once or twice a week in the basement of
the house at 716 Urban Place. It began in an informal way
as did many of the facilities of U.P.F. Ellen Miracle had
been collecting antiques and instruments for several years as
a hobby and also learning "folk music." Occasionally she
would show the antiques, which were displayed in the basement,
to friends. On those occasions they often remained and con-
versed for hours. Some guests suggested that the atmosphere
of the Tiffany-inlaid tables and "coal-oil" lanterns was
conducive to conversation and the Miracles began to invite
members and friends down for coffee and conversation. Thus
the "Coffee House" eventually became a regular meeting place
for the Fellowship members on Friday and Sunday evenings.
The Fellowship later took the responsibility for hosting the
event, rotating the responsibilities among the three small
groups. The "hosts" for the evening purchase soft drinks,
coffee, and cake; show the guests to a table "as they arrive,"
introduce them to any visitors, and take their "order" for
food and beverage. With a small bit of encouragement, musi-
cally inclined guests are persuaded to play or sing. Also
some, like Dick and Ellen Miracle, have become quite pro-
ficient in the performance of folk music. Often Canaan

Wisdom accompanies them on the banjo, others on the guitar, tamborine and "git fiddle."

Several "underground" newspapers in the area have discovered the coffee house and regularly publicize its "free food, entertainment and conversation." This brings the Fellowship members into contact with a different segment of the city, the under thirty group ranging from young single executives to students and "hippies" from the two nearly universities. Occasionally one of the guests knows some of the members and is surprised to find a hospital or school official or teacher "waiting tables." He may pursue this into conversation concerning the structure of U.P.F. and of Christianity and its beliefs. The members respond openly to questions of faith and commitment. However, though they might be expected to proselytize or attempt to persuade such interested guests to their views, this behavior is noticeably missing. The members appear to feel that such persuasion would violate another's freedom to decide for himself. In addition, they feel confident that if one is interested, the style of life of the Fellowship will be more influential than any attempt to persuade him by argument.

Thus the coffee house became institutionalized as a regular feature of U.P.F., providing an informal setting for members to enjoy one another's company and those of guests, and actually a form of entertainment for the members.

Group Activities

Member Meetings and Decision Making

The term "corporate" decision making, which the group uses to describe its decision system, has three features: the radical commitment to God's will (norm), the consensus style (process), and the members' meeting (structure). The norm was considered previously (Chapter III) and is indicated here because it requires a particular decision process and structure.

One of the tasks of a high articulation communitarian group is the building of high member commitment. This involves a willingness on the part of the members to consider a wide scope of decisions to be within the range of questions considered and adjudicated in the context of the group. The norm of U.P.F., that of radical commitment, clearly fulfills this criterion. This has previously been described (Chapter III) as meaning a complete and total commitment to God's will in every area of life. This norm requires a unique process-- that of discovering or approximating God's will so it may be followed by the members.

The decision process may be described as a consensus process because it elicits the wisdom of all the members in investigating alternatives. It does not utilize either a monocratic authority figure nor a simple democratic majority vote to resolve issues. Rather it involves a consultation among all the members until a common understanding or

consensus is achieved. This is then understood as the best available approximation of "God's will." The members seldom feel as though a solution has been imposed upon them because they have been part of the consensus. Since a dissenting conviction of a single member represents the potential "will of God," the group must be committed to a careful hearing of such dissenting opinions. It also becomes important to postpone a decision in the face of a disagreement until either the minority or majority is persuaded of the wisdom of the others' opinions and a "consensus" is achieved. This is similar to the process used by some long-lived religious groups described by Noyes which would resolve crises by "awaiting and submitting all minds to the spirit of truth."

The above process may be distinguished from many socialist groups where the majority rule prevailed and the minority were expected to accede to the will of the majority. However, Noyes reported that some socialist groups did not even enjoy a common commitment to the majority rule and member self-interest prevailed instead. Consequently, when a dispute occurred for which there was no ready solution, one faction, believing their interests to be in jeopardy, seceded rather than capitulate—resolving the issue but weakening the group.

These processes of both the socialist groups and some religious groups, whether committed to consensus or majority rule, may be classed as "democratic" in lodging

decision power with the members. This may be compared to certain "authoritarian" religious groups. According to Noyes   these groups centralized decision power in one member who was considered to be a "medium" such as "Mother Ann," the leader of the "Shakers." The medium was believed to be led by an "afflatus" or spirit from God. Although the majority or a consensus may have arrived at a decision, the medium or manifestation of the common authority might have over-ruled them on the grounds that the individual will was subservient to the "Divine Will" as revealed through the medium.

In the sense that these religious utopias lodged the final power of decision with a medium, they could be char- acterized as "monocratic" in power as opposed to the more "democratic" style of U.P.F.

U.P.F.'s consensus rule, in effect, elevates each of the members to the level of a "medium," able to contribute to the discovery of "God's will" and requiring each to attend to the other members as intermediaries of the "ultimate" power, where each dissenting conviction potentially reflects "God's will" and therefore must be given serious attention. In addition, U.P.F.'s consensus rule minimizes the potential domination of a majority over a minority which cut short the lives of some of the socialist groups. The consensus rule, in protecting the members from domination from either majority or monocratic rule, permits a high level of trust by the

members in the decision process and a consequent high degree of investment of the members with one another, and with the group. This would be expected to contribute to longevity in a similarly effective way as the long-lived religious utopias which employed the consensus rule while alleviating the potential domination which the members of the authoritarian groups experienced. In addition, the high degree of member investment and trust in the group generated by the consensus rule should support member autonomy outside the group.

The group's pamphlet, "The Way of Love," reiterates these three dimensions of norm, process, and structure. It claims that the deepest personal relations are founded in the "involvement of men with one another" (the process) in a "search for God's will" (the norm). It pictures the struggle for integrity in human relationships as a "prelude to the search for the communal order (the structure) which "encompasses all dimensions of life."

The members cite various social influences in explaining the importance of their commitment to corporate decision making. They talk about a "personal isolation" of many city dwellers which demands that they must make many of their critical decisions "alone, unsupported and unchallenged by anyone else." They picture the growing network of institutional counseling services as a direct reflection of this isolation.

They claim that the decision making burden upon the

individual family creates either frustration or apathy and
consequent susceptability to changing mass opinion. They
point also to the breakdown of marriages in the nation's
cities as another consequences of this isolation in decision
making.

They take for their own decision-making model Jesus'
description of his family as "those who do the will of God,
they are my mother and my brothers." They note that Jesus
claimed that God would be present to give guidance "among
those who gather in his name." (Matthew 18:20) They desire
to support one another in a "closely knit community of fami-
lies" which they claim is a more adequate context than the
"solitary family."

Due to the corporate nature of both the group's con-
tinual search for God's will and its attempt to actualize
relationships of openness, a considerable burden and import-
ance is placed upon the decision structure. Since the mem-
bers' meeting is the central structure, its adequacy is
singularly important to the group.

The central <u>structure</u> of the decision process has
been noted as the "member meetings." Each of these sub-
groups has a weekly meeting for its members. Once a month
all the members meet in a monthly plenary meeting. At these
four meetings the decisions of the group are adjudicated and
the group's conflict management takes place. In effect, this
is a decentralized structure because the main decisions are

made in the sub-groups rather than the monthly plenary meetings. The background of this decentralization illustrates the evolution of this structure.

Originally the few families which comprised U.P.F. found a single weekly meeting adequate for their personal and corporate business when supplemented by their contacts across the "back fences" and at the common meals, worship service and coffee house. However, by 1968 the thirty-six adult members and twelve adult candidates were too many to sustain the openness and personal nature of the weekly meeting. The group, after much experimentation, evolved a decentralized form of "member meeting" which quickly established its value and became institutionalized. Three smaller groups were formed by people who resided around logical meeting places-- the "coffee house," the "house on Sherman Street," the "house on Monroe." The naming of each group by its location was also a natural and logical consequence. Each group met once a week and every month all three groups would meet at the original location on Urban Street to deal with concerns affecting the entire Fellowship.

One of the benefits from the decentralization was a diffusion of leadership. This was accomplished not only because the three original members, Victor Verity, Joshua Leaven and Canaan Wisdom, were split each into different groups, but also because none of the three accepted a formal leadership role (moderator) in their respective groups and

three younger men had to be selected.

However, the main benefit of the decentralization was the restoration of the feeling of personal contact which permitted the "openness" and also the communitarian decision making style to which the Fellowship was committed. With approximately fifteen members in each of the three groups, as compared to approximately forty-eight in the single meeting, the possibility for higher frequency and intensity of interaction which the group desired was restored.

Common Meals

The community holds a common meal once or twice a week. The "chores" of seating, serving and cooking for seventy-five adults and children are sizable jobs. The Fellowship, in attempt to spread the work, rotates the tasks among the families of the three members' meetings. The working members arrive home from work at various hours and are usually given the clean up tasks while the women who are home in the afternoon prepare the food. It is usually tasty although budget limitations dictate simple dishes.

Although the meals provide a convenient vehicle for meeting guests, the central function is to provide a time for members to visit with the members they have not seen during the preceding week. Also, it is probably not an accident that the common meal follows the Biblical precedent of Jesus relating to his disciples over the evening meal.

The "Work Day"

The work day accomplishes several benefits for the
Fellowship. It accomplishes needed repairs on the buildings
at low cost. Because the members do the work, it also gener-
ates social benefits; it reduces differential status,
increases the identification of the members with one another,
and reduces isolation.

The "work day" is held every other week, usually on a
Saturday since the majority of the members are available on
that day. During the last few years the "work days" have
been devoted to the refurbishing of recently purchased
dwellings to accommodate new members. Often the buildings
are in poor condition due to multiple residency. The city
council is usually pleased that U.P.F. has purchased the
property since they frequently convert it to single resi-
dency if space permits. However, it is not unusual for the
building to require new electrical wiring, painting and
plastering and occasionally new flooring, heating or
plumbing. The work had become so extensive of late that one
of the members, Donald Grant, resigned his "outside" job in
order to utilize his full time efforts in coordinating and
accomplishing repairs. In addition to the "work day" the
members frequently go to the current project on week nights
for an hour or two after the evening meal to paint or strip
wallpaper.

The common work not only conserves the funds of the Fellowship but provides a highly visible and cooperative enterprise through which the group can visualize its solidarity and achievement. It provides an arena where the professional and the unskilled must struggle together. The commonality of each to the "cause" is visible and the distinctions between them are diminished. Aside from Donald Grant, who is "in charge," the one who can "plumb a joist" or "sweat on a fitting" is the expert and the "leader" of the effort. Of less importance, the work also becomes another contact where communication takes place between members who have not had contact during the week. In addition, it is one of the more visible and explainable ways for the children of the members to understand the communitarian enterprise and to make a meaningful, if limited, contribution to it themselves. Occasionally a child who understands his father as somebody "important" in his job notes that he is "all thumbs" with a hammer and chooses to relate to another parent who has more skill and patience to share with him in that situation. The father is relieved of trying to be "all things" to his son and is usually grateful to share some of the responsibility of parenthood with another member. The child sees that the group effort helps relieve his parent of being all things: breadwinner, husband, carpenter and teacher of skills to his children, and notes this as one of the benefits of cooperative enterprise.

For the same reasons the common work is so visible for the children of the members, it is a natural place for guests to get the feel "of the Fellowship." The high visibility of the common task, the common rank of the members, the sense of group accomplishment and an ease of participation are benefits more available at work than almost any other group activity.

Finally, the work provides a latent benefit for the members, that of a relief or contrast from their weekly activities where considerable amounts of their efforts both in their vocation and in the Fellowship are directed toward other persons and may be the source of intense feelings. The work, however, is clearly goal-directed rather than person-directed. Also, many vocational problems are intangible and long range in nature such as how to affect change in the mental hospital, or how to design more effective ways for the youth to participate in U.P.F. In comparison, the work days provide short range, direct and tangible problems and often, because a group is working together, immediate, surprising and gratifying results. Thus the work day, besides the physical benefits to the group property and emotional benefits of intrinsically rewarding tasks, actually contributes to the social structure in three ways: the reduction of differential status among members, the identification of the members and the bridging of isolation among members. In increasing cohesion, these support longevity, and in decreasing isolation, they support articulation.

In comparison, the common labor of 19th Century groups resulted in both positive and negative consequences. The rural utopias experienced the advantage of the common visible enterprise and equalitarian structure as does U.P.F. However, the immediacy of the results at U.P.F. contrast with postponed benefits of agricultural yield. Also the avocational nature of the work at U.P.F. may be contrasted with the vocational position of agriculture as the sole source of support for the rural group. Errors in an avocational enterprise seem less disastrous. Thus U.P.F. enjoys a fairly relaxed atmosphere on its work days and more easily tolerates the errors of learning on the job of its less adept members, children and guests. Then the work itself may be seen by all as interesting, enjoyable and something of a challenge.

The vocational nature of the work of the rural groups made the penalty for inexperience and experimentation quite high and would have been expected to generate considerable anxiety. Also the work did not present the appeal of a contrast or relief from other required tasks, as does the common work in U.P.F., but rather constituted the task upon which the survival of the group depended. In addition, the U.P.F. members enjoy considerably greater vocational selection in the urban job market. Thus the avocational nature of the U.P.F. work may be counted as an advantage in that it avoids the possible anxious quality, limited opportunity and postponed benefits of an enterprise upon which the survival of

the group depends.

The common work at U.P.F. may be compared to the modern truncated family unit. The U.P.F. common work offers the advantages of higher specialization than such a unit. Those who know plumbing and carpentry at U.P.F. may direct the others and be teachers to the young apprentices. Others particularly versed in skills of child raising, finance balancing and automobile repairing are expected to become the authorities in those areas. This contrasts with the truncated family where husband and wife are expected to have obtained between them considerable skill in the manual arts, child discipline and learning, marital relationships and fiscal affairs. The failure in any of these areas may jeopardize the family stability and necessitate the consultation of an anonymous expert at considerable expense.

However, U.P.F. must pay a penalty for this specialization: that of a decreased overall articulation (as will be seen later in the chapter) which is caused by a horizontal differentiation among members. However the small size of U.P.F. permits face-to-face relations to prevail between the differentiated members. Thus a very small penalty in articulation is extracted as compared to a 1,000 member group such as New Harmony or a modern Kibbutz of similar size.

The Worship Service

The group worship service, it has been noted in

Chapter III, is the source of some of the normative content
for the group such as the justification for viewing the world
as important and worthy of the radical discipleship of the
members. In addition to this normative role, the worship has
a social function of reconfirming the common commitments and
efforts of the members. One of these is the commitment to
"openness." This is reconfirmed for the members by the fre-
quent retelling or dramatizing of the stories of Jesus--
especially those personal encounters which illustrate the
"authentic" nature of relationships.[4] The stories not only
confirm the rightness of radical commitments to others but
the commitment to "openness" among the members as well. They
also provide a model of authentic and person-centered rela-
tionships for the members both as they relate to one another
and as they interact with colleagues or clients in their
vocation.

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[4] One such story concerned the Gadarene Demoniac, a
youth of Gadaria said to have been possessed of demons. He
challenged the relevance of Jesus' message in a world where
profit was more important than people and hinted that his
insane behavior was due to his abuse at the hands of the
"establishment." Jesus replied that one single person was
more important than all the profit of the establishment and
drove a valuable herd of sheep to their death over a cliff
in demonstration of his disdain for the establishment and
concern for the boy. The boy responded, gave up his insane
behavior and followed Jesus. Mat. 8:28-34, Mk. 5:1-20,
Lk. 8:26-39. This interpretation is that of the late Dr.
Clarence Jorden of Koinonia Farm, Americas, Ga., and used at
U.P.F. for study purposes.

Institutionalization and the Round of Life

Each of these facilities, the member meetings, the
common meals, the "work days," the worship services, and the
development of a coffee house reveals a process of institu-
tionalization.[5] This process begins with a search for some
mechanism to satisfy a need such as for fellowship, for
repairs to buildings, for confirmation of common beliefs or
for recreation. Next the group experiments with various solu-
tions. Those which most adequately fulfill the needs become
regularized and those which do not work are discarded. This
is similar to the character of the planning for the worship
service (noted in Chapter III) where the relevance of the
service to the learning and commitment of the members deter-
mined the worship rather than traditional or liturgical pre-
cedent. The same planning process is observed in experi-
menting with other facilities.

The commitment to "openness" in personal relation-
ships provides the norm against which emerging structures
are measured. If the structures satisfy the needs and faci-
litate the quality of relationships to which the Fellowship
is committed ("the integrity model") they are retained.
This, in turn, generates the attitude in the members that
they are "in control" of their structures rather than the
structures being dictated from some previous tradition and

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[5]W. G. Sumner, Folkways (New York: Dover Press, 1906).

controlling the lives of the members. This reduces the
alienation between members and structures. It permits also
their identification with the structures and thus supports
group stability and longevity.

Consequently it may be said that the institutionali-
zation process itself has become subjected to the communi-
tarian norm and the integrity model of relationships. The
result is that not only do the members _feel_ that they control
their structures, but, to a considerable degree, they _do_
design their structures with the result that the structures
reflect the values of the group rather faithfully and gener-
ate a well-articulated round of life for the members.

This round of life may be contrasted to the highly
specialized nature of modern urban facilities. Entertainment
may be provided by a theatre, "worship" by a church, and
repairs by a plumbing establishment. Each facility provides
only the single service--that of entertainment or of "worship"
for an urban family unit. In contrast to this, the various
facilities of U.P.F., the worship, meals, coffee house, work,
and member meetings, generate overlapping activities for the
members and directly generate a high articulation or close
"fit" of the various activities with each other. For example,
a member and his wife during the course of a week will likely
go "next door" to a small members' meeting where they will
deal with matters of both a personal and a practical nature
in their lives and in those of the group. They will also

likely go to and from the meeting with several neighbors from
whom they might also solicit advice and help during the week.
They will later go to the home of another neighbor with their
children and some of the same friends and help with repairs.
The home in question will be jointly owned by all so the
repairs will benefit all. Another evening they will go down
the street with their children and neighbors for a group meal
and visit with other members of the Fellowship they may not
yet have encountered that week. After the meal they may help
clean up with some of the same members and then cross the
street to the coffee house to continue their conversations or
to visit with some guests while a son or daughter of one of
the members takes their children home to babysit. Finally on
Sunday morning they will go down the street with several
neighbors and their children to worship with all the members
and several guests. After sharing part of the worship with
the parents, the children will go with various other neigh-
bors for an educational period. The parents will focus on
the meaning of their life together throughout the week and
its responsibilities and difficulties. They may continue an
interesting discussion that afternoon over the back fence.
Monday morning the husband will leave his family and the
Fellowship milieu to travel to work. However, he likely will
go with several other members, either to the same employer
where they may share common problems, or to the same section
of town. They ride in a car owned by all. When they receive

their paycheck they will give it to a neighbor who later in the week will give them their allotment which is similarly difficult to "live on" for all.

In comparison to the 19th Century utopias, this overlapping of activities in the common round of life was not unusual. In fact, those groups were perhaps more intense than U.P.F. because they were usually isolated and the working members did not depart for an anonymous job milieu of low articulation. The penalty for this isolation would be expected to be a lowering of the individuation required for autonomy even though the articulation of isolated groups would be higher than U.P.F.[6]

A modern urban family's worship, work, entertainment and family life may each involve entirely different institutions, roles and people, none of which overlap with the other. The U.P.F. milieu, in comparison, may be said to constitute a highly overlapping round of life activities therefore providing a highly articulated environment to support the members' personal autonomy in their vocation.

The Social Structure: Status, Power and Division of Labor

This section will describe the division of labor and the status-power distribution of U.P.F. First it will

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[6]An exception to the high articulation of isolated utopias would be New Harmony, which, due to its size of 1,000 members, probably had a lower articulation than the smaller groups.

describe the communication channels. These give rise to four
status-power levels and a division of labor. These will each
be examined in turn. These yield a measure of the degree of
vertical and horizontal differentiation as well as an account
of those role positions which are in conflict or are isolated
from one another. Together these constitute complementary
measures of articulation which, when added to the economic
conflicts of the previous chapter, will provide rather com-
plete descriptions of the articulation of the Fellowship.

Communication Channels

Several communication channels or nets are in opera-
tion at U.P.F. These are as follows: an authority net,
information exchange nets, task expertise nets, friendship
nets, a status net and liaison nets.[7]

One communication network observed at U.P.F. is
comprised of friendship nets. These connect various clusters
of friends but particularly serve to carry messages to and
from some of the more peripheral members who are not as
actively involved in some of the other nets and thus to link
these members to the decision making nexus. But more impor-
tant, the friendship nets help generate personal knowledge
of the members about one another which facilitates decisions

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[7]Guetzkow's six types of communication channels are
sed here to examine the communication flow of the Fellowship.
arold Guetzkow, "Communications in Organizations," in
andbook of Organizations, J. G. March, ed. (Chicago: Rand
cNally & Co., 1965), pp. 534-574.
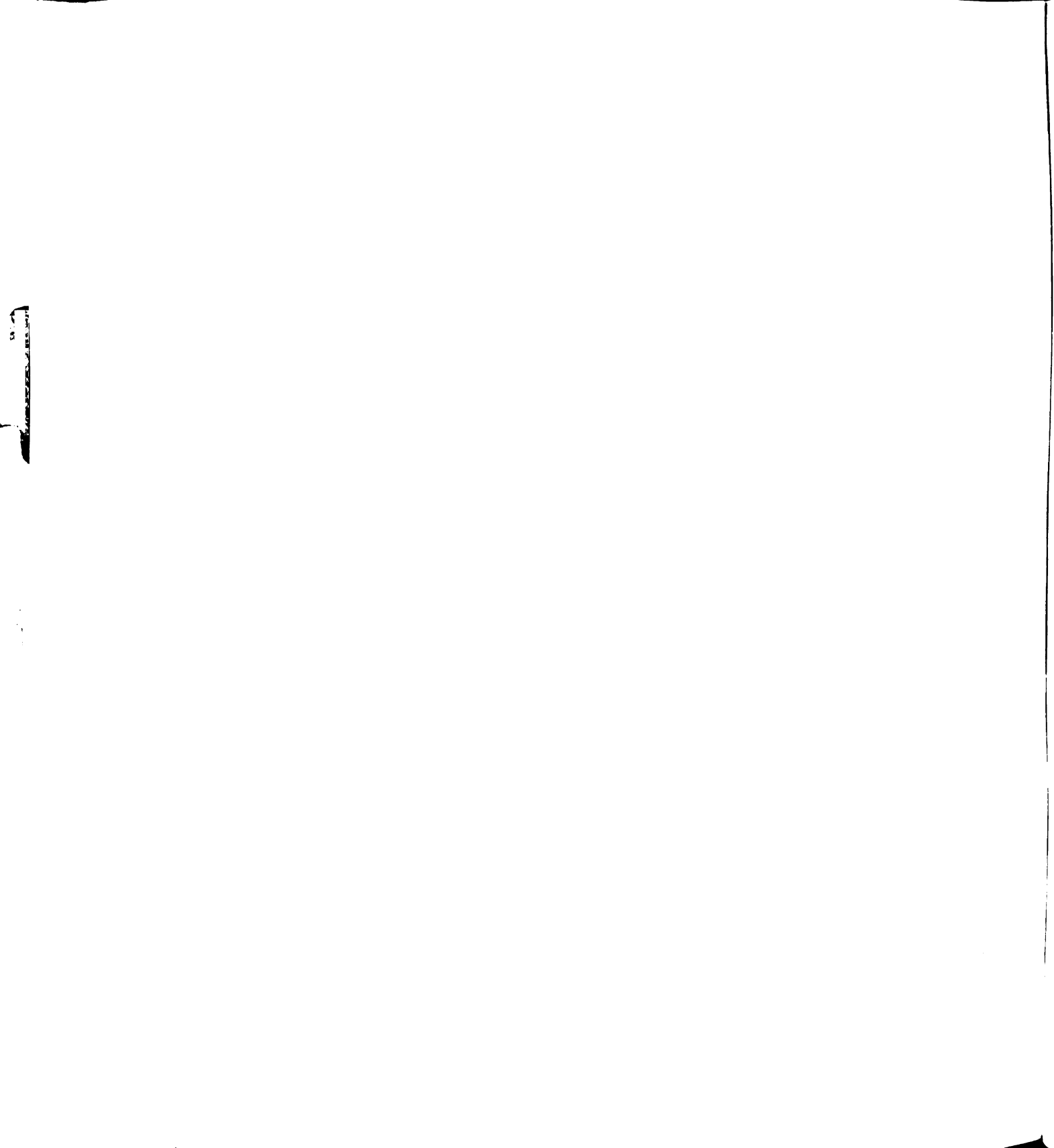
concerning individual members and their needs.

Similar to the friendship nets but reaching farther out to include outside social systems are the "liaison nets."[8] These are populated by "marginal men," who are constituents of both structures and thus serve in a liaison capacity.

Several channels serve the function of information exchange. They function to feed both relevant information and new problems of concern into the central decision making apparatus and into the task expertise nets as the information becomes necessary.

The task expertise nets consist of highly segmented and sporadic communications between members with special skills and tasks to accomplish. These provide special information or skill to either enlighten pending decisions or to carry out past decisions.

The authority net originates with several formal roles such as moderator, worship leader, and finance committee member. (These will be described in the status-power section.) This net is highly directional in that it carries group decisions out to particular members such as those who are absent from a meeting. It also carries information regarding compliance with directives back to the formal role incumbents. This function is not as vital as in

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[8]These are closely related to the systemic linkages listed in Chapter IV. Chapter IV was a system analysis. This focus is upon role and communication.

bureaucratic structures where a few administrators make decisions which must be disseminated to all the relevant personnel in the organization. The usual decision making situation at U.P.F. finds most of the members who are affected by a decision present at the meeting. Still U.P.F.'s authority net informs absentee members and carries supervisory and follow-up messages in the process of carrying out the decisions.

A final communication channel constitutes a status net. This net is associated with visible symbols which bestow distinction upon some members of the organization. As has been noted, the establishment of differential standing is contrary to the ideology of the Fellowship and the group had selected structures to block the formation of many symbols necessary to support such a net. However, status is accrued to the individual members by acts of service and leadership and by the offering of expert information. (The status structure will be described in the next section.)

The status nets function behind the scenes carrying information, plans and influence among the informal leaders and between the informal leaders and the members.

These six communication nets help support status-power and division of labor levels which may be described as four structural levels of influence. These are from lowest to highest: (1) the members, (2) the leaders who have "expert" knowledge to offer on specific tasks, (3) the formal leaders

who occupy defined positions in the influence structures,
(4) the informal leaders who derive their influence from
formal role positions and various status sources combined.

The six communication nets support the four influence
levels as follows: the friendship nets function primarily
on the member level. The laison nets function on all levels
but most clearly on the expert, formal and informal levels
since these marginal people who have valuable skills and
information are utilized most distinctly on these three
levels. The task expertise nets function primarily on the
expertise level (second level). The information nets support
all levels since all levels are engaged in decision making.
The authority net corresponds to the formal leader level
(third level). Finally the status nets support all levels
but most uniquely the informal leader level which is based
(as will be seen below) on formal roles and status combined.
Each influence level will now be examined in turn.

Influence Level #1--Members

The lowest denominator of influence is the status of
"member" which is accorded to all who commit themselves to
the disciplines of the group, as well as to "intentional
neighbors" and other candidates for membership. The division
of labor on this level with reference to ascribed character-
istics very nearly approximates that of middle class urban
society for two reasons: (1) the urban location of U.P.F.
generates a high level of cross boundary travel between the

group and the city, (2) the group protects the family unit by providing family dwellings and budget and in effect further encourages family "role sets" from middle class society. Thus the roles of husband/wife, father/mother, male/famale and adult/child/sibling are in evidence and are supported by resources much as in modern urban culture.

In regard to personality characteristics, however, some distinctions from middle class society are evident: cooperation is consistently honored over competition; the giving of "orders" as associated with "line" leadership is avoided for a leadership-by-example; the group-oriented person who might postpone his own comments so others could talk would be honored over one who needed to direct the attention of the group to himself or over "task-oriented" members who might override another's comments to "get the job done."

In addition to ascribed roles and personality differentiations, several divisions of labor exist on this lowest level which reflect simply the needs to accomplish different tasks. All of these reflect no higher level of skill and thus can be rotated among all the members. Consequently they carry little or no additional social honor except the appreciation which comes from accomplishing a task which benefits the entire group or from doing it particularly well. It is noteworthy that the equality concept dictates that all the members from highest to lowest status

share in the performance of these more menial jobs. Also,
one who performs the task poorly (below the informal norm of
performance) would correspondingly be subject to mild sanc-
tions in the form of suggestions by some of the other
members or a group moderator that they perform more adequately
in the future.

Some of these tasks are as follows: weekly cleaning
of the first floor of the central meeting building at 727
Urban Place (meeting room, kitchen and bathroom), hosting and
preparing the weekly community meals, and hosting and
cleaning up the "coffee house."

Influence Level #2--The Expert and Communitarian Authority

Several kinds of tasks performed at U.P.F. generate
needs for various skills among the members. Most of these
skills are not embodied in specific role positions but may
be contributed by anyone capable of doing the task as the
occasion arises. These may be identified as follows with the
most important first:

1. Theology skills and training are highest in
social honor because of the normative need of the group to
discover "God's will" for decision making, planning and
leading worship.

2. Individual "helping" skills reflect the "inte-
grity model" and involve helping an individual assess his own
progress of direction even though they may be offered in the

context of a group. These are: "listening" for problems,
helping the party identify problems and helping them identify
and select solutions in comparison to the "integrity model."

3. Group process skills consist of helping a group
accomplish its ends: setting an agenda, identifying problems
and solutions and selecting solutions; also helping the mem-
bers contribute to the group by "gatekeeping" and reflecting
group progress and processes so the group can periodically
assess its progress and redirect its efforts.

4. Organization skills involve gathering resources
of funds and people to meet group needs such as in estab-
lishing the coffee house.

5. Financial skills involve decisions such as pur-
chase of buildings and budgeting.

6. Handicraft skills are used for repairing the
group's dwellings and vehicles.

7. Music skills are used for worship and entertain-
ment.

Each of the members, as he utilizes these skills in
behalf of the Fellowship over a period of time, is accorded
a degree of social honor. The skills are not vested in a
fixed role but are elicited from the members according to a
variety of occasions. The group accords honor as the skills
become visibly employed. For example, the group process,
organization and financial skills are most obvious in the
decision making and tension management processes of the

member meetings. Handicraft skills are most evident in the
work days. The music and theology skills are most unique in
worship although members with theological training are
looked to for leadership in normative decisions as well.

This process of using "expert" or "collegial" influ-
ence has important implication for the group which can be
seen more clearly in comparison to bureaucratic practice.
In U.P.F. these skills are not vested in an organizational
role position or "office" in which is vested administrative
authority as in bureaucratic custom. Rather the group
elicits the various skills from its "experts" according to
the problem at hand. The experts then are granted a communi-
tarian authority or influence in the area of their competence
and corresponding social honor during the discussion of that
topic. After the issue is resolved the authority and the
honor may pass to others. Another distinction from bureau-
cratic practice is that the "expert" is not limited by formal
rules to a specified range of activities according to the job
description of an office. Rather the communitarian pattern
elicits his skill and grants him authority in every area in
which he has competence. As a consequence the communitarian
pattern offers no specific reference such as an "office" to
which social honor may be affixed. Rather the status
accorded by the group must be accorded to persons not offices.
It is also a fluctuating commodity, given first to one in
relation to one problem, then another for a different problem.

Both the rotating nature of the expert communitarian authority and the non-formal and flexible nature of the performance of the communitarian experts tends to retard the linking of status with a role position. Rather the social honor for performance becomes detached and flexible and diffused and reduced in intensity, in effect reducing the status distinctions between the members and thus the isolation.

Another factor which diffuses status and detaches it from role positions is the "common purse" with its corresponding facility "common property." The common purse, in equalizing the income of the members, removes one of the usual social mechanisms for supporting differential status, that of differential rewards. The common purse and common property remove the possibility of some members receiving a visible differential reward such as house, car or income.

Both the rotating nature of the expert authority and the lack of economic support for status distinctions effectively reduce possible status conflicts among the members. The expert authority reduces the competition for a single "office" or role position by diffusing it into a rotating expert authority. This creates a non-zero sum game or an expanding status base avoiding a direct conflict of interest although permitting an indirect and less damaging competition for expanding resources. In comparison the fixed number of "offices" in a bureaucratic organization creates a zero sum game and thus a direct competition among members for

limited resources. Also the lack of economic support for differential status reduces the intensity of any competition. The common property (dwellings and vehicles) removes these from the competitive sphere and the common purse removes all but a small amount of the budget funds from possible support of status.

Thus two strong supports for status differential are removed: fixed "offices" as location for status, and consumer goods to make status assignment visible. Consequently, members, to accumulate status, must continually merit it by expert performance. They must hope that others will remember until the next encounter and accumulate status in their minds for that member. The result is a diffusion of status assignment to many members, a reduction of the accumulation possibilities of status due to the temporary character of status assignments, and a reduction of status conflict among members.

The diffusion of status among many members and the difficulty of status accumulation reduce the status range (vertical differentiation) and thus the possible isolation between members. The reduction of isolation and of conflict of interest contributes to a high degree of vertical articulation. The rotating and flexible nature of the expertise division of labor reduces horizontal differentiation because all members are potentially capable of contributing to the current task rather than just those appointed to a particular "office." This reduces isolation on a horizontal plane and

contributes to horizontal articulation.

Influence Level #3--Formal Roles

This level consists of the few formal role positions which U.P.F. has found helpful. These center around the "member meeting" structure because it most needs the regularity offered by an "office." The most important "offices" are four "moderator" positions, one for each of three small groups and one moderator of the monthly member meeting.

The three small group moderators, as was noted in the previous section, were not selected from among the informal leaders so that power and influence would become more diffused among the members. Each moderator is granted a rather limited power to protect the power of the members. Specifically, the moderator is expected only to perform the usual duties associated with the term: convene the meeting, call for the minutes of the previous meeting, offer an agenda, help the meeting progress from item to item until the agenda is completed and call for adjournament of the meeting. Each action of the moderator is also subject to the will of the members and frequently the members themselves perform these functions informally. It is true that moderators can accumulate considerable power by default from apathetic members especially if they have considerable informal or charismatic power. However, it was noted in the previous section, that since the informal leaders did not accept moderator roles

when the decentralization occurred, those selected had little informal power to add to that limited influence of their position. Thus little use of inordinate power by the three moderators was observed and this fact plus the omission of any viable economic rewards or sign of power or status indicated that little more status was assigned to the three moderators as a result of that "office."

The same was not observed with regard to the moderator of the monthly meeting however. A meeting of fifty members requires considerably more external direction than one of ten members and this may best be provided by the moderator. Also status and power are associated with the size of the collectivity one directs and therefore the monthly moderator, presiding over the entire group rather than merely part, wields more power and is granted more status than the small group moderators.

In addition to the four moderators, several other formal roles are utilized at U.P.F. One of these is the "work supervisor," Donald Grant. Donald is considered to be the coordinator and "boss" of the "work day" activities and any other efforts to repair the Fellowship property. He is also the only member whose Fellowship role requires full time efforts. However, because the authority of the role is limited to a peripheral aspect of the life of the Fellowship, little differential status is accorded him in that role. One other formal role is evident at U.P.F., that of the

members of the three standing committees: the financial committee (discussed in Chapter IV); the coordinating committee which acts as a clearing house for scheduling, planning and publicizing of group activities; and the transportation committee which purchases, repairs and schedules the five Fellowship vehicles for maximum usage. These committee members have a limited authority to act in behalf of the group within defined boundaries. Their authority is only advisory and subject to confirmation by the Fellowship members. Also their office is not as visible as that of the four moderators and thus they are accorded only limited status, roughly comparable to the three small group moderators, more than the work supervisor, but less than the moderator of the monthly meeting.

Influence Level #4--Informal Leaders

A few informal leaders exist at U.P.F. who have accumulated influence from several sources but the unique dimension of the informal leader is his age and seniority with the group. Jessie Mission, before he left to start another group, had been, by virtue of his position as founder, the most influential member of U.P.F. In addition, he assumed the formal responsibilities of moderator of the single member meeting (before the decentralization) as well as enjoying nearly all of the skills and many of the personality traits for which status was accorded. Consequently, he employed considerably more influence than any other of the informal

leaders. Still this centralization of influence and status was limited by the common purse and its removal of differential rewards as well as by the commitment to the shared communitarian and expert authority. The group's commitment to the shared authority is witnessed to by the omission of even a title for the informal position which Jessie Mission enjoyed, such as "elder," "spokesman" or "leader." The only term used was "moderator" which reflects only the limited formal role in connection with the member meeting.

The decentralization into three member meetings, the appointment of new moderators from outside the ranks of the informal leaders, and the moving of the Mission family all generated a considerable diffusion of influence and status as was noted.

Victor Verity emerged as the new informal spokesman. He had been one of the few original members in the experiment although he had been a student and therefore younger at the time. He also enjoyed most of the skills afforded status by the group including that of theology, which appears to be the single mandatory skill required of the spokesman (due the centrality of the group's commitment to approximate and live by "God's will" for their lives). In addition, he embodied the personality characteristics valued by the group. Thus, he naturally took over the most important formal role, the moderator of the single monthly meeting, after Jessie departed. Because of this he apparently avoided the

moderatorship in the small group of which he was a member.

In addition, a coincidence caused a slight departure from usual housing practice and enhanced Victor's status as spokesman. The Verity family was "next-in-line" for the first house open because they required more room for their family. The next dwelling to be vacated was the Missions'. Thus Victor, who took the role of formal and informal leader of U.P.F. after Jessie left, appeared to move into Jessie's dwelling as a consequence of his new leadership status--a practice contrary to the concept of common property--giving Victor some apparent additional increment of status.

In fact, however, the house offered no benefits over those of the other members, and coupled with the formal and informal diffusion of power and status associated with the decentralization into three member groups, actually a con-siderable reduction in differentiation had occurred in the Fellowship as a result of the decentralization and also the Missions' departure.

The other informal leaders held their positions by virtue of combinations of age, seniority and useful skills. Also, most had responsibilities on one of the standing com-mittees in addition to their informal authority. However, their decisions to avoid filling the three newly created moderator roles themselves provided for the added diffusion which came from the selection of three new moderators.

The widest vertical differentiation is clearly

between Victor (whose status and power are combinations of the formal, informal, and skill status) and the few new members who have yet accrued only little power and status from the skill and personality traits which they bring. Victor's status is clearly ameliorated by the absence of any visible signs of status plus the considerable diffusion of influence into the three small groups.

Using a primitive culture such as Faunce's description of San Miquel as a comparison, the range of status-power between the village elder and the undistinguished peasant would be greater than that between Victor and a new member of U.P.F.—especially after the decentralization. This is primarily the result of the detachment of status and powers in U.P.F. from visible symbols but also due to the rotating nature of the communitarian expertise authority and the decentralization into three member groups. Since Faunce judges San Miguel to be of low vertical differentiation in comparison to industrial society, U.P.F. could clearly be said to be of low status and power differentiation also and thus of low isolation among the members in a vertical plane.

However, the horizontal specialization of U.P.F. is somewhat higher than the simple role specializations of parent, mate and farmer which Faunce noted in San Miguel. The range of skills observed in U.P.F. are considerably wider, from theology to finance. Still two factors ameliorate this. The first is the location of the skills in the

various actors rather than in fixed "offices." This gener-
ates the rotating authority structure which encourages each
member to contribute his talents to the area at hand--his
interpretation of a Bible passage or his understanding of
the process of the group at the moment. The second factor
which reduces the horizontal specialization is the "common
sense" character of the group's required skills. Rather
than a sophisticated or scientific area such as molecular
biology to which a "lay" member could contribute little, the
ethical and people-related tasks of U.P.F. call forth a
variety of lay skills. Many of the small group members were
observed to have mastered the "integrity model" of helping
relationships by imitating the professional members, and
many members had also a considerable grasp of theology in
scope and depth. Both the rotating authority and the common
sense skills encourage the members' skill contributions and
the lack of visible symbols associated with member skills
reduce the horizontal range considerably from what it appears
to be. These factors permit a description of U.P.F. as
having a low degree of horizontal differentiation in compari-
son with industrial society and thus a low degree of isola-
tion between the members.

One of the more visible consequences of the low
degree of member isolation and conflict and high articulation
is a relaxation of tension and anxiety in the members and in
their relationships with others. This relaxed atmosphere is

manifested in various ways such as the group's willingness
to postpone business for personal matters. This may be
illustrated by an incident involving two of the members,
Patricia Beacon and Victor Verity. They had just left an
'evening painting crew at the Elmwood property and were on
their way to a financial committee meeting on Urban Place
for which they were already late. Yet they still had time to
stop and discuss a personal problem with one of the members
for fifteen minutes. None of the committee members were
upset when they arrived twenty-five minutes late--they
explained what had happened and proceeded with the meeting.

Another observable consequence of the relaxed atmos-
phere is the members' willingness to wait for others. This
is illustrated by the members in a group meeting waiting in
silence for what seems an interminable period for another to
gather his thoughts or courage to express a "concern." Still
another reflection of the relaxed atmosphere is the ability
of the members to accept mistakes and shortcomings of others
without undue condemnation yet with appropriate admonishment.
Jacob Deed claimed the group's ability to accept shortcomings
was quite different from the group to which he had previously
belonged which roundly condemned mistakes. He claimed this
was because the U.P.F. people were not "uptight." Also
U.P.F. had less vocational anxiety, he observed, "money is
not the big concern in the job nor is rising to the top. The
question is whether you like the job and are doing something

valuable for someone else. So you don't have to sell your soul to the boss." Obey Grace claimed that anxiety was reduced in many of the members because they have resolved many of their problems with themselves and were able to relate in honest ways with others. Steven Bush acknowledged that he was much less anxious now than before he lived in U.P.F. because before he was "always concerned about himself." Obey also felt that the "consensus" style of leadership reduced anxiety. A group would remain and continue to explore an unresolved issue until all arrived at some common understanding. Occasionally the group would leave without having reached a decision, rather than make a choice which would do violence to a member's convictions.

Reba Ann Beacon, Patricia's sister-in-law, claimed that U.P.F. had a "fast pace of life but yet it was not anxious." "Some people have to regulate themselves because there are so many projects and relationships going on--you just cannot do everything--but it is not anxious activity." The willingness of the members to interrupt a task for personal concerns, their ability to wait for others, the relative acceptance of members' shortcomings in comparison to other groups, the reduction of job anxiety, all these appear to reflect the reductions of isolation and conflict among the members and the high articulation of the group.

U.P.F.'s high articulation is not unique, however. The advantage of relatively low vertical and horizontal

differentiation was shared by many of the religious and Owenite experiments. However, the Fourierist groups with their differential rewards would be expected to have supported a higher differential status structure and thus generated more competition and isolation among members.

Although U.P.F.'s low vertical and horizontal differentation is not an advantage unique to the utopian experiments, the combination of the low differentiation of a utopian group in the midst of an urban or highly differentiated location is a unique advantage and creates the unique possibility of both high member individuation as well as high member autonomy.

Summary

Articulation, according to Faunce, is a measure of the "fit" of the members together in a social dimension without isolation or conflict of interest. Communitarian groups must provide at least three things to fit their members together and accomplish their common tasks: <u>norms</u>, <u>facilities</u> and a <u>social structure</u>. However, according to Faunce, these three may create conflict of interest or isolate the members from one another as well as articulate them in the common enterprise. Therefore, each of the three was examined to note contributions as well as deterrents to articulation

U.P.F.'s central interaction <u>norms</u>, "openness" and "integrity," were comprised of such ingredients as interpersonal management of tension, direct communication of

sentiments, shared decision making and shared resolution of conflict. The openness permits the professional and lay skills of the group to be activated on behalf of the parties.

Also the degree of equal footing among the members structured by the integrity model and the commitment to openness was judged to permit a high degree of identification of the members with each other and thus reduce psychological isolation and increase articulation.

The facilities consisted of two ecological arrangements and five group activities. This ecological arrangement, the proximity of housing, supported the various group activities by increasing member meeting attendance as well as directly reducing member isolation by the nearness of housing. The other arrangement, the coffee house, bridged communication gaps and offered group recreational opportunities.

The five group activities each contributed to an articulated round of life for the members. The member meetings were the arena for the consensus type decision process and interpersonal conflict management. Also, the decentralization into three small member meetings helped preserve the personal nature of decision and conflict processes, reducing member isolation and increasing member solidarity.

The other facilities were as follows: the work day accomplished the group's maintenance and provided visible and immediate signs of group effectiveness. The worship

service reconfirmed the common group goals. In addition, all the facilities together directly increased articulation by generating an overlapping round of life for the members.

However, the accomplishment of these tasks required additional social structures: a division of labor and a status-power structure. According to Faunce, these can create high differentiation, isolation and conflict of interest reducing articulation.

U.P.F.'s division of labor was found to be characterized by a rotating job structure and a low horizontal differentiation which reduced isolation and conflict of interest. Only four status-power levels were found at U.P.F. and the significance of these was reduced by the common purse, housing and transportation which detached the symbols of differential status and power from the members.

U.P.F. was found to have an interaction norm and a round of life adequate to generate group cohesion, reduce member isolation and provide for the accomplishment of group tasks. These, in addition to the low differentiation, status-power and division of labor structures, generated a high articulation community system.

CHAPTER VII

SELECTION AND SOCIALIZATION OF MEMBERS

This chapter focuses on the problems of the
selection of candidates to populate and maintain U.P.F. and
their socialization into active and functioning relation-
ships with the group.

Socialization is the process by which a person takes
on new values, norms and attitudes normally associated with
an identified social group. Adult socialization may
include withdrawing an identity investment from other groups
and a reinvestment in the new groups as a source of identity.

Several methods are logically possible to select and
socialize candidates for membership to a high articulation
group: (a) the group could admit no new members from the
outside and focus solely on socializing and retaining its
second generation (modern Amish, Hutterites); (b) the group
could depend on selection of pre-conditioned candidates who
were socialized by an outside agency or training institution
(such as a theological seminary); (c) the group could employ
selective recruitment of previously untrained outside candi-
dates and employ its own group socialization process to fit
them for membership; (d) the group could admit anyone who
desired to join and depend solely on a socialization process

to train members.

U.P.F.'s present membership procedure is comprised
of both (b) and (c) above. It recruits some pre-conditioned
candidates from a church college and seminary and from other
religious communitarian groups. It employs selective
recruitment and utilizes its own group socialization process
with previously untrained candidates.

This socialization procedure is comprised of three
phases: an initial contact phase, an intermediate phase
called an "intentional neighbor relationship," and a full
membership phase.

The initial contact phase employs the group's
various communication nets to promulgate information and
also uses the group's entire round-of-life to expose
visitors to the values of the group.

The intermediate phase is characterized by the can-
didate's moving to the neighborhood, participating in a mem-
bership class and in as many of the dimensions of the group
life as he desires. This phase provides sufficient time for
socialization, freedom from premature group expectations for
candidate conformity, and a potential for either the candi-
date or the group to reverse the process and begin disengage-
ment if desired.

After a discussion of the historical process which
preceded the development of the present mode, the three
membership phases will be examined. Finally these will be

compared to the membership processes of the 19th Century groups and then analyzed as to their adequacy to support the group.

The History of the Membership Process

In the early days of U.P.F. the group was dependent on the Scripturite mission board. The board financially assisted U.P.F. and U.P.F. in turn was to train "suitable" mission candidates for the board. They anticipated that the board would be able to evaluate candidates sufficiently to permit an accurate appraisal of their potential "fit" with U.P.F. and to describe the Fellowship well enough to the candidates so they could make an accurate choice of assignments to U.P.F. or to some other "mission project."

Neither assumption proved accurate. As has been noted in Chapter III, many of the recruits from the board were either ill-equipped for group living or they did not actually desire such an enterprise when they discovered what U.P.F. was. A candidate was forced to make a decision on inadequate information, "pack his belongings and head for the Fellowship." The members of the Fellowship were equally uncomfortable in "finding new members on the front porch when they woke up in the morning." Moreover, there was no middle ground once a recruit had arrived and turning back was admitting defeat for both the candidate and the Fellowship.

Largely because of these disadvantages, U.P.F., after two or three years, decided to end its relationships with the mission board. Because the cushion on income over expenses had permitted the Fellowship to nearly repay all the funds they had been advanced from the mission board, the group was able to sever the tie "in good conscience."

The difficulty caused the members to confront the problems of selection and socialization and they began to design facilities which would more adequately acquaint candidates with the group's life and beliefs and begin building mutual relationships and common understandings. The aim was to provide candidates and members alike with data on which to base a choice of membership.

The Three Phase Membership Process

The Initial Contact

The initial contact phase involves two parts--the dissemination of information about the group to interested persons and the reception of these persons as visitors at the Fellowship.

Five sources, most of them informal, personal contacts, act as channels through which the promulgation of information about U.P.F. to others who may be interested in such a group takes place: (a) through an "underground" communications net which links together various religious experiments through friends and letters, (b) through the U.P.F.

members who teach at the Scripturite Seminary and college, (c) through those members who are invited by churches to preach or lead conferences, (d) through members' contacts with colleagues in their employment, and (e) through various associations in the neighborhood in which they hold memberships.

In addition to these personal contacts, two formal sources disseminate information: the mission board continues to acquaint members of the denomination interested in discipleship choices with information of U.P.F.; the local underground newspaper alerts the "under 30" group to the benefits of the "coffee house."

The predominance of the denominational sources, the seminary, the local churches and the mission board, is reflected in the fact that nearly one-third of the members are of Scripturite background although this is probably less significant than the exposure of these members to the Anabaptist heritage through the denomination's colleges and institutions. The fact that two-thirds of the membership comes from a wide spectrum of "peace churches," main line protestant denominations and Roman Catholic groups suggests the common element in the spectrum. It is the acknowledgment of a need for a group structured around a "radical discipleship" rather than more narrow denominational tenets.

The second dimension to the initial contact phase takes place when interested persons visit the Fellowship.

The several sources of information and initial contact
generate 200 to 300 visitors a year to U.P.F. These come
individually or in groups such as a dozen youth from a
church in a nearby state. The visitors frequently come on a
weekend and can experience several of the group activities
in a short time, such as the work day, the community meal,
the coffee house and the worship service.

The normal practice of the Fellowship members
sharing tasks also works to the advantage of the visitors.
Each visitor in a group is housed with a different family
and boarded with still different families. This practice
spreads the hosting responsibilities over many families and
the guests can become acquainted with many of the members as
well as receiving several members' views on the functioning
of the Fellowship. The group even provides additional allot-
ments to the member families to cover the additional burden
of guests' food costs, thus eliminating a possible conflict
of interest between hosts and guests.

For many of the more serious guests and those who
stay longer than a day or two, this period of uncommitted
investigation involves what Merton calls "anticipatory
socialization."[1] The visitors discover something of the
commitment to "radical discipleship" and its Anabaptist

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[1]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social
Structure, Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: The
Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 265 ff.

heritage, the commitment to "openness" and the "integrity" model which it presupposes, and the communitarian norm with its common purse and decision making. The visitors begin to measure themselves against these values and against the style of life. Some who have begun to experience, as Merton describes it, a deterioration of social relations with the groups in which they are members, may begin to identify with the values and structures of U.P.F. Thus the process is one of anticipatory socialization, or the identification of visitors with U.P.F.

The Intermediate Phase

The intermediate membership phase has two mechanisms, a membership class and an intentional neighbor relationship. Each will now be examined in turn.

The Membership Class

"Candidates" for membership are expected to attend a membership class called a "Sermon on the Mount." The emphasis of the class when it was led by Jessie Mission was one of self-examination. One of the teaching aids used in the class will illustrate the character of the meetings. The tool is a set of nine questions for "self-examination" based on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-16). The questions attempt to relate each candidate's style of life to the style of life Jesus was describing for his disciples. The Biblical admonitions are translated to bring them up to date

in relation to the inquirers: "Blessed are those who know they are poor" is interpreted to mean those who have an "accurate knowledge of themselves rather than to have exaggerated notions of their status." "Blessed are those whose hearts are pure" is explained as calling for the integrity of outward behavior with inward feelings--rather than the hypocritical wearing of a "mask" which hides one's real feelings and attitudes from others. These interpretations may be seen as reflections of the integrity model of relationships which generally serves as the norm for the Biblical interpretations offered by the Fellowship.

To facilitate the candidates' self-examinations, Jessie usually gave the candidates the questions the week prior to the meeting with directions for each to write down his observations regarding his own standing in relation to Jesus' claims. At the meeting each one in turn, including Jessie, was invited to share his reflections. These confessions were attended with some embarrassment. Some had disclosed things usually hidden because they had been associated with feelings of shame. They found, to their comfort, little condemnation but rather empathy, because all, including the moderator, had fallen equally short of Jesus' admonitions.

Several benefits are afforded by the classes in the eight or ten weeks in which they meet. The examination of the Biblical passages acquaints the candidates with the

integrity model as the norm of relationships. This begins to give meaning to the commitment to "openness." The self-examination causes the candidates to measure themselves against the structure of the group, examining their under-standing of themselves, their characteristic relations with others, their central values, and their ability to enter the disciplines of the group such as the common purse and the "corporate decision making."

The acknowledgment by each member of his own posi-tion in relation to these values begins to bring into harmony for each his public and his private understanding of himself. Also it generates for the candidates an experience of the direct communications of sentiments and interpersonal tension management implied in the commitment to openness. This style of confession and confrontation is characteristic of the life together of the members, and the Fellowship anticipates that those in the intermediate phase are serious enough about their investigation to participate in this level of personal interaction.

The Intentional Neighbor Relationship

For some visitors the progressive deterioriation of the social relations in their existing groups continues and the identification with U.P.F. continues, supported by peri-odic visits and correspondence with the Fellowship. For some of these, in spite of a growing identification with the

Fellowship, there remains some doubt as to their ability to "fit" into the round-of-life or to make such a "complete commitment to God and to others." These may become intentional neighbors. These families move to the neighborhood, either in their own housing or in Fellowship housing. Thus they are neighbors of the Fellowship by design—not by accident—thus the name intentional neighbors. They obtain employment in Brawn and are, in effect, independent of the Fellowship. They are encouraged to participate in "every aspect of the Fellowship which they feel is right for them at the time."

The intentional neighbor procedure generates important benefits for the membership process in two areas: economic and social. The economic benefit is a marginal position for the "neighbor." The social benefit is an elongated anticipatory socialization process. Now each will be examined in turn.

The possibility for the marginal position of the candidate is created by his independent employment in the city and separate housing in the neighborhood. This eliminates two areas of potential conflict of interest with the Fellowship by which a candidate could create a burden: income and housing. Thus the candidate is economically independent of the Fellowship and marginal to it.

Also the Fellowship is independent from the candidate. Unlike some 19th Century groups where members were hastily recruited to increase agricultural productivity, the

linear relationship that U.P.F. enjoys between income and expenditures permits them to move slowly on membership. It is no more financially precarious for two families than for twenty as long as each family brings income into the group. Each new family virtually pays for itself, especially since each is committed to the welfare standard.

This is considerably different from the plight of some of the 19th Century groups who needed more members to increase the agricultural yield. These new members were sometimes hastily recruited with misleading and glowing promises. Also the presence of additional members served to split the present yield additional ways, decreasing the standard of living still further below the expectations of the members. Thus the hasty recruitment inevitably added social to economic problems.

In comparison, U.P.F. can "pass on" its own economic stability to its candidate through the intentional neighbor mechanism where the maximum flexibility and freedom from pressure is permitted the slow-moving inquirer. The candidate, in an isolated rural setting, had little choice but to join the group for he was as dependent upon them for both housing and employment as they were in need of him. There appeared to be no middle ground. U.P.F.'s unique urban location permits a candidate's housing and income both to be independent of the Fellowship and this offers the flexibility of both time and direction to the candidates. The candidates

are free to participate in as much of the life of the group
as they desire. They can reverse direction and stop their
participation in several of the activities or even cease all
association with the group if they choose, in which case
they can remain as a neighbor with little disruption to
either party economically.

The second benefit from the intentional neighbor rela-
tionship is a continuation of the anticipatory socialization
process which was begun in the initial contact and visiting
stage of an inquirer's relation with the group.

During this stage, as has been noted, the candidate
experiences a cumulative deterioration of the social rela-
tions in his old member-groups. In becoming less identified
with their norms and values, he fulfills less of their
expectations and receives fewer positive self-evaluations
from the members which in turn causes him to withdraw further
his self-investment in these groups--a cumulative process.

If the values and expectations of U.P.F. are within
his fulfillment, that is, that membership is open to him, he
is capable of fulfilling the norms and values of that group
and their values are harmonious with his own or those of his
"significant others," then he may begin to self-invest in
those new values. The increasing realignment of his self-
esteem structure generates a condition which Faunce describes
as "alienation" with respect to his old member groups. The
actor has different self-esteem criteria than the esteem

assignment criteria of the old group.[2]

The anticipatory situation provided by the inten-
tional neighbors status, in effect, makes it possible for
the candidate to experiment or "try-on-for-size" the new
values with little threat of negative evaluation of him by
the group. This is because the situation is defined as one
of testing--the learner is not expected to be able to ful-
fill the new esteem assignment criteria but rather to
measure himself against it so he and the group will come to
know if the group's value structure and his are potentially
harmonious.

This testing process afforded by the intentional
neighbor relation is considerably more important in the rela-
tionship of a candidate to a group with high articulation,
such as U.P.F., than in relating to a less articulated group
such as a church or a business organization. A business or
church would be expected to comprise only one role or iden-
tity unit of an actor's entire identity structure which
would include a wide range of roles. His self-esteem would
be generated by the accumulation of the evaluation he
received in each of these various roles. Since they are of
low articulation or overlapping with one another, he is
forced to maintain some conformity to each of them to

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[2]William A. Faunce, Problems of an Industrial
Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 94 ff.

maintain his self-esteem. The withdrawal from any one of
these is usually accompanied by its replacement with another
role investment. One may take a less active role in the
church and a more active role in the country club--and con-
sequently receive a higher esteem from one to offset the
loss of the other. This is a frequent occurrence in modern
society and causes few disruptions of the self-identity
system.

A growing identification with a highly articulated
group such as U.P.F. involves, by its nature, the increasing
investment in an integrated and comprehensive series of role
identities. This may potentially generate a significant
disruption and realignment of the candidate's identity
structure so that for some it could be called acquiring a
new identity. For example, the commitment of the group to
radical discipleship requires the "search for God's will" in
every area of life. One is to see his employment, his old
associations and friends, and his hobbies and pleasures, all
as avenues for discipleship. The commitment to "openness"
involves a new norm by which to measure and pattern all per-
sonal relationships. The common purse and the "welfare"
budget require a new orientation to consumption and to one's
identity in relation to the goods he purchases.

The rural experiments, as highly articulated as
U.P.F., had similar need of mechanisms to permit such a com-
prehensive self-investment of their candidates. A lack of

such mechanisms was a significant cause of the inability of
the socialist groups to build sufficient commitment in their
members and the religious groups to obtain recruits from
outside their own narrow religious boundaries. "Trial mem-
bership," occasionally used by the socialist groups and
frequently by religious groups, was not entirely adequate
because it made the member dependent on the group for not
only housing and employment but for esteem as well. The
isolation of the rural utopias created nearly a total break
between the member and his previous identity and esteem
sources rather than permitting the member to withdraw from
the various sources at his own rate. It placed him in
dependence upon the new group for nearly all his esteem main-
tenance. Thus, even though the period was defined as a
trial period by the members so candidate errors were more
easily overlooked, still, errors for the candidates were
of comprehensive significance because he was cut off from
other sources of esteem. Thus, the safety, flexibility and
the candidate-determined rate of socialization were unavail-
able to the rural candidate. Consequently, many socialist
groups failed from lack of internal cohesion and many reli-
gious groups received few outsiders to regenerate them and
offset member attrition. The religious groups were forced
to institute restrictions upon their members: cross boundary
control, insulation from the outer world, sacrifices of
parent-child or mate separation, or member mortification by

confession and group criticism. These were attempts to
create and maintain dependence of the members and of the
children upon the group. They were necessary because no
adequate membership apparatus was discovered to permit can-
didates' gradual withdrawal and reinvestment under the
isolated conditions. Thus the intentional neighbor device
appears to be unique in permitting a gradual anticipatory
socialization process to be sustained for considerable
periods of time, permitting flexibility of direction and
rate for both the candidate and the group, and providing
adequate selection and socialization of candidates to sus-
tain the Fellowship.

The Full Membership Phase

The previous chapters have described the life of the
Fellowship and this is, in effect, a description of the life
style of the full member. However, it may be briefly sum-
marized by reference to four "areas of commitment" which the
members describe to the candidates: (1) a place to live
(physical proximity), (2) economic life (the common purse),
(3) personal relationship (openness), and (4) decision
making (corporate-consensus).

These are approached in stages by the candidates as
has been noted. The intentional neighbor relationship
involves, by its nature, the physical proximity of housing.
The candidates are introduced to the styles of openness and

consensus decision making during the membership class.
Eventually the other members of the Fellowship feel comfort-
able enough to continue this level of interaction with the
candidates in other encounters, such as the member meetings.
These later discussions may involve some barrier the candi-
date is experiencing with respect to complete participation
in U.P.F. Sharing in the common purse is a typical diffi-
culty for those whose income or wealth is greater than the
average level. In effect, these have to "come down" to the
group standard of living. The consequence of such discus-
sions is that the inquirer discovers how important money is
in his life. Should he discover it to be of considerable
importance, he invariably has a more difficult task of ele-
vating others in his values and decreasing the importance of
the economic life. This type of realignment of values may
be experienced in relation to every aspect of the Fellowship.
Finally, the candidate and the group together assess the
realignment to be complete as noted by his participation in
each of the four areas. This is simply acknowledged and
announced and the candidate is thereafter considered as a
full member.

Chapter Summary

The chapter focused on the problem of the selection
and socialization of candidates for membership in U.P.F.
Four general ways were noted for high articulation groups to

accomplish these tasks, (a) admit no new members but only its own second generation, (b) recruit preconditioned candidates, (c) employ selective recruitment and socialization, (d) admit anyone.

The current membership procedure of U.P.F. was described as a combination of (b) and (c)--recruiting some preconditioned candidates and a selective recruitment and socialization process for untrained candidates.

These processes were described as having three phases: an initial, an intermediate and a full membership phase. The initial contact phase employed the various communication nets of the Fellowship and its members to promulgate information. It also used the entire round-of-life to expose visitors to the values of the group. The anticipatory socialization process was invoked to explain the effectiveness of this visitor stage.

The intermediate phase, called the "intentional neighbor" phase, was characterized by candidates moving to the neighborhood, participating in a membership class and in as many of the dimensions of the group life as they desired. The benefits of this were twofold. The first was a marginal and independent economic position by which the candidate was independent of the group and the group independent of the candidate. The second was an elongated anticipatory socialization process by which the candidate could withdraw his identity in existing groups and reinvest in the Fellowship.

Thus the intermediate stage permitted freedom from premature group expectations for conformity, permitted an elongated socialization process, and permitted either the group or the candidate to reverse the process and begin disengaging.

In comparison, the isolated 19th Century experiments made a candidate immediately dependent on the group and did not permit sufficient time and safety for the candidate to withdraw his identity investment from other groups and reinvest in the experiment. Thus the religious groups erected boundary controls and other restrictive measures to maintain the commitment of the "insiders" since they could not replenish their manpower needs with outsiders. The socialist groups, without adequate commitment mechanisms for their members or adequate socialization measures for "outsiders," quickly failed. U.P.F., forced to draw from "outsiders" for most of its manpower needs, had to develop a system to select and socialize "outsiders." The system was judged to be adequate to insure the commitment of outsiders to the group, thus, in effect, eliminating the second generation problem and supporting the continuity of the group.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of the Group's Structure

The variables derived from utopian literature and Loomis' Social System Model differentiated the successful from the short-lived 19th Century experiments. These variables (Table 1) will be used to summarize the findings:

(1) Philosophy and Goals: U.P.F.'s members share a common conception of the group both as a means to the end of "radical Christian discipleship" and as an end in itself expressed in relationships of "openness" among the members. These beliefs originated from a common heritage, the Anabaptist Vision, and are a positive support for the community. In addition, the content of both the norms (the group as the source of "God's will," and the group as an end in itself) generated high member investment in the group and in one another--positive contributions to group solidarity and longevity.

(2) Systemic Linkage and Boundary Maintenance: The analysis of U.P.F.'s systemic linkages with outside groups revealed relationships with three types of outside systems: non-sanction, modified sanction and sanction. The non-sanction links have no economic sanction power (links with churches,

other communitarian groups, with a seminary and with the neighborhood). The modified sanction links have some sanction power over individual members (various governmental agencies, employing institutions). The sanction links have sufficient sanction power to terminate the existence of the group (a denominational mission board and a local bank).

However, the analysis of U.P.F.'s economic support system showed how the employee status of members plus the commitment to the welfare level standard of living generated a "cushion" of income over expenses. This was comparable to the financial security of some of the older well-established religious groups. While it did not eliminate potential fatal conflicts of interest with sponsors, it did minimize them.

(3) Income Allocation: U.P.F.'s economic distribution system, the common purse, in conjunction with the income "cushion," effectively minimized economic conflicts among members as well as between the members and three classes of outside groups: mission recipients, absentee sponsors and vocational colleagues. The reduction of member economic conflicts permitted the benefits of "cooperation" which the socialisms attempted to achieve and often failed. Those groups consequently suffered losses in group stability and longevity which U.P.F. appeared to avoid.

(4) Articulation of the Community System: U.P.F.'s interaction norm of openness called forth mutual member respect, shared tension management and direct communication

of sentiments. These generated a high degree of member iden-
tification with each other, reduced isolation and increased
articulation. The group's <u>facilities</u>, the proximity of
housing, coffee house, worship services, common meals and
work day generated an articulated round-of-life and also pro-
vided the means of accomplishing necessary tasks. A final
facility was the decentralized member meeting and consensus
decision process.

The "consensus" process, by which the members of
U.P.F. attended to one another as potential carriers of
"God's will," generated a high member solidarity and mini-
mized the possibility of the faction split-offs which crip-
pled some of the rural socialisms. The decentralized deci-
sion nexus increased the possibilities for the normative
relationships of "openness" to which the members were com-
mitted as well as to increase the high degree of members'
participation in decision making, and thus it contributed to
articulation. The social structure was of low vertical and
horizontal differentiation avoiding a reduction of articula-
tion. Member conflicts of interest over power and status
were also minimized by a system of rotating expertise
authority, a decentralized influence structure and a common
ownership of property which cut off members with differen-
tial influence from acquiring the visible symbols of status
and power. In addition to the minimization of the negative
factor of social conflict, the social structure provided

adequate positive articulation.

(5) Selection and Socialization of Members: The group's membership process was comprised of three phases. The initial contact phase employed the various member contacts to disseminate information about the group and its round-of-life to acquaint visitors with the group. The intermediate phase was comprised of a membership class and an intentional neighbor relationship. This "neighbor" relationship permitted the advantages of a marginal economic position, freedom from premature group pressure for candidate conformity, and an elongated "anticipatory socialization" process for candidates. These advantages were unavailable to the isolated rural utopias. Together these served the comprehensive membership process required by a highly articulated group such as U.P.F. They promised to fulfill the manpower and commitment requirements for group longevity.

In each of the variables, U.P.F. had adopted similarly effective practices as the religious groups or avoided dangers which had plagued the socialisms. This permitted U.P.F.'s longevity potential to be judged as similarly high as the long-lived religious groups. Thus, it would appear that such a high articulation urban group as U.P.F. is potentially viable and long-lived.

Summary of the Group's Impact Upon Autonomy

The study defined autonomy as the ability of an actor to consider an action which he anticipated would

receive a negative evaluation by his vocational group members thus challenging a dimension of his self-esteem. The literature revealed that two conditions supported actor autonomy. The first was the exposure to a highly differentiated social structure which served to individuate a self system as distinct from a village or collectivity of which the person was a member. This permitted him to conceive of alternatives to conformity--a requisite to autonomy. The second autonomy variable was the actor's location in a highly articulated social structure. This structure supported him against challenges to his self-esteem in other social structures such as those in which he might attempt to exercise vocational autonomy. The same variables which were utilized in discussing community viability also revealed aspects of U.P.F. which contributed directly as well as theoretically to autonomy. High group articulation in U.P.F. would be expected to be maintained by low degrees of vertical and horizontal differentiation, a low degree of conflict and isolation in the group, and a highly articulated round-of-life.

(1) Philosophy and Goals: The existence of a common philosophy and goal directly supports high group articulation. Also the content of the goal itself, the commitment to "radical Christian discipleship to others," provided a direct impulse toward responsible vocational performance and autonomy.

(2) Systemic Linkage and Boundary Maintenance: The analysis of U.P.F.'s systemic linkages and the economic support system revealed two positive factors regarding member autonomy; the existence of the "cushion" of group income over expenses directly encouraged autonomous member behavior, that is, potential loss of income of a member due to the exercise of vocational autonomy was insulated against. The existence of systemic links between U.P.F. and several outside collectivities (denominational seminary and colleges and several contemporary communitarian groups) was seen as supporting the belief and goal system of U.P.F. and thus increasing group articulation. The links with employing institutions and neighborhood groups and the high amount of member cross-boundary movement with these agencies were seen as providing a highly differentiated social structure. This was necessary to maintain the members' conceptions of alternatives to vocational conformity.

(3) Income Allocation: Member conflicts of interest were one of two factors which the literature claimed reduced group articulation. U.P.F.'s income distribution and production systems were found to effectively minimize economic conflicts among members and thus avoid a potential reduction in group articulation.

(4) Articulation of the Community System: The groups interaction norm of openness and the mutual member respect it generated, high member identification, reduced

isolation and directly increased articulation. The <u>facilities</u> generated an articulated round-of-life. One of these, the concensus decision process with the decentralized small group decision structure, was particularly important in reducing isolation and status differentiation--two factors which reduce articulation. In addition, the rotating expertise authority, the newly decentralized influence structure and the common ownership of property minimized member conflicts of interest over power and status, another factor which reduces group articulation.

The analysis of the social structure also revealed that the rotating expertise authority generated a low degree of horizontal differentiation. Also, the detachment of the few formal and informal roles from acquisition of visible influence symbols provided a relatively low vertical differentiation. When the vertical and horizontal differentiation of U.P.F. were compared to the known low differentiation of a primitive non-industrial village, they were found to be correspondingly low. The adequacy of the common norms, round-of-life, and facilities permitted a judgement of both actual and structural adequacy to avoid member isolation. The low degree of conflict and isolation and the low vertical and horizontal differentiation generated a positive judgement of high group articulation in comparison to industrial society.

(5) The Selection and Socialization of Members: The

three phase membership process was comprised of an initial contact phase, an intermediate phase and a full member phase. These were adequate to select and socialize new members to the highly articulated life style of the group. One of the intermediate phase mechanisms was the intentional neighbor relationship. This offered the candidate a marginal economic position--freedom from premature group pressure for candidate conformity and an elongated "anticipatory socialization" process.

With the adequate three phase process U.P.F. avoided the development of higher differentiation, conflict of interest and isolation which reduced the articulation of many of the 19th Century socialisms following their inadequate membership practices.

The theoretical determination of high articulation in U.P.F. could be stated as follows: the low degrees of vertical and horizontal differentiation and the minimization of structural isolation and conflicts of interest permitted a theoretical claim of high group articulation. This determination was strengthened by several directly observable supports of high articulation, the existence of the common goals, supported by the several systemic linkages, the highly overlapping round-of-life and the comprehensive decision making scope. The comparison of U.P.F. to the known high articulation of a primitive pre-industrial society strengthened the theoretical claim. Thus, the judgement of

high articulation indicated that U.P.F. appeared to fulfill the first of the two autonomy criteria.

The second criteria was the exposure of the members to a social structure of high differentiation. U.P.F.'s systemic links and high member cross boundary travel clearly exposed the members to the high differentiation social system in the city to permit the members' conceptions of alternatives to vocational conformity. Conversations with members and observations of members' performance helped directly to confirm this and supported a positive judgement as to the fulfillment of the second autonomy variable. In addition, the member commitment to "Christian discipleship to others in all of life" was expected to exert a direct impulse toward autonomy and the economic security of the "cushion" was expected to generate a financial support for autonomy. Thus, the data revealed the unusual social structure of U.P.F., high articulation like primitive societies and high differentiation like industrial societies, and supported the claim for member autonomy in vocational situations. In addition, this theoretical claim was strengthened by some direct observations of member vocational performance. Thus, it would appear that such a high articulation urban collectivity as U.P.F. is not only viable but may support its members' vocational autonomy.

Another autonomy consideration is that of over-dependence. It might be expected that a member of a

highly articulated group would grow too dependent on the group, consequently reducing his capacity for autonomous behavior both in the group and in his vocation. This was not observed at U.P.F. apparently for two reasons: the decentralized small group decision structure and rotating situational expertise authority demanded a high level of participation of the members and a continual exercise of their capabilities. The norm of radical discipleship to God's will generated a developmental participation of the members. They were continually challenged by the norm to find better and more adequate ways of performing both in the group and in their vocation. The economic and self-identity security provided by the articulated structure appears to have offered the support to innovate in attempt to better approximate the "radical" challenge, thus developing the capacity of the actors for autonomy rather than reducing it.

A final aspect of autonomy in such a group is that it may have both a positive and a negative effect on the self-autonomy of its members. Even though the group may support one's autonomy on the job, it may reduce his autonomy within the group due to the norms, patterns and structures to which he accommodates. This has historically been the case in groups such as families, villages or voluntary associations where the member has given his participation and conformity and received an important part of his identity. The problem, following Riseman and Faunce,
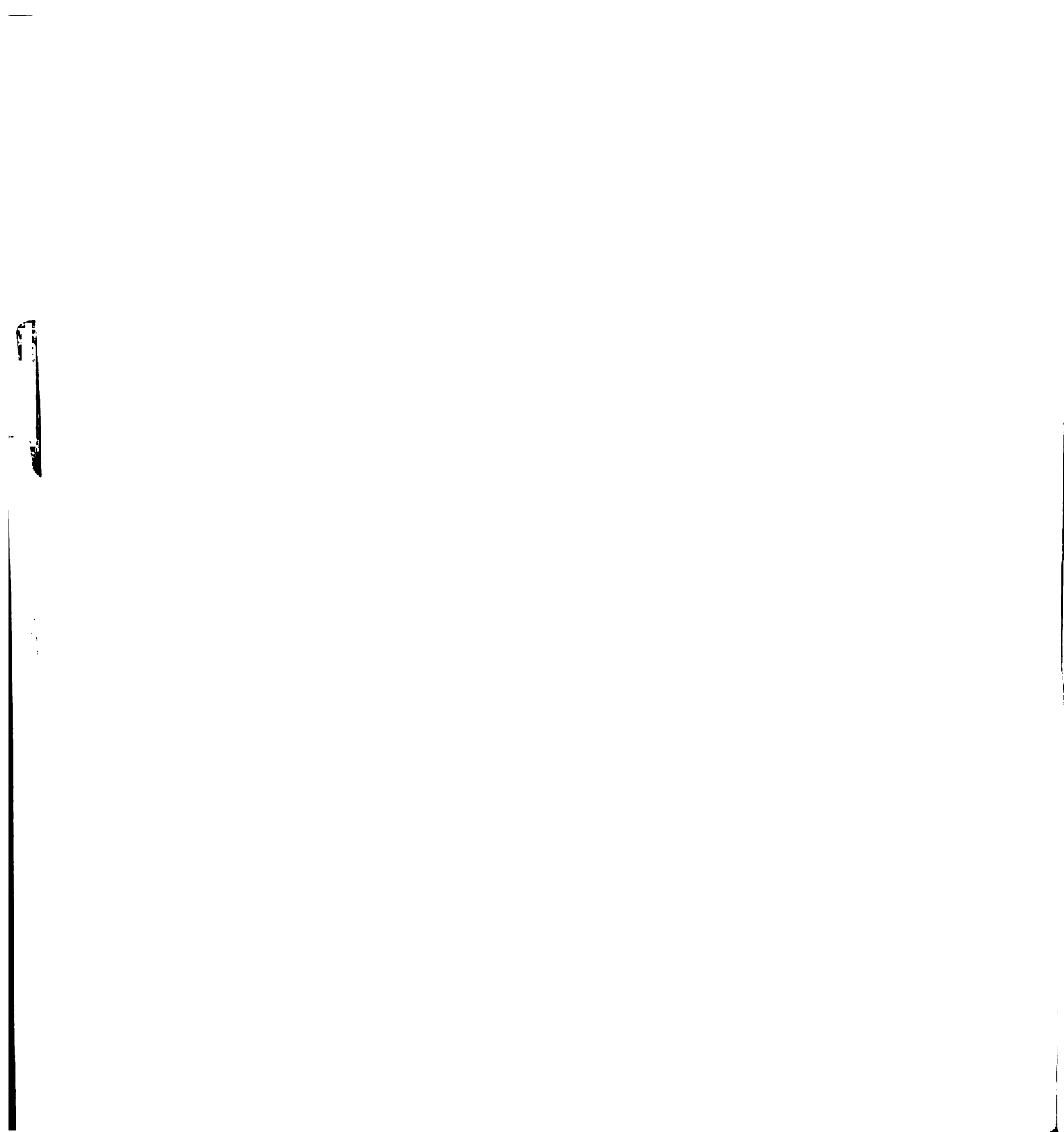
is that these groups have lost their articulation and their power to support autonomy in the new roles of industrial society such as the work role. Thus U.P.F.'s members appear to voluntarily yield a degree of self-autonomy inside the group in return for the benefits of the life style and the autonomy potential outside the group. Viewed this way, autonomy is always stated in reference to a given system, rather than in absolute terms. The U.P.F. members, in reference to industrial society, might be seen as having several points of autonomy or freedom: to establish new (and non-economic) priorities, to reallocate economic resources, to redefine categories of industrial society (humanness, success, responsibility, learning), and to establish new and different structures to support the new priorities and commitments. Thus the members receive these benefits as a consequence of their participation in the group and a degree of autonomy lost in group participation.

Some Implications

(1) The study indicates the viability of a high articulation urban collectivity to support member vocational autonomy. This may represent a possible solution to the general problem of personal and professional responsibility in an institutional and market place dominated society as described by Mills, Presthus, Blackington and many others. Membership in such a group may provide additional autonomy

for actors to risk unpopular and unconventional courses of action. The loss of income or of self-esteem may be more readily withstood in such a high articulation support system. Some writers have suggested that the next decade will see the establishment of "occupational communes" in which groups of doctors and lawyers will live with their families in hopes of enjoying an increased autonomy as well as an increased sense of community.[1] The experience and structure of U.P.F. should be a valuable model for such experiments.

(2) A knowledge of the systems and structures which support the longevity and articulation of a collectivity such as U.P.F. should provide unique additional understanding of high articulation systems. Many utopian experiments, both social and religious, are underway at this moment. Some are designed to support particular types of goal-directed behavior such as vocational responsibility, some to explore alternative social systems for the alternate life-style benefits they may afford. The experience and structure of U.P.F. should help such intentional groups to make more accurate predictions about the implication and consequences of structural decisions and hopefully avoid a continual "reinventing of the wheel" by such experiments. The study may contribute to such an end, not only by the study of

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[1]A. Toffler, _Future Shock_ (New York: Random House, 1970).

structural consequences, but hopefully by identifying
several bodies of relevant theoretical and historical
material to contribute to such a knowledge base.

(3) The study, by raising the question of autonomy
for administrative and professional persons, may help to
alert those who train professionals to the need for new
support systems for them. Medical schools, business schools,
seminaries, schools of education, schools of social work, of
law, and many others presently focus upon training their
candidates. They largely consider the adequacy of the sup-
port systems in which their graduates work to be a problem
beyond their concern. Yet, it is partly the inadequacy of
these social systems which helps generate the "organized
irresponsibility" in modern society.

By raising the question of professional autonomy and
responsibility, this study may have helped serve notice to
educational institutions that training is only part of the
role of professional schools. By examining a high articula-
tion urban group, the study may help point the direction for
the other part of their task--that of building support for
their graduates so they may exercise increased autonomy and
responsibility in their vocational roles.

(4) Finally, the group style of decision making at
U.P.F. may constitute an example of a collegial style of
decision making similar to those of modern "knowledge" organ-
izations. Perrow and also Goss are among those who have

examined various management and decision making styles which help resolve conflicts which arise in such organizations between professional and hierarchial authority. Both of these researchers have focused upon hospitals where some interesting styles are emerging. Goss suggests that an advisory role is utilized between "line" doctors and their subordinate associates in the hospitals she examined. She calls this an "advisory bureaucracy."[2] Perrow uses the term "organizational professionalism" to describe a similar process.[3] As the "knowledge industry" grows and more professionals and technical staff personnel are employed in bureaucratic organizations, the exploration for different styles of supervision and decision making will continue. U.P.F. could contribute to the search by illustrating the effect of a more complete collegial style and an unusual set of mechanisms and premises.

Recommendations

Other illustrations of alternative and viable social systems, whether of high articulation or not, are greatly needed as variations or options for members of post-industrial

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[2]Mary Goss, "Influence and Authority Among Physicians in an Outpatient Clinic," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961, p. 39-50.

[3]Charles Perrow, "Hospitals. Technology, Structure and Goals" in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by J. March (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), pp. 940 ff.

societies. These provide not only alternatives for actors of various needs and desires, but additional research sites where data may be gathered to either replicate or refute these findings.

Continued study of other viable high articulation urban groups would permit affirmation or rejection of these findings. Unfortunately, the extensive experience of the successful Israeli Kibbutz and Moshav structures is only peripherally helpful because of the isolated rural locations and low cross boundary travel of these groups. However, another study could profitably pursue this topic, a subject outside the boundaries of the present study.

Unfortunately, many present American utopias do not appear viable. Few are located in urban areas. Still, they should yield information bearing on longevity. Unfortunately, they are also outside the scope of the present study.

The only obvious method of further validating the autonomy predictions of this study appears to be further observation of the U.P.F. members' personal and professional job performance. This must suffice for the present because no other structure is known which duplicates U.P.F.'s and would thus permit a replication of autonomy findings.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TEACHING MATERIAL FOR MEMBERSHIP CLASS

AT URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP

A COVENANT FOR CHRISTIAN DISCIPLES

(Regulating Our Life with God)

Based on Matthew 6

(1) Concerning Piety:

I will carefully guard against turning my transactions

with God into a self-exalting display before men, by

hiding my piety from the eyes of men and seeking to grow

in my awareness of, and accountability before God.

(2) Concerning Prayer:

Trusting that God knows at all times what I need, I will

reject the anxious practice of prayer prevalent among

non-Christians, whereby they suppose that God hears them

because of their many words, and seek instead to under-

stand and practice the pattern of prayer set forth in the

Lord's prayer.

(3) Concerning Property:

Believing that God knows and values me even more than he

does the lesser parts of creation and having confidence

that he will supply everything I really need by way of

food, clothing and shelter as I seek his will and his way, I will give up anxious thoughts about the material side of life, take a detached attitude toward my properties and share them generously with my fellow disciples and men in need everywhere.

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(Signature)

APPENDIX B

TEACHING MATERIAL FOR MEMBERSHIP CLASS

AT URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP

PROPERTY ATTITUDES CHECK LIST

(Based on the teaching of Jesus found in Matthew 6:19-34)

Put a check mark in the blank space in front of each state-
ment after you are sure you understand it and can fully
subscribe to it.

(1)_____ I have firmly decided to take an unselfish and detached
          attitude toward my possessions and share them with
          those in need. (6:19-20)

          In order to carry out this decision in a faithful way:

(2)_____ I have undertaken an examination of my attitudes toward
          the things I currently possess to discover to what
          extent I consider them "mine" and therefore am per-
          sonally bound up with them. On the basis of this self-
          examination I can say that my property is not my
          "treasure."

(3)_____ I have also examined my attitude toward the things I
          do not possess, to discover to what extent my life is
          darkened by the evil eye of covetousness. In the
          light of this I can also say I am free from the desire
          for other people's property. (6:22-23)

(4)_____ I have asked myself whether I am motivated by the
          quest for money rather than by the service of God's
          will, and I am settled in my heart that God rather
          than money has first place in my life. (6:24)

(5)_____ I have firmly decided to put away anxious thoughts
          about my physical needs. (6:25)
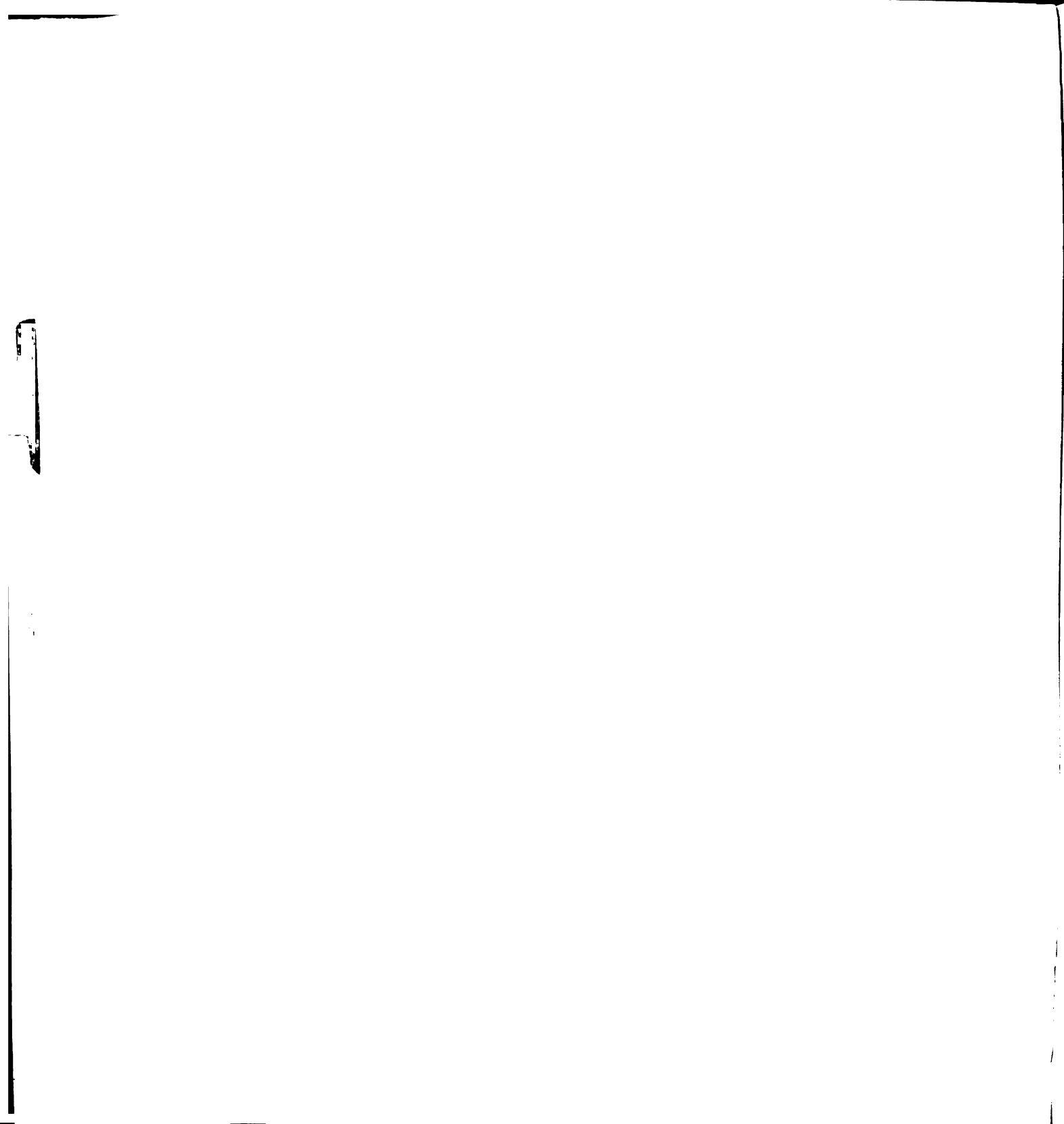
In order to carry out this decision in a faithful way:

(6) ____ I have sought to deepen my awareness of how much more meaning life has than simply food, clothing, or shelter. (6:25)

(7) ____ I have considered how little control I have over my material existence and hence how futile it is to worry. (6:27)

(8) ____ Most importantly, I have thought about the reality of God's love until I truly do believe that the "Father" knows what I need and will care for me in the same way he cares for the lesser parts of his creation. (6:26, 28-32)

(9) ____ I have also come to understand the wisdom of the maxim: Each day has troubles enough of its own. (6:34)

(10) ____ In summary: I have decided to give myself and all that I possess to God in A WHOLEHEARTED QUEST FOR THE JUST AND LOVING COMMUNITY HE WILLS FOR MANKIND, trusting that as I do my economic needs will be met.

Score_____

APPENDIX C

TEACHING MATERIAL FOR MEMBERSHIP CLASS

AT URBAN PLACE FELLOWSHIP

A COVENANT FOR CHRISTIAN DISCIPLES

(Regulating Their Life with Others)

Based on Matthew 5:17-48

Grateful for the privilege of being a disciple of Jesus, I gladly take upon myself the responsibility of practicing Jesus' teachings bearing upon life with others:

1. Concerning anger: I will take a stand not only against murderous deeds, but against angry, destructive thoughts and emotions (5:21-22), seeking to eradicate them first of all from my life and taking care not to become the occasion for anger on the part of another, (a) by confessing and righting my wrongs against my brother as soon as I become aware of them (5:23-24), and (b) by dealing forthrightly with all matters of conflict between myself and another as soon as they are brought to my attention (5:25-26).

(2) Concerning sexual lust: I will not only guard against falling into an adulterous act but against nurturing adulterous thoughts (5:27-30) and related sexual

254

perversions. On the positive side I will uphold the standard of lifelong marital love and fidelity (5:31-32).

(3) <u>Concerning false speech</u>: I will try under all circumstances to speak the truth in love from my heart, simply and clearly, and abide by my promises (5:33-37).

(4) <u>Concerning retaliation</u>: I will not take revenge against anyone who wrongs me or exchange injury for injury (5:38-39a). I will rather try to overcome evil with good (5:39b-42; Rom. 12:21).

(5) <u>Concerning enemies</u>: I will not surrender to an attitude of hatred for enemies. Even though I suffer at their hands, I will pray for them and seek their good (5:43-48).

APPENDIX D

SCIENTIFIC METHODOLOGY OF UTOPIAN-HISTORIAN

JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES

Noyes clearly has a personal interest in community

life. He was still the leader of the Oneida community at

the time of the investigation. And he clearly has a parti-

cular set of theological beliefs. The question must be

raised as to the extent to which both these factors affect,

if at all, his investigations.

Noyes claims, at the outset, to utilize an inductive

method of investigations. He reveals his meaning of the

term "inductive" when he analyzes Charles Fourier's methods.

Fourier claims to have deduced certain "Laws of Organization"

in nature. Nature is the "source of order and harmony in

creation." "I give no theory of my own--I deduce."[1]

Fourier's supporters, particularly Albert Brisbane

and Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune, claimed Fourier

was the "Kepler of the New Science" (of social organiza-

tion), and that the "Inductive method could not do its work

in the social sciences, since they were too vast and complex."[2]

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[1] John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms
(New York: Dover Publications, N. C., 1966), p. 662.

[2] Noyes, p. 663.

The "laws" of social science cannot be discovered by

"empirical observation," they claimed.

Noyes is not at all content with this reasoning.

He does not find Fourier's methods to be scientific at all

but rather philosophic. Science, Noyes claims, is all of a

kind, whether social or physical. "It observes the available

evidence, then by induction, raises it into generalities."

The "principles thus established" then permit the legitimate

deduction to practice:[3]

> . . . verification by facts or by the logic of events,
> is always . . . the supreme check on both induction and
> deduction.[4]

Noyes concludes that Fourier's scientific methods

are inadequate and instead of being the "Kepler of Social

Science" Fourier was one of the ancient philosophers."[5]

Instead, the Shakers and Rappites were the pioneers of

modern socialism, Noyes claims, since it was their practice

which gave the basis for all the European theories. Thus,

it can be concluded that Noyes is sensitized to the pitfalls

of inadequate scientific method. The question remains

whether or not his theological beliefs were detrimental to

his study, and if not, then how were the two related?

It must be noted that Noyes distinguished between

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[3]Noyes quotes from Yourman's New Chemistry for his
definition of science, apparently a standard reference at
the time, Noyes, p. 667.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Noyes, 668.

two ways of talking about matters of faith. The first way involves a statement of belief as a <u>reflection</u> of empirical evidence; for example, <u>after</u> noting the longevity of the Shakers, the high level of commitment among the participants and the strong leader (the evidence), Noyes was willing to claim that this must indicate both a strong medium and a strong afflatus. The second method involved reasoning in the reverse direction; for example, from a belief in the existence of a strong afflatus to the reasons for the longevity of a community. (Noyes claims this is how Fourier reasons.) Noyes utilizes the first method. With the evidence and conclusion before him, Noyes then feels free to express the discovery in terms of his faith.

> We insist that God's appointed way for man to seek truth in all departments is to combine and alternate thinking with experiment and practice--and constantly submit all theories, whether obtained by investigation or by intuition and inspiration, to the consuming ordeal of practical verification.[6]

Thus it must be concluded that because of the reasoning process he employed, his theological beliefs were not detrimental to the validity of his conclusions. Rather, in fact, the opposite appears true in two ways: his beliefs apparently sensitize him to certain elements of structure which other commentators of the day apparently missed; and his notion of a "medium"[7] sensitized him to the impact of

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[6]<u>Ibid</u>.

[7]A "medium" was a leader who was selected and directed by an "afflatus" or spirit from God.

leadership in a community, such as Robert Owen's absence from New Harmony.[8] Also Noyes' notion of an afflatus or community bond appears to have alerted him to the solidifying function of religious authority and commitment among people in community. The popular notion of first Owen and later of Fourier, which, in turn, swept across the country, either ignored the religious bond or declared it objectionable and banned it from the association (as Owen's "Declaration of Personal Independence" banned religion).

Did Noyes' personal interest in communities interfere with his investigation? Noyes was living at Oneida (a religious community) during the course of his investigation and bearing the primary leadership responsibilities of that community. However, by the time of the writing (1870), all of the non-religious communities had failed, and it was quite clear that the religious bond was a significant ingredient in the survival of experiments.

Noyes' personal interest may be seen as an impetus to meticulous research. Life and death of communities was no mere curious matter but rather one of grave import for Noyes, whose own community might be next among the many failures.

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[8]In this Noyes appears to be on solid ground theologically as well as scientifically. In 1033, the great Anselm, father of modern theology, described theology as "faith in search of understanding," which is precisely how Noyes sees it.

It must be noted that Noyes never argues the merits
of community life over individualism. He assumes that the
quality of communal life is superior and is clearly biased
on this point. It is a tribute to the consistency of his
scientific method that nowhere may be found attempts at
persuasion to his religious beliefs or social beliefs in the
superiority of community life.

> It is certainly high time that Socialists should begin
> to take lessons from experience and for this purpose,
> that they should chasten their confidence in flattering
> theories, and turn their attention to actual events.[9]

> (This book) . . . is first and chiefly a collection of
> facts; and the attempts at interpretation and generaliza-
> tion which are interspersed are secondary and not inten-
> tionally dogmatic.[10]

Fortunately, he manages to achieve his goal rather
well.

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[9]Noyes, Preface, p. iii.

[10]Ibid.

APPENDIX E

A WORSHIP SERVICE

A close observation of one particular worship ser-
vice will provide an insight into one dimension of the
group's life as well as into the theological beliefs which
are so influential in shaping the group and welding it
together.

On the Sunday in question the service was held in
the original building at 727 Urban Place as usual. The
first floor had been reserved for community functions and
the informality of the living room setting contrasted
severely with the elaborate accommodations of some churches.
Before the service, several worshipers were storing the
tables used for the Fellowship supper the night before and
erecting folding chairs. Even this simple sharing of the
work by the worshipers reflected the group's views that the
worshiper is not a passive spectator nor is worship a liturgy
to be performed for him. Rather worship is a part of the
group life in which he engages.

Before the worship service began at 727, one of the
members played the piano as the other members and guests
arrived. At the appointed time, one of the group stood by
the fireplace and led three or four songs. Anyone who could

sing was eligible to rotate into the song leader role for a Sunday or two. Often several others accompanied the singing on the guitar, banjo, or ukelele. Folk rhythms prevailed in the tunes, usually hymns of praise expressing the joy or challenge of being "disciples of Jesus Christ" rather than sadness or even theological themes. One of the members had reproduced the words into a booklet and these were passed around as the singing began.

After the singing, the two to four year olds were dismissed to the backyard or the basement playroom. The members believe it is profitable for the children to participate with their parents in the worship at least in part so they will see what the parents do and feel some relationship to it.

Jacob Deed, one of the members, went to the front to introduce the guests. Jacob is a European immigrant presently working as an associate architect. He has been a member about four years and has no theological training. He introduced the guests he knew and asked the other members to introduce those they knew. Several were visiting the Fellowship from other parts of the city or country; one was from Canada, another from South Carolina. Each had heard of the group through friends and had come to visit.

Another member indicated that twenty youth were present from a church youth group in nearby Moosehart. They had been visiting and working at U.P.F. for the weekend. The members wanted each youth to indicate his name and something

about himself. Thus, finally every visitor or guest was acknowledged--a way of indicating the esteem in which the Fellowship holds others.

After the introduction Jacob asked for "items of concern"and "observations of the week." Joyce Mead indicated to the group how much work was done by the visiting teenagers in peeling wallpaper and painting the Elmwood Street apartments. Several others expressed the thanks of the Fellowship to them. Joshua Leaven noted that a family who had just moved into the neighborhood had been experiencing some family problems and outlined the type of help needed from the other members.

Another member mentioned a concern for the Vietnamese war victims and a relief program which was being started. Someone else mentioned the needs of a black youngster in the next block who had been stabbed at school by a white youth. Another mentioned a school election which he believed was of considerable importance and reminded the members of the need for their participation. The range was both more diverse and more personal than one would find in a conventional church service. It was more diverse because it dealt with more than items of church activities and more personal because each item related to the members' lives whether it concerned the war or a neighborhood election.

Jacob then led the group in a prayer. It was simple and free of metaphors and theological constructs. It simply mentioned the personal concerns which had been reported,

commended them to God's attention, adding only an admonition

for God to influence the national leaders to hasten the end

of the war. The prayer reflected the group's conviction

that their daily lives and tasks constituted the arena where

their discipleship to God was expressed.

Then another member, Victor Verity, came to the front

to introduce a drama. He first asked if the eight to fifteen

year old group desired to stay for the play or meet in their

own group. They told him they had elected to stay. The

election revealed the members' view that meaningful partici-

pation in the life of discipleship is freely chosen and that

maturing youth must be given a voice in determining the

directions of their lives and views.

The play concerned the impact that Jesus made upon

various people as a result of his healing of a beggar.

Various scenes were enacted, such as the disciples relating

the event to different people, and finally, a court scene

where Jesus was brought before the local priests. The play

was written by members of U.P.F. by taking the Biblical story

and adapting the action into several scenes, writing dialogue

which emphasized one particular point of the story.

The entire first floor of the house served as a stage

with the "actors" coming out of the kitchen and down the

stairs although the main action was centered in front of the

fireplace where all could see. The actors read their lines

from a script which each carried. The fifteen people

involved in the drama seemed to represent a cross-section of

the Fellowship: men and women and youth, old members and
new, single and married and a few guests who lived nearby.
The use of the play expressed the group's belief that a
meaningful study of their faith and of the Bible must engage
the present lives and actions of the members.

After the drama Victor opened a discussion of the
play. Most of the analysis focused on Jesus and his rela-
tionships with the people and his challenge to them of a
different style of life. Several interpreted the healing
miracle to represent Jesus' challenge to the beggar as being
penetrating and fundamental and that life and health are
found in such relationships with God and with other persons.
The discussion generally avoided the impasse of how the mira-
cle was performed or whether it was, in fact, performed at
all. Rather they believed the value of the story lay in what
it revealed about relationships between God and man, and how
man might live responsibly. After a time Victor found a good
stopping point in the conversation, summarized briefly the
various points of view, added a brief interpretation of his
own and closed the discussion and the service. Not all those
present had entered the discussion, but the range of ideas
was large and several remained to discuss the drama further.
Some visited with guests or friends while others folded up the
chairs and put away the song folders.

The several elements of the service together reflect
the members active commitment to "radical Christian disciple-
ship in every area of life": the direct activity of the

participants, the identification of the members' concerns, the rotation of the leadership roles, and the avoidance of a priestly role, the translation of the Biblical stories into present concerns, and the use of modern instruments. These help bridge the distinction between sacred and secular and help the members understand and actuate their commitment to discipleship in "every area of life."

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