Integrating the Individual and Community:
The Power of Equality and Self-chosen Labor

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ABSTRACT

Modern work has been proven to compartmentalize the life of the individual. One must look no further than semantics to realize the discontinuity between "work" and "home," for the segmented nature of these two states of being becomes apparent the moment that they are juxtaposed. Historically, it has been argued that the tension between industrial/post-industrial labor and some kind of natural state of existence in which an individual can pursue her own destiny is both deeply rooted in the flowering of modernity and seems to be accepted as unavoidable. In this thesis, I present a case study where this tension is almost entirely put aside. In my analysis of Twin Oaks Community, an intentional community located in central Virginia, I show how modern labor organization can be deliberately cultivated to reconsider the relationship between a laborer and her work, and that a work/life balance is not necessary when *all* forms of work are valued. Results of a participant observation study performed at Twin Oaks, as well as reliance on theory and sociological studies indicate the ways in which Twin Oaks marries life and work in the pursuit of building community. This study will prove that Twin Oaks Community's labor organization, valuing of labor from all epochs (pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial), and overarching communitarian goals help to reunite the laborer with her natural life-activity.

Dedication

I'd like to dedicate this thesis to the people of Twin Oaks, who allowed me to come to their community and to live and work alongside them for the better part of a month. I would also like to thank my advisor, Dr. Joyce Rothschild, who inspired me with her commitment to the study of alternative labor forms, and encouraged me to follow my research, however unorthodox, into how labor can be reconceived in order to better the lives of workers.

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Table 1

Councils and Managers, Areas in which Labor is practiced

Council	Areas representing Labor-Creditable Activities, Management
Agriculture	Bees; Dairy; Farm; Fences; Forestry; Garden; Herb Garden; Mushrooms; Orchard; Ornamentals; Poultry; Seeds; Alt-Orchard
Child	Managers make up a board, and there are 3
Community Service	Local Relations; Movement Support; Reading Window
Construction/Utilities	Building Maintenance; Domestic Sawmill; Electrical Maintenance; Equipment Maintenance; IT (phones, computers); Plumbing Maintenance; STP (Sewage Treatment Plant); Woodshop
Culinary	Cook; Food; Food Processing; Kitchen; Meat Processing; Milk Processing
Domestic	Commie Clothes; House; House Furnishings; Pets; Room Assigning; Stereo; Trustery
Grounds	Footpaths; MT (Modern Times) Garden; Pond/Sauna; Yard
Health	Dental; Health Team; Mental Health Team; Safety
Material Support	Archives; Darkroom; Library; Recycling; Woodheat/BTU
Office	Accounting; Office; Taxes

Outreach	Communities Conference; CVP (Community Visitor Program); Federation of Egalitarian Communities; Leaves (Twin Oaks Newsletter); Recruitment; Visitor Correspondence; Women's Gathering
Planning	Community Planners; Econ Team; Labor; Land Planning/Space Use; Legal; Membership Team; New Member Liaisons; Process Team
Social Support	Holiday; Recreation; Video
Transportation and Maintenance	Auto Maintenance; Battery Carts; Bikes; Machine Shop; Road Maintenance; Vehicle Use; Welding
Income Council: Rope Products--Operations	Desk; Fairs; Marketing; Purchasing; Shipping; Warehousing
Income Council: Rope Products--Production	Fabric Beds; Grommet; Hammocks Chairs; Hammocks Kits; Hammocks Shop; Pillows; Rope Warehouse; Chair Varnish; Sawmill; Stretchers
Income Council: Rope Products—Wood	
Income Council: Tofu[1]	General Manager; Management Team, Marketing; Accounting, Purchasing, and Upgrade; Scheduling, Tempeh; Soysage
Other Income[2]	Directory Distribution; Herb Workshop; Indexing; Kat Kinkade book sales; Ornamentals; Outside work; Seeds

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[1] Tofu is not actually a council. It is run by a management team; what is above is a list of jobs.
[2] Tofu is on the "Other Income" council.

Source: "Councils, Areas, and Managers," (n.d.) Partial listing; some positions/areas have been omitted or rephrased for sake of clarity.

Table 2

Labor-Creditable Activities at Twin Oaks

Labor-creditable activities within Twin Oaks' small businesses	Labor-creditable activities outside of Twin Oaks' small businesses
Hammocks: Constructing hammocks, warehousing, marketing, organizing for shipping, and hammocks sales. Attending craft fairs and selling Twin Oaks hammocks products. Managing any aspect of the Hammocks business.	Construction and Upkeep of Twin Oaks: Any and all construction/repair of Twin Oaks property as it is needed and approved, as well as cleaning common areas; taking care of the community's pets, laundering communal clothing.
Tofu: Making tofu and/or tempeh, packaging, warehousing, and organizing for shipping, tofu sales.	Cooking and Cleanup: Cooking a meal at ZK, the community's cafeteria, ensuring that there is enough for 100 people, plus guests and visitors. Cleaning up after mealtimes, i.e. washing dishes (every member must do this on a rotating basis), clearing the steam table on which meals are served.
Seed-Growing in conjunction with Acorn Community: Working with members of nearby Acorn Community to cultivate, grow, stock, and ship organic seeds for sale.	Childcare and Education: Teaching or caring after other members' children, teaching or learning a new skill or task.
Book Indexing: Working with the community's indexing business. This requires nuanced job training.	Gardening, Dairy Production, Agriculture: "Gardening," or, farming vegetables/fruits on the community's farm; working in the community's orchards; working with dairy cattle to produce milk and cheese for the community, working with chickens, animal husbandry.
Ornamentals: Growing and clipping flowers, arranging and selling bouquets.	Organizing and Planning, Budgeting:

General office work, organizing or planning community gatherings/events, working with the Community Visitor Program (CVP) and being on-call to visitors.

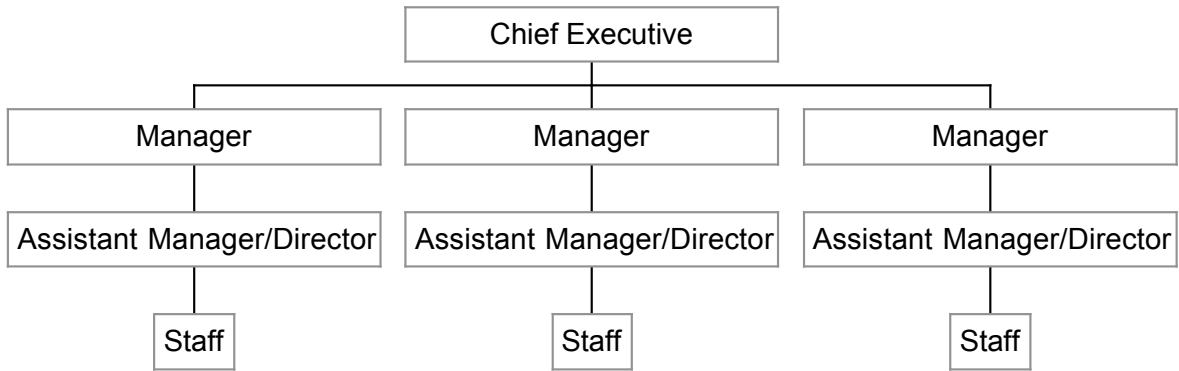Source: participant observation, (May-June 2012).

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Figure 1

The Governance Structure of Twin Oaks
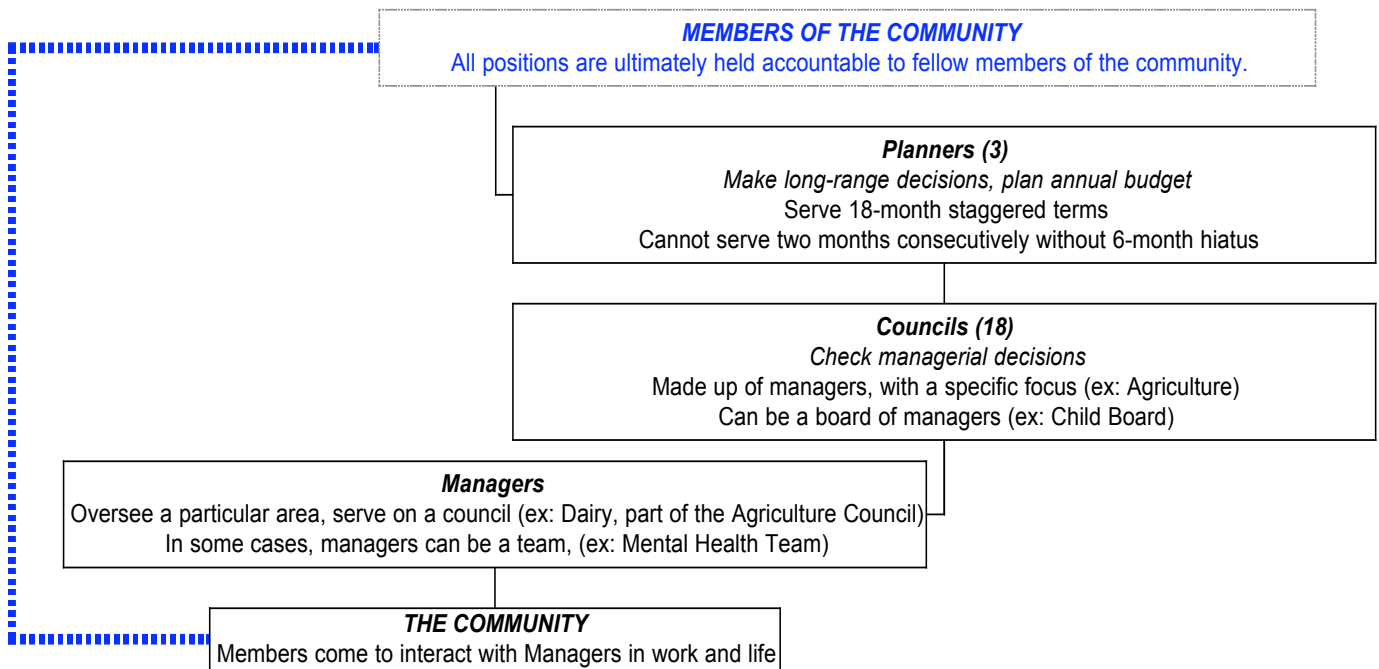
Source: participant observation, (May-June 2012), "Councils, Areas, and Managers," (n.d.)

Figure 2

Example of a Traditional Workplace Hierarchy

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                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │ Chief Executive  │
                        └──────────────────┘
         ┌───────────────────────┼───────────────────────┐
  ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
  │   Manager    │        │   Manager    │        │   Manager    │
  └──────────────┘        └──────────────┘        └──────────────┘
         │                       │                       │
┌──────────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Assistant Manager/   │ │ Assistant Manager/   │ │ Assistant Manager/   │
│ Director             │ │ Director             │ │ Director             │
└──────────────────────┘ └──────────────────────┘ └──────────────────────┘
         │                       │                       │
     ┌───────┐               ┌───────┐               ┌───────┐
     │ Staff │               │ Staff │               │ Staff │
     └───────┘               └───────┘               └───────┘
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Introduction

Modernity has been painted as a "maelstrom" prone to "perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction" (Berman, 1988, p. 345). It has thus historically been the goal of modernists to attempt to make sense of reality in an ever expanding, troublesome modern existence (Berman, 1988) where social, economic, and political norms reflect either consciously or subconsciously on interpretations of the self in relation to society. Critique of the modern conception of reality has been prominent since the fruition of industrialization (Berman, 1988). Yet, many remedies to the problems at hand have arguably engendered more problems, since solutions work within a frame of thought that the problem perpetuates, going along with underlying emphases on individuality, gender bias, inequity, and global economy.

With modernity, individuality has departed from community on an unprecedented level. The *Gemeinschaft* mentality has given way to one that is overwhelmingly *Gesellschaft*.[1] Recently, this mindset has become global in nature, typified by an ideology known as neoliberalism.[2] The observable societal preference for market orientation over communal bonds has resulted in greater alienation for many individuals, especially in the split organization of labor and life. This has been observed and critiqued, but has largely gone unchallenged in mainstream praxis. A possible reason for this is the normalization of global and national market discourse that fails to focus on the value of real, unmediated human connections. Rather than give voice to the possibilities that could stem from these connections, mainstream discourse either (1) integrates and commodifies critique of modern society, or (2) presents it as a provocation which should be rallied against. Social critique that emphasizes progressive causes,

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[1] See Tönnies (1963).
[2] See Harvey (2007).

or, causes that aim to change current circumstances, is becoming absorbed or commodified in rather significant ways. Before delving into the particular form of social critique that intentional communities offer, which undergirds this thesis, it is first essential to explore the theoretical implications of progressive critique.

Following the tradition of Herbert Marcuse (1964), theory tells us that any steering of mainstream conversation away from critique results in a parallel cultural shift. Rather than dialectic, rather than real conversation and debate, there exists a dialogue in society today that is self-replicating and one-dimensional. In the aggregate, once one-dimensional thought becomes cultivated, it substantiates one-dimensional society. Framed within the values of a "Happy Consciousness," or, the common-sense belief many hold in society that "the real is rational and that the system delivers the goods," one-dimensionality can be seen as ubiquitous (Marcuse, 1964, p. 84). The "Happy Consciousness," then, comes to "[reflect] the new conformism which is a facet of technological rationality translated into social behavior" (Marcuse, 1964, p. 84). Conformism spawns the Happy Consciousness, shared by all who find bliss in relative ignorance. In this sense, conformism works to reinforce the Happy Consciousness, since a majority of people concurring the dominant assertions of society will only ensure one-dimensionality's continued dominance. Once one-dimensional life is accepted as the norm, reality is framed into a simple, uncomplicated, and easily controllable set of circumstances.

One-dimensional thought cautions against critique of the society it spawns. Members of a society who hold one-dimensionality dear, or, who have become accustomed to seeing things one-sidedly, can then be mobilized against societal change, for better or worse, through forms of social control. Present in one-dimensional society, technological forms of social control "appear to be the very embodiment of Reason for the benefit of all social groups and interests—to such

an extent that all contradiction seems irrational and all counteraction impossible" (Marcuse, 1964, p. 9). Once what is considered proper dialogue becomes framed, then those members of society who propose change or possess the "intellectual and emotional refusal to 'go along'" appear "neurotic and impotent" (Marcuse, 1964, p. 9). What is more, because it is based in a market system, one-dimensional society is assuredly quick to absorb the protestations it encounters; as Marcuse (1964) said, modernity "assimilates everything it touches," (p. 85). This radically alters the relation of the individual to his fellow men, since "the very mechanism which ties the individual to his society has changed, and social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced" (Marcuse, 1964, p. 9).

It is theoretically noted, and plain to see that there is a missed opportunity for counterargument in a society insistent upon viewing the market as its primary mode of social organization. As society currently is, it is not difficult to find dominant one-dimensional, or market-driven reactions to the countercultural arguments put forth by communalists, communitarians, anarchists, communists, and many environmentalists. As Marcuse (1964) indicated, viewpoints that prioritize just or fair human interaction over impersonal social interactions stemming from market orientation can either become written off as radical, as they are commonly viewed as threatening the "good life," *or* can become absorbed by market dynamics. A recent critique of society that prompted both reactions was Occupy Wall Street, a grassroots protest movement that culminated in the fall of 2011. The movement was vehemently attacked by media sources for a number of reasons, but most markedly for protesters' criticism of the modern emphasis on markets, and for the movement's lack of a clear goal or agenda.

In the fall of 2011, many television and radio personalities, particularly on the Fox News network, enacted personal vendetta to destroy the credibility of Occupy Wall Street protestors. In

October of 2011, Sean Hannity stated, "[Occupiers] hate corporations, they hate capitalism, and in the end, ultimately, they want statism over free markets, so they really don't like freedom" ("Parks and Demonstration," 2011). Kimberly Guilfoyle, another news personality on Fox, described the protests, claiming, "It's like Woodstock meets Burning Man meets people with absolutely no purpose" ("Parks and Demonstration," 2011). Criticism of the protests followed in print form; an opinion piece submitted online to *The Economist* was quick to note that "it is likely that few of the protesters have actually taken part in the more mundane aspects of the system they'd like to take down" and that Occupiers' insistence upon public demonstration as their only resort for self-expression spoke only to their "fundamental misreading" of recent history ("Wall Street Protests," 2011). Similarly, a CNN letter to the editor noted that "the cultural messages Occupy Wall Street carries, say, environmental responsibility or divorce from capitalism, are far from clear," and furthermore that "the message of opting out of the prevailing system does not seem to bring out the masses who seek employment, to avoid foreclosure, or simply to make ends meet" (Etzioni, 2012).

  All of the above examples illustrate an unwillingness or inability on behalf of mainstream media to perceive Occupy Wall Street protests as legitimate. While the latter point presents fair claims, it assumes a market-oriented logic and fails to envision an emphasis on human connectivity over hierarchy through leadership; the Occupy movement states plainly on its website that it is deliberately leaderless:

  Occupy Wall Street is a leaderless resistance movement with people of many colors, genders and political persuasions. The one thing we all have in common is that We Are The 99% that will no longer tolerate the greed and corruption of the 1%. We are using the

revolutionary Arab Spring tactic to achieve our ends and encourage the use of

nonviolence to maximize the safety of all participants ("Occupy Wall Street," n.d.).

Perhaps the most bombastic of the above examples is Sean Hannity's comment. In it, he equates

free markets with human freedom, and then states that those who oppose free markets oppose

human freedom. This works as a fairly obvious expression of his incredulity towards the

movement as a whole, but also appears to be a useful mechanism to delineate between rationality

and irrationality. Using Hannity's logic, those who protest free markets infringe on fundamental

human freedoms. Thus, they should be classified as irrational human beings.

The message of Occupy Wall Street was additionally swallowed by the system and used

to lure consumers to purchase. In the fall of 2011, Rapper Jay-Z released a logo for his brand,

Rocawear, which read "Occupy All Streets" ("Jay-Z to Sell," 2011). Ironically enough, Jay-Z is

estimated to have a net worth of 460 million dollars (O'Malley Greenberg, 2012), which places

him well within the top one percent of income earners in the United States. Despite this, T-shirts,

sweatshirts, and other merchandise became available for purchase on the Rocawear website

during the time of the initial Occupy Wall Street protests in New York. Although claiming to

support the movement in terms of its ideals, Rocawear did not use any of its sales as proceeds to

help the cause. Rather than empathize with Occupy Wall Street protestors' critique of rampant

consumerism, any member of society with enough money to buy a T-shirt could essentially

purchase a piece of the movement.

There are other fairly recent examples of progressive social critique being painted as

irrational, overly radical, and even dangerous. Through various media interpretations, the WTO

and IMF protests of recent years have become renowned for their displays of violence and

radical activity. Upon revisiting media accounts of protests, bias against protestors is undeniable.

In 2002, an account of WTO protests in Sydney discusses protestors' "violence" and alleged obscenity far more than it speaks of their intentions or possible credibility (Holloway, 2002). A 2000 account of a one-year anniversary revival of Seattle's 1999 "violent" protest against the WTO is described in terms of its destruction and lawlessness, but not nearly as much in terms of its potential legitimacy:

> [A]bout 300 people held a separate rally and later marched downtown to join the celebration. Marijuana smoke wafted through this crowd, which included members of the Seattle Lesbian Avengers with slogans on their nude upper bodies: 'End corporate greed' and 'WTO hurts this vegan body' ("Demonstrators Mark WTO," 2000).

In a society where messages of critique can be bought, sold, or discredited entirely by media sources, it seems that whatever alienation there is stemming from a *Gesellschaft* arrangement engenders more alienation, since an emphasis on a different and intimate connection between human beings becomes viewed through such shallow, seemingly meaningless mediums. To fight against the norm is to become the very outcast featured on the evening news in Zuccotti Park, or in the streets of Seattle or Sydney.

However, this does not mean that all forms of revaluing raw human connectivity have withered away from ridicule. In stark contrast to the austere segmentation of individuals that has been noted in post-industrial life, there is presently a movement quietly sweeping the Earth, whose aim is to challenge the post-modern organization of life. Carrying many manifestations, a philosophy of communitarianism has come to offer a medley of alternatives to mainstream conceptions of the good life, from co-ops to co-housing, to local food and business movements. Perhaps the most comprehensive and least acknowledged form is that of the intentional community, a form of lived social critique that is the focus of this thesis. Simply defined, an

intentional community is a deliberately formed, intentionally joined space with defined borders

that seeks to bracket an alternative existence for members from the mainstream. A startling

number and variety of communities exist across the globe, and their orientations range from

secular to religious, egalitarian to paternalistic, and pre- to post-industrial. The Fellowship for

Intentional Community, a nonprofit organization that helps to organize, serve, and promote

awareness of intentional communities worldwide, lists over 150 communes currently registered

with its organization, as well as over 400 ecovillages, and hundreds more co-ops, co-housing,

and Christian communities ("Intentional Communities Directory," n.d.). All can be understood as

deliberate attempts by people to place themselves in a setting that diminishes their own self-

importance for the survival of some greater good, i.e. for the good of their fellows.

By "confronting 'givens'" (Kanter, 1972), intentional communities revitalize a culture of

critique that is "partly a flight and partly a seeking *for*," as their members work to "criticize,

challenge, and reject the established order, then depart from it to seek the perfect human

existence" (Kanter, 1972, p. 2). However, not all ideas of "the perfect existence" present in a

community necessarily work towards some utopia that is inclusive of all members. It goes

without saying that intentional communities can be just as prone to greed and corruption as the

outside world. Just because an intentional community emphasizes communitarian attitudes does

not mean it will readily achieve them, especially if it attempts this through forms of subjectivity.

Cult activities, paternalistic forms of organization, and charismatic leadership arrangements are

thus *not* of interest and do not have bearing on the following study. This is because any

community that values the needs and wants of a leader over those of the many is not attempting

communitarianism, in the sense that its structure does *not* work in the best interests of all

involved.

The intended focus of this thesis is on intentional communities not bound to paternalism or more traditional modes of organization. Egalitarian communities, organized on premises of equality and religious freedom, offer a rich environment for academic study that can become applicable to real-world praxis. Their significance stems from the fact that egalitarian communities offer a vastly different perspective on labor and life in comparison with mainstream thought. Within designated borders, their culture can work cross-temporally; while challenging the norms of the day, the culture of the egalitarian community presented in this study also borrows from some pre-industrial norms. This works to combine the best of both worlds (past and present) in order to reimagine life and its relation to labor. The following study indicates ways that one community in particular works to stem the tide of creative destruction (Berman, 1988, pp. 98-104), and the division of labor that engenders human alienation. Instead of falling in line with *Gesellschaft* norms, this community works to integrate, rather than isolate the individual. The chief vehicle through which this is accomplished is a redefinition of (1) what labor *is*, and (2) how labor can be *revalued*. By redefining labor's relationship to life, it follows that labor and life become integrated in a way that allows the individual to live a life more consistent with real human desires, also understood as a life shared with others.

Twin Oaks Community, located in rural Virginia, is a secular, egalitarian community whose form of organization does not deny or fight against history. Rather, it has the function of improving conceptions of what is "good" or "right," by challenging and re-combining norms, and then integrating them to create an alternative. Its policies regarding labor, gender, religion, agriculture, and nature are inconsistent with respective dominant outlooks in modern life.

With regards to Twin Oaks Community, this thesis relies on theoretical underpinnings stemming from selected works by Karl Marx, B.F. Skinner, and Max Weber to demonstrate the

ways in which members seek greater integration between the individual and community through the development of egalitarian labor norms. Marx's depiction of human alienation as originating with modern economic organization, as well as his views regarding the worker-owner relationship, is analyzed with reference to how Twin Oaks members combat forms of alienation. Skinner's presentation of a fictional utopia in his work *Walden Two*, and theory regarding radical behaviorism, are also relevant, since Twin Oaks founders replicated the labor credit system he presents, and this system is still functional today. Lastly, Max Weber's view on the inevitability of bureaucracy is rebutted. This thesis will insist that humanity cannot be construed as a species confined in "iron cage[s]" so long as there are non-bureaucratic alternatives to how labor is conceptualized.

While a shared awareness of the ways in which Twin Oaks challenges the mainstream is common among members, it is unclear whether all members are also aware of the tradition of Marxian critique that their community fits so well. Certainly some indicate that they have read Marx, but this is not to say in any way that Twin Oaks, or communities in general, are always founded in Marxian thought. Rather, it is noteworthy that Marx's understanding of human nature, and how human nature could exist outside of the constraints of capitalism, intersects with the worldview purported by many members, and at times speaks to their motivations for joining the community in the first place. Marx's thoughts on human alienation, and how it comes to exist within modernity through capitalist forms of labor organization is of great theoretical importance to this study.

Karl Marx on alienation in labor

As presented in his earlier writings, Karl Marx's materialist conception of history takes root in his presentation of man's natural state as a *species-being*, and how this natural state becomes disrupted by the modern labor process. Marx's purpose was to provide substantive inquiry into the values inherent in the political economy. As modern society had become clouded by the assumption that industrialization created some sort of natural order, Marx made an effort to describe political economy as the unnatural material processes that determine man's relationship to society, i.e. where one stands in the mode of production. His findings unveiled real human alienation occurring within these processes, as well as a societal divide between those who own the means of production (capitalists) and those who have no other choice but to sell their labor to survive (workers). Marx prefaces his discussion with a definition of human nature.

In his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx defined the *species-being* in a discussion of human alienation, where he said that man is both innately connected to nature, and to "himself," or, his "life-activity" that works towards the betterment his species (Marx, 1978, p. 75). On the one hand, Marx's definition of human nature articulates a process in which man borrows from Nature directly and converts it into his physical being; man lives on nature and therefore his *inorganic body* (Nature) becomes his *body* (Marx, 1978, p. 75). On the other hand, Marx saw man as naturally engaged with other members of his species, as it works both to his benefit and to the benefit of the species as a whole. Man is not isolated in this natural state, but finds purpose in extracting and producing his most basic needs from Nature, all the while engaging in various relationships with others of his species. The interactions between man and nature, as well as man and his species, become egregiously interrupted with the introduction of modern labor processes, (most predominately in what Marx later termed the *capitalist mode of*

production). While engaged in labor, man's natural understanding of belonging to a species is disrupted, where his life-activity in labor purposefully works towards his own alienation. Meanwhile, in an ironic twist of circumstances, his individual life is purported to be "the purpose of the life of the species" (Marx, 1978, p. 74). The peculiar relationship that occurs within man in his unnatural, or alienated state was profoundly troublesome for Marx. Assuming the premises of political economy, e.g. private property, the division of labor, and the accumulation of capital, man performs labor that does not satisfy his most basic needs and is "external to his essential being," or does not allow him to develop fully his mind or his body (Marx, 1978, p. 74). Also, since another man owns the means of production, and therefore owns the final product that each laborer works to produce, he is not free, but is trapped within a mundane process mandated by the capitalist. His "spontaneous" activity (Marx, 1978, p. 74) as a *species-being* has become alien to him.

Initially, man as laborer becomes alienated in two senses. First, he does not have power over the things he produces. Rather, since the things he produces are external to him, they have a kind of power over him. Second, his actual activity in production does not belong to him, and thus is alien to him, as is his personal life outside of labor, which is "turned against him," since it also "neither depends on nor belongs to him" and since he is not pursuing his life-activity (Marx, 1978, pp. 74-75). In sum, man as laborer is not only alienated from the product he produces, but also becomes alienated from his self in the production process.

Alienation manifests itself in two additional ways. Man becomes alienated from Nature, since he no longer directly interacts with it to fulfill his basic needs, or to practice his life-activity. Finally, since his life-activity, what is naturally a part of his *species-being*, becomes alien to him, so does his conception of solidarity within his species; "…the proposition that

man's species nature is estranged from him means that one man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature" (Marx, 1978, p. 77). This is especially problematic, since the consciousness of man is partly attributed to his social interactions with others (Marx, 1978, p. 158). Man as laborer is thusly isolated from what he produces, from himself, from Nature, and from other men.

Alienation becomes more problematic in the capitalist mode of production. The fact that man is naturally engaged in some form of production was not problematic for Marx. Instead, he stated that man's production of his "means of subsistence" (Marx, 1978, p. 150) is what first separates him from animals, and is also what contributes to his realization as a conscious being (Marx, 1978, p. 150). However, once production becomes advanced to the point of there being a division of labor in society, Marx saw alienation as additionally disconcerting. In *The German Ideology*, he outlined various modes of production that have occurred throughout history, and argued that the lives of individuals can be traced back to "the material conditions determining their production" (Marx, 1978, p. 150). The sophistication of various modes of production is exemplified by the extent to which divisions of labor in society occur. First, "town and country" become separated with the divergence of agriculture from industry and commerce (Marx, 1978, p. 150). Ownership then plays a part in various modes of production through the implementation of private property. The interplay between private property and divisions of labor predetermines individual relations within a given society. Marx's materialism held that with the rise of private property and ownership thereof, the real existence of individuals, "as they operate, produce materially" and "as they work under definite material limits" determines the social and political conditions in which they live (Marx, 1978, p. 154).

As mentioned previously, private property is the result of alienated labor, because any labor put into the production process is ultimately owned by another (Marx, 1978, pp. 78-79). Since the cornerstone of any industrial or post-industrial economy is private property, it can be seen how alienated labor is rampant in a society defined by the capitalist mode of production. Furthermore, the division of labor makes the interests of the community appear as "alien," since individual interests do not coincide with the interests of the community, which further estranges man from his other men and makes his circumstances less natural (Marx, 1978, p. 160). In the capitalist mode of production, the hegemonic rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class seemed inevitable, which prompted Marx to ponder the following: what is a possible alternative to the capitalist mode of production, and how can workers, who have nothing to offer besides their labor, successfully change their circumstances? If workers are utterly alienated, how can they find solidarity in one another?

Marx saw an alternative to capitalism in communism, which he defined as the "positive transcendence of private property, or human self-estrangement" (Marx, 1978, p. 84). In communism, man would be true to his own consciousness as a social human being that produces for the sake of providing his own subsistence (Marx, 1978, p. 84). Private property would have to be abolished, since it stands as a "sensuous expression of estranged human life" (Marx, 1978, p. 85). Man's "economic estrangement" can only be fixed by a communist movement that is both "real" and "bent on action" (Marx, 1978, p. 85). Marx wished for human senses that have become entrenched in the production of capital to be relinquished (Marx, 1978, p. 87). He saw the division of labor as pitting the individual against his community, placing the worker within "a particular, exclusive sphere of activity…from which he cannot escape" (Marx, 1978, p. 160).

In communism, man would be able to choose his activities, without having to worry about the necessity of becoming highly specialized.

For Marx, the division of labor, along with unequal class relations that allow for exploitation of workers' labor value, was the most essential component to modern societal organization. It was also the main contributor to human alienation. Discussions of human nature are troublesome, and Marx's is not as empirical as one might hope. However, Marx's understanding was undeniably sound; how can one deny alienation resulting from modern labor organization? In an average day of work in a white collar industry, an individual might wake up in an isolating suburban household, drives to work in a single automobile, works in a confined cubicle or office, drive home in a single automobile, and go to sleep in the same single-family household. The only respite from this isolation is family, but even here Marx and Engels noted that family works as a gendered display of private property, and thus is a division of labor.

Twin Oaks combats this isolation in a number of ways. Instead of work being isolated from life at home, members work often within their communal home and ensure its survival. They achieve this by being credited for both formal and informal labor. Formally, members are engaging in business practices that through profit directly benefit the community. Informally, members contribute to activities that help the community's daily functioning, to include: work on various construction projects geared towards community upkeep, farming and harvesting, cooking and cleaning, training and educating, and working directly with families and with forms of social development. Most significant is the fact that these informal labor activities would likely be unpaid or underpaid in mainstream society, yet within the borders of Twin Oaks Community, they are valued as equally as formal labor activities. Conversely, all require interaction among community members and encourage solidarity.

Greater detail into Twin Oaks labor organization and resulting ideology is forthcoming in this thesis. Put simply, though, Twin Oaks works to combat the kinds of alienation Marx discussed, and it seems to do so fairly successfully. While the community splits tasks, no one member is required to specialize in any one activity, (although they are welcome to do so, if this is what they wish). In choosing their own labor activities, Twin Oaks members undermine the mainstream exploitative relationship between capitalist and laborer, or owner and worker. Members collectively own their means of production, and since they are allowed to switch tasks, they are empowered through self-chosen labor.

While the ideology of Twin Oaks matches some core tenets of Marxism, it differs greatly in its view of how human liberation may be achieved. In fact, Twin Oaks members are less outwardly concerned with freedom and liberation than they are with an alternative means of survival. None of the members with whom I interacted indicated that they wished to overthrow modernity, or to actively lead a revolution against society as a whole. They were critical of capitalism, but instead of rebelling against it actively, they did so by building alternative forms of work and life. Members valued the idea of quietly exiting society, and working at a new way of life at its margins. This differs greatly from Marx's conception of revolution.

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx's conception of modernity is revealed within a discussion of how labor is owned by capital, and how this ownership must eventually become challenged if human liberation is to be achieved. Berman (1988) conceived of a connection between Goethe's *Faust* and Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* to describe Marx's image of modernity. For Faust, the transition into industrialization left a gap between two worlds: one based in tradition, which existed in the private sphere, and one introduced in modernity that exists in the public sphere (Berman, 1988, p. 61). Faust attempts to transcend the boundaries of

these worlds, in order to obtain "a connection with the world that is more active, more vital" (Berman, 1988, p. 42). This action requires dealings with the underworld that are most unnatural and *übermenschlich* (Berman, 1988, p. 42). Faust, with the help of Mephistopheles, (Satan), uses various roles in order to attempt his own version of utopia. First as a "dreamer," then as a "lover," he fails to seamlessly transform his desire for more *Lebenslust* (love/lust for life) into real-world applications. Faust becomes restless and finally applies his anxiety towards massive construction projects. Here he finds his true calling. In the role of a "developer," he learns to build and to destroy, thereby creating a synthesis of thought and action in order to transform the world (Berman, 1988, pp. 63-64). The concept of Faustian Development, which evolved from Goethe's *Faust*, refers to arduous modernization methods that over time become cycles of creative destruction (Berman, 1988, p. 76). The term "creative destruction" illustrates the methodology behind the age of industrialization, and lends itself to a discussion of Marxian ideology, where Faust's persona helps one to understand the mindset of the bourgeoisie.

Karl Marx marveled in the accomplishments of the bourgeoisie, who in nineteenth century Europe implemented Faustian development methods in order to better their societies. Conversely, he criticized them for their "consummate nihilis[m]," saying that they had "alienated themselves from their own creativity because they cannot bear…[to come to terms with their own ethical void]" (Berman, 1988, p. 101). For Marx, it seems that what was bourgeois, or Faustian, was as much of help as it was a detriment to collective betterment; "the truth of the matter, as Marx sees, is that everything that bourgeois society builds is built to be torn down." (Berman, 1988, p. 99). Thus, in modernity, "all that is solid melts into air" (Berman, 1988, p. 102). According to Marx, the proletariat, or, the class that has been exploited within the capitalist mode of production is bound to rebel and forcibly reinvent modern society (Berman, 1988, p.

102). Resulting from proletariat rebellion would be a reign of pure individual development, in which each member of the collective would be able to develop "universal[ly]" (Berman, 1988, p. 127).

Again, while members of Twin Oaks Community might agree with Marx's critique, and understand his desire to see capitalism dissolve, they would largely disagree with his sentiment that "revolution" is necessary to achieve human liberation, and that it is something that happens in the future. In their view, human liberation is achievable *now*, not in some distant future. For the sake of this study, this is where B.F. Skinner's understanding of a behaviorist utopia as presented in *Walden Two* supplements Marxian critique, and becomes applicable to Twin Oaks Community.

B.F. Skinner's radical behaviorism and *Walden Two*

Published in 1948, B.F. Skinner's *Walden Two* is a work of fiction told through the experience of one Professor Burris, whose former colleague, Frazier, has founded an intentional community. During their time together in graduate school, Frazier had discussed his ideas regarding political action: that it is useless if the end goal is achieving real change, because "[g]overnment must always be right—they can't experiment because they can't admit doubt or question" (Skinner, 1948, p. 181). It is Frazier's view that governments will never change because of their obsession with power, and therefore, people must change themselves through behavioral engineering if they wish for a better world. Frazier's community is an attempt at engineering behavior by changing the environment through which people experience learning. Actions within Walden Two are followed by consequences that are different from the outside

world and because of this, Walden Two members are taught to be more peaceful and caring of one another.

       Much of the novel is spent telling the story of two former students of Burris, Jamnik and Rogers, who after returning home from the Second World War are looking for an alternative to the suburban experience. They are terrified of re-entering a society that they have been separated from in mind and spirit throughout the war. They and their girlfriends travel with Burris and Castle, another colleague of Burris, to visit Walden Two. Frazier shows the group around Walden Two, which is said to be a community housing approximately 1,000 members, and explains its many practices, including the community's labor credit system, behavioral engineering of children and young adults, and the resulting culture and rituals of the community. Skeptical at first, Burris slowly begins to warm up to the idea of living at Walden Two. He is countered by his colleague, Castle, who is entirely skeptical, and doubtful of Frazier's intentions in founding the community. In the end, Burris joins the community.

       Skinner's voice shines through in Frazier's character, who insists that behavioral engineering is not only possible, but that it can work to achieve real change as a form of self-control:

> Now, you can't get people to follow a useful code [of conduct] by making them into so many jacks-in-the-box. You can't foresee all future circumstances, and you can't specify adequate future conduct. You don't know what will be required. Instead you have to set up certain behavioral processes which will lead the individual to design his own 'good' conduct when the time comes. We call that sort of thing 'self-control' (Skinner, 1948, p. 96)

Behavioral engineering through positive reinforcement is thus painted as a process through

which one "design[s]" human behavior (Skinner, 1948, p. 96). Frazier goes on to describe the

process of positive reinforcement; he refers to the praxis as the process of creating "situations"

which a person either likes or does not like, in order to modify behavior (Skinner, 1948, p. 245).

Children at the community are taught patience, appreciation, and independence through both

positive and negative reinforcement. They are raised separately from their parents, in groups

with whom they take meals and spend the majority of their time. Their behavior is engineered

from a young age in a variety of ways.

     An example of early behavioral engineering occurs during mealtimes. From a young age,

Walden Two children must at times singularly wait to eat meals while everyone else in their peer

group enjoys food without delay. Frazier says that by delaying a mealtime for a few minutes for

one child, the child is taught patience, appreciation for food, and to not be jealous of others. In

creating a situation the child does not care for, the child learns how to behave in order to receive

what is desired. Reinforcement tactics are not to be confused with punishment; Frazier carefully

makes this distinction when he states:

> We are gradually discovering—at an untold cost in human suffering—that in the long run
>
> punishment doesn't reduce the probability that an act will occur. Now, early forms of
>
> government are naturally based on punishment. It's the obvious technique when the
>
> physically strong control the weak. But we're in the throes of a great change to positive
>
> reinforcement—from a competitive society in which one man's reward is another man's
>
> punishment, to a cooperative society in which no one gains at the expense of anyone else
>
> (Skinner, 1948, p. 245).

While punishment tactics are used in mainstream society, Walden Two revaluates the necessity

of punishment as a form of altering behavior. By changing the circumstances through which

members experience situations, they can then alter their behavior to the desired outcome, i.e.

members become peaceful, not envious or jealous, loving, patient, appreciative, and kind.

In his most recent foreword to *Walden Two*, written in January 1976, Skinner presented

his belief that communities similar to Walden Two are achievable, and that they represent

alternatives to living in the mainstream. "The 'behavioral engineering' I had so frequently

mentioned in the book was, at the time, little more than science fiction" he states, adding, "I had

thought that an experimental analysis of behavior could be applied to practical problems, but I

had not proved it" (Skinner, 1976). However, with the passage of time, the concept of "behavior

modification" became well known and accepted by the psychological community, circa the

1950's (Skinner, 1976). There was, Skinner noted, a "better reason" why *Walden Two* increased

in popularity; he states that the world began to see the threat of environmental problems,

including pollution, "the exhaustion of resources," and overpopulation. Another fear was the

threat of "nuclear holocaust" (Skinner, 1976).

He acknowledged that Walden Two, while fictional, still can be understood as a "pilot

experiment" through which greater potential for community can be realized:

> If we want to find out how people can live together without quarreling, can produce the
>
> goods they need without working too hard, or can raise and educate their children more
>
> efficiently, let us start with units of manageable size before moving on to larger
>
> problems" (Skinner, 1976). At the community level, reinforcement can be practiced in
>
> such a way that its results are observable. Skinner speculates that after this, reinforcement
>
> could become replicated on a larger scale (Skinner, 1976).

Skinner saw community life as carrying a greater propensity for change. Through community

would be "our best chance to answer the really important questions facing the world today—

questions not about economics or government but about the daily lives of human beings"

(Skinner, 1976). The materialism of the outside world can be juxtaposed with Thoreau's

Walden, in which he insists that a focus on reducing the amount of goods consumed would

spawn less of a necessity for "unpleasant labor" (Skinner, 1976). However, instead of achieving

an alternative existence alone, as is the case with *Walden*, *Walden Two* emphasizes how *two* or

more persons can achieve it together. Individuals working together and consuming less would

contradict the values that the current economy perpetuates. Skinner noted that this is not

troublesome, since "something is wrong when it is the system that must be saved rather than the

way of life that the system is supposed to serve" (Skinner, 1976). Consuming less and creating

community could thus be "a real step toward world peace" (Skinner, 1976). He leaves his reader

with a final observation of how community could help reinvent the current mainstream values

system:

> The choice is clear: either we do nothing and allow a miserable and probably catastrophic
>
> future to overtake us, or we use our knowledge about human behavior to create a social
>
> environment in which we shall live productive and creative lives and do so without
>
> jeopardizing the chances that those who follow us will be able to do the same. Something
>
> like a Walden Two would not be a bad start. (Skinner, 1976).

While Skinner admitted that the ideas he presents in *Walden Two* were like science fiction during

his time, the founders of Twin Oaks Community saw real possibility in his presentation for the

creation of a communal utopia. Many of the assertions that Frazier makes in the novel stand out

as ideals that Twin Oaks members held at points throughout their history. Members indicate that

they are now less connected to the *Walden Two* spirit, but still practice many of the rituals and

hold similar beliefs to those mentioned in the book. Frazier's character embodies some of these

beliefs. Firstly, Frazier discusses the creed behind the labor credit system, in which each member

works a minimal amount of hours per day carrying out tasks that help the community continue to

run. These tasks include cleaning, educating, childcare, and general upkeep. The eight founders

of Twin Oaks Community drew inspiration from Walden Two's system. One of the founders,

Kat Kinkade acknowledged the connection:

> We…had a sort of blueprint for community in the form of the book *Walden Two*. Our
>
> plan was to create the community described in that book. Of course we couldn't literally
>
> do this, partly from lack of money, but we came as close as we could (Kinkade, 1994, p.
>
> 9).

At Twin Oaks, a slightly modified version of the labor credit system exists, inspired by the

system presented in *Walden Two*:

> Basically labor credits are Twin Oaks' internal economic currency. One credit equals one
>
> hour of work. Other than the obvious exceptions for the sick and the aging, every
>
> member is required to work an equal number of hours for the Community each week
>
> (Kinkade, 1994, p. 29).

These hours are subject to change; at the time that Kinkade wrote in 1994, members were

required to work 46 hours, or, fulfill 46 labor credits per week. At the time of my visit, (late May

thru early June 2012), members were only required to fulfill 42. Either way, fulfilling the

required amount of labor credits each week is referred to as "doing quota" (Kinkade, 1994, p.

29), or "meeting quota." Members start their "work week" by choosing which activities they

wish to perform in order to fill their required amount of labor credit. Any and all activities are

not labor creditable, but far more activities are valued as labor-creditable than would be in the

mainstream. Kinkade described labor creditable activities as follows:

> The following things are here considered creditable work: house cleaning, shopping,
>
> childcare, laundry, cooking, mowing the lawn, doing household repairs, volunteer work
>
> for charitable organizations, going to the doctor, voting in local elections, writing letters
>
> to Congress, going to relatives' funerals, and [painting], in addition to virtually unlimited
>
> sick time. (Kinkade, 1994, p. 29).

Kinkade was of course attempting to be a little drastic in presenting the above examples, and is

slightly tongue-in-cheek. There are limits to the amount of credit one can receive for things like

being sick, voting, or going to the doctor. She chose deliberately not to refer to more typical

ways of meeting labor credit, examples of which include: working in one of the community's

small businesses, farming, working with dairy production and working construction on the

property. However, it is important to note that all of these activities, in combination with many

more, are considered labor creditable.

A key difference between the labor-creditable activities presented in the novel, and those

in practice at Twin Oaks is the fact that Twin Oaks has small businesses that contribute to the

outside economy. Their hammocks and tofu businesses sell or formerly sold to hugely profitable

retailers within the larger capitalist economy.[3] This led one ex-member to conclude that the

community has few "hippie" businesses that actively work against the mainstream (participant

observation, May 19, 2012). While he insisted that tofu was a "hippie" business, it was clearly

very reliant on industry and warehousing. Producing tofu is physically demanding, and requires

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[3] The hammocks business used to sell to Pier One Imports, until their contract was cancelled recently. Twin Oaks tofu is still a featured product at Whole Foods, a grocery chain specializing in organic and all-natural foods.

that one stands in a very hot, humid environment while wearing headphones to block out the

noise of the machinery. That said, members can choose their labor activities, and if they do not

enjoy tofu production, it is not formally required that they partake. There were members who

indicated that they preferred working with tofu to most other activities, and these members

tended to work almost exclusively in tofu production.

Twin Oaks' use of marketing tactics, warehousing, quality assurance, and shipping are

fashioned somewhat similarly to basic business norms on the outside. However, the ways in

which Twin Oaks businesses rely on labor speaks to a completely different outlook from

mainstream society. At Twin Oaks, there are no capitalists, or, owners of the means of

production that exploit members for their labor value. Instead, *members* own the means of

production, and their communal economy ensures that members benefit directly from the labor

they expend. So, while Twin Oaks relies on profit from its businesses (hammock, tofu and

tempeh sales, among others) for survival, its manner of creating profit is *not* consistent with the

core tenets of businesses working within capitalist economies, which are (1) the unequal

distribution of private property and (2) the creation of surplus labor value.

Skinner also detailed the governance system of Walden Two, and Twin Oaks has come to

replicate this governance system. According to Kinkade, "Twin Oaks uses what we call the

Planner-Manager form of government. We got it straight out of *Walden Two*, and it has worked

remarkably well over the years" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). "Planners" serve eighteen-month terms

and designate their time towards "mak[ing] long-range policy, control[ling] and dispens[ing]

resources, and do[ing] whatever else comes up to take care of the overall well-being of the

Community" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). Meanwhile, managers are in charge of making larger

decisions in specific areas of the community, e.g. Food, Garden (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17), but no

one "reports" to a Manager (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). Instead, managers typically seek input from fellow members before making final decisions (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17).

Aside from having a similar governance structure to Skinner's Walden Two community, Twin Oaks reflects some of Skinner's general attitudes. Although it may not be plain to see, Skinner's core tenet of shaping human behavior through the deliberate creation of a new environment seems to still impact the lives of Twin Oaks members. Through the creation and upkeep of various norms, certain behavior is expected and upheld. Non-violence and gender equality are paramount to the values of the community, and any violation of these values translates to a member being required to leave the community immediately.

Skinner's behaviorist model as it is presented in *Walden Two* can be seen to have significant bearing on how Twin Oaks grew to be as it is today. Skinner's ideal, described through Frazier, was the creation of a community that deliberately shapes the environment in which members live, in order to alter behavior for the better when compared to the outside world. Furthermore, the type of system that Twin Oaks follows directly contradicts theoretical claims that bureaucratic norms in society are both inevitable and omnipotent.

Max Weber's discussion of bureaucracy

This thesis rejects the argument by Max Weber that bureaucracy is inescapable. I will argue that Twin Oaks' non-hierarchical governance model and resulting emphasis on community sharply indicate otherwise. Weber's depiction of legal-rationality and the normalization of the bureaucratic regime are thus of critical interest, and perhaps bear the greatest theoretical significance for purposes of this thesis. This is because Twin Oaks members refute Weber's insistence on the inevitability of bureaucracy as a mode of organization. Twin Oaks Community

exemplifies a real, lived alternative to the bureaucratic mode of organization, as it is an egalitarian alternative.

As a critic of modern society, Max Weber noted how a highly efficient form of domination comes to exist through bureaucratic organization. His criticism differs from that of Karl Marx, as he does not rely heavily on economism to explain the problematic of modern social organization. Rather than follow suit with Marx's historical materialist analysis, Weber's critique extended beyond materialism, into a discussion of human interests, and his focus was how these interests become expressed through social structures. For Weber, social behavior is not purely explained away by a group's economic circumstances. Instead, Weber suggested that men act based on a combination of their *real* (material) *and ideal* interests (Bendix, 1977, p. 286). Ideal interests are best defined as those that extend beyond economic interests, e.g. religious or spiritual interests (Bendix, 1977, p. 286).

Weber's depiction of real and ideal interests as shaping one's social reality differs from Marx's conception of society, but this is not the only way that Weber strayed from Marxian thought. While Marx saw possibility for human liberation from exploitation in capitalism through revolution, Weber's interpretation of society is more in line with the "iron law of oligarchy," put forth later by Michels. Weber concluded that bureaucracy—a rigid, hierarchical form of organization that rises out of legal-rationality—is technically superior to all other modes of organization. Because of this fact, there is no impetus to replace bureaucracy, and bureaucracy is likely to carry on indefinitely, to the point that there are bureaucracies within bureaucracies. In one of his statements on the subject, Weber stated that human beings are, and will continue to be in an "iron cage," infinitely confined and crippled by the increased rationalization of modern life.

Weber's interpretation of modern social organization rests on several basic premises. Most significant of these are that man's circumstances are shaped by power relationships, and that these power relationships manifest into structural arrangements. Weber defined power as "the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of other persons" (quoted in Bendix, 1977, p. 290). *Herrschaft*, or "domination," materializes power socially into lines of command, and expresses a relationship between people that "involves a reciprocal relationship between the ruler and the ruled" (Bendix, 1977, p. 291; 292). Meaning, or, what becomes considered "normal" is reified through *Herrschaft*, where the authority relationship, in and of itself, is a new "normal." In Weber's view, "the meaning that rulers and ruled attach to the authority relationship" comes to define social arrangements (Bendix, 1977, p. 292). It is then both meaning and real interests that become expressed via authority relationships. Then, legitimation processes work to crystallize subordination; "rulers claim that they have legitimate authority to [rule] and hence they expect their commands to be obeyed" while "the obedience of the ruled is guided to some extent by the idea that the rulers and their commands constitute a legitimate order of authority" (Bendix, 1977, p. 292) All authority cannot stand on its own, however. Forms of administration extend beyond the legitimated ruler, as "[d]omination requires an administrative staff to execute commands" (Bendix, 1977, p. 292). Especially within administration, there is domination that creates a "command over the staff…vested in an individual or a group of individuals" (Bendix, 1977, p. 292). It can thus be easily inferred how rapidly bureaucracy can spread, as its machinery grows to encompass forms of administration, expanding across society.

This expansion of bureaucracy throughout modern society results inevitably in the normalization of its rules and procedures. "Legal equals," or, members of society that are "subject to the commands [of superiors]" obey law "rather than the persons implementing it"

(Bendix, 1977, p. 294). This means that most of society comes to accept its own subordination, as bureaucratic rules are viewed as both legitimate and normal. As suggested previously, this results in an inevitable "continuous" normative understanding of bureaucracy that is both thought and lived: "[t]his organization is continuous; its officials are subject to rules that delimit their authority, institute controls over its exercise, separate the private person from the performance of official functions, and require that all transactions be in writing in order to be valid" (quoted in Bendix, 1977, p. 294).

Weber noted that bureaucracy requires activities to be reduced to rules, and that "the authority to order certain matters to decree" makes it so that domination occurs "abstractly" (quoted in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 198). The accepted norm that one should follow rules *because* they are "the rules," as well as the accepted norm that one should listen to superiors *because* it is expected, represents an acceptance of domination in society that differs greatly from modes of organization stemming from what Weber calls "traditional" and "charismatic" mindsets (Bendix, 1977, pp. 294-95, Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 198). A traditional, or, patriarchal mindset requires a form of organization that honors both values. It is rooted in a belief "in the legitimacy of an authority that 'has always existed'" (Bendix, 1977, pp. 294-95). Domination occurs between masters and their followers or subjects (Bendix, 1977, p. 295). The former step into their role "in accord with custom," as they enjoy "inherited status," while the latter "obey out of personal loyalty to the master or a pious regard for his time-honored status" (Bendix, 1977, p. 295). The apparatus that comes to express this relationship is expressed either through a "patrimonial regime" or through feudalism (Bendix, 1977, p. 295).

Charismatic domination occurs between leaders and their disciples or followers. A leader is typically a "prophet, hero, or demagogue" who proves his charisma "by virtue of magical

powers, revelations, heroism, or other extraordinary gifts" (Bendix, 1977, p. 295). A leader's

disciples or followers, then, are those who believe in the leader's charismatic expression. This

relationship is different from traditional domination, since it is not held together by a time-

honored loyalty of one to the other, and neither leaders nor followers are stepping into inherited

roles. Charismatic domination is manifested in an apparatus of loyalty to the leader, and the

hierarchy that occurs is highly personal as "officials are selected in terms of their own charisma

and personal devotion, rather than in terms of their qualifications, status, or personal

dependence" (Bendix, 1977, p. 295).

Finally, bureaucracy is the mode of organization stemming from a legal-rational mindset,

and its domination is expressed in a relationship between superiors and legal equals. All three

forms of domination are "ideal types" that, according to Weber, do not occur by themselves, but

that have historically been found in combinations (Bendix, 1977, p. 296). That said, modern

society seeks out legal domination through bureaucratic organization, as reality is defined

through a legal-rational mindset. The fact that modern man favors bureaucracy to all other

"types" also speaks to the modern idealization of efficiency. The type of man borne from a

society in which bureaucratic organization is normalized, who comes to expect bureaucracy, was

"deplored" by Weber (quoted in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 50). For Weber, "[t]he narrowed

professional, publicly certified and examined, and ready for tenure and career" whose "craving

for security is balanced by his moderate ambitions and…rewarded by the honor of his official

status" is shameful, since he is "a petty routine creature, lacking in heroism, human spontaneity,

and inventiveness" (quoted in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 50).

Even though Weber repudiated bureaucratic organization, he acknowledged that its

"technical superiority over any other form of organization" is such that bureaucracy appears

"exactly as does the machine with the nontechnical modes of production"; bureaucracy is the most highly efficient mode of organization, and when compared to all other forms of organization, is the most alluring (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 214). While bureaucracy and capitalism are distinct forces, the capitalist market economy "demands the official business of the administration be discharged precisely, unambiguously, continuously, and with as much speed as possible" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 215). Bureaucratic organization was thus the optimum for Weber; it is the most efficient, and "'objective' discharge of business" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 215). Modern culture demands its "'calculability' of results" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 215). Additionally, within a capitalist market economy, the bureaucratic mode of organization thrives the more that it becomes "dehumanized," for "the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation" the more technically superior it becomes (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 216). Bureaucracy, and conversely, "[t]he 'rational' interpretation of law on the basis of strictly formal conceptions" is the norm in modern society, and "stands opposite the kind of adjudication that is primarily bound by sacred traditions" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 216). In this sense, bureaucracy is a product of its environment; it is highly modern and keeping with a certain standard.

However deplorable bureaucratic organization may be, Weber insisted that, of the three ideal types, it is the most difficult to destroy (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 228). Bureaucracy is "*the* means of carrying 'community action' over into rationally ordered 'societal action'" (Weber, 1998, p. 228). Thus, bureaucracy can be seen as an instrument that " 'societaliz[es]' relations of power" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 228). This is significant because "[u]nder otherwise equal conditions, a 'societal action,' which is methodically ordered

and led, is superior to every resistance of 'mass' or even of 'communal action'" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 228). Additionally, the administration that stems from bureaucratic organization works to ensure a permeation of power relationships throughout society that are "practically unshatterable" (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 228). While Weber acknowledged that forms of social organization (traditional, charismatic, and bureaucratic) are not perfect and are subject to alterations, he emphasizes that bureaucratic organization is "both permanent and indispensable", contradicting "anarchists and socialists who believe that administration can be done away with in an ideal society or that it can be used to implement a freer and more equitable social order" (Bendix, 1977, p. 430). Weber was of the view that if bureaucracy were to change, it would only be more oppressive than the form the capitalist market economy currently demands (Bendix, 1977, p. 430).

The organizational structure of Twin Oaks Community directly contradicts the perceived inevitability of bureaucratic organization in mainstream society. It is not hierarchical, and it manifests egalitarianism for members. Weber may have been correct in his interpretation of bureaucracy as modernity's primary, most efficient mode of organization, but this does not mean that alternate forms of organization in society cannot exist. As it is found at the margins of society in intentional communities, the normalization of egalitarianism represents a new understanding of what can be defined as socially and economically rational. Human liberation seems possible through the development of new norms that exist outside of the mainstream. In the case of Twin Oaks, the deliberate development of a new normal, or, a culture that turns from *Gesellschaft* towards an alternative, can be seen as the first step in escaping bureaucracy. Subsequently, Twin Oaks' governance system is not bureaucratic, and members are not made to

experience the highly specialized, unalterable relationship to their labor experienced by

bureaucrats.

As stated previously, the community utilizes a non-hierarchical "Planner-Manager"

system that it has derived directly from *Walden Two*, a work by B.F. Skinner that details the

inner workings of a fictional, idyllic egalitarian community (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). "Planners,"

of which there has historically been three at all times, make up a small board and serve

"staggered" eighteen-month terms (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). They cannot serve two terms

consecutively, but are allowed to return if they have not occupied a Planner position for at least

six months (Kinkade, 1994, p. 19). Planners are ultimately responsible for "mak[ing] long-range

policy, control[ling] and dispens[ing] resources, and do[ing] whatever else comes up to take care

of the overall well-being of the Community" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). During their multiple

weekly meetings, Planners hold the responsibility of figuring out financial logistics for the entire

community. They bear the burden of deciding the amount of funding that goes to specific areas

of the community, and for one month out of every year, they work primarily on the coming

year's economic plan (Kinkade, 1994, p. 20).

On the other hand, managers are responsible for overseeing specific areas of the

community; "The Food Manager decides what foods we will have available; the Auto Manager

decides when to replace an aging vehicle. The Garden Manager determines which vegetables we

grow" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). There is a multitude of Manager positions within many different

areas of concentration. The fulfillment of these positions is not mandatory, but is voluntary.

Members who express to the community via the community bulletin board that they are

interested in becoming a Planner or Manager will step into their role voluntarily. That is, so long

as they are approved by the respective Council, and any objections community members might

have are outweighed by others' expressions of approval, as expressed anonymously via an input

box[4] (Kinkade, 1994, p. 19). In the rare instance that there is more than one person running for a

Manager (or Planner) position, the community will take out the input box so that members can

voice their opinion. This is not mandatory, and absolutely no campaigning is allowed, since it

would foster a "competitive" atmosphere that members "prefer to avoid" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 19).

At first glance, Manager and Planner positions may sound like they wield a great deal of

power. It is thus important to note that both managers and Planners make up a system that is

"largely non-hierarchical" in that "[n]obody reports to anybody" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). Rather

than act as part of a hierarchical system, managers "are almost autonomous," with others

"looking to them only for direction" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). All decisions that managers make

are "usually made after seeking input from others" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 17). At present, there are

over 100 Manager positions at Twin Oaks, which are not always completely filled. This has

grown since 1994, when there were 75 Manager positions, and "at least three quarters" of

members occupied manager positions (Kinkade, 1994, p. 18). However, this does not indicate

that all members hold Manager positions; "By no means all of our members are prepared to take

on such a responsibility. Some members are…not ready [and] [s]ome members will not accept a

managership" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 18). However, because there is such a diverse range of work to

be done, there is almost always the option for members to take on greater responsibility.

In addition to the community's robust managerial structure, all Twin Oaks members are

considered workers. This means that "members who are managers of one area are workers in

somebody else's area," and also means, more frankly, that, "nobody bosses anybody else

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[4] Kinkade refers to the input box as a "veto box"; it is my understanding that they are one in the same and the name has simply changed, since they carry the same function. Members during my study referred to it as the input box.

around" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 18). Informally, managers are put in a position where abusing their

power makes them unpopular with the community, which in turn can result in managers needing

to change their outlook quickly in order to win back approval from their fellow members. A

member addressed this in a discussion with me this May, stating that there are certain unspoken

expectations regarding every part of the community, and with the Planners and managers, there

is the expectation that they will plan for the good of the community. This expectation alone

provides a kind of check on the system.

Managers' decisions may be appealed to councils. For example, one council in the

community is concerned with agriculture, and that council is made up of managers from thirteen

areas: Bees, Dairy, Farm, Fences, Forestry, Garden, Herb Garden, Mushrooms, Orchard,

Ornamentals, Poultry, Seeds, and Alt-Orchard. Councils make decisions in a democratic manner

of their choosing, e.g. sociocracy, consensus minus one, consensus, or majority voting. If a

member wished to challenge a decision made by the Garden Manager, she would appeal to the

Agriculture Council. If unsatisfied with the Council's decision, she may appeal to the Planners.

If still unsatisfied, she may open up the Planners' decision to a vote, where all members would

act "as a voting body" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 21). In this case, "[a] simple majority of the members

can have its way about anything except bylaws changes, which take a higher percentage"

(Kinkade, 1994, p. 21).

Whatever lines of authority exist in the Planner-Manager system that Twin Oaks has

adopted from *Walden Two*, there is no authority in the community that cannot be contested.

Where it does exist, authority is both limited and staggered, and constantly vulnerable to the

whim of community members, who at any time may decide to dispute its legitimacy through

inquiries during the workday, or through appeal; "[a]ny time any Community member

disapproves of a decision, whether Planner level or Managerial, that decision can be appealed"

(Kinkade, 1994, p. 21).

      Twin Oaks members practice workplace democracy both in their labor choices and in

their ability to dispute managers and Planners, and the relevance of this will be discussed in the

analysis. Overall though, the socioeconomic norms presented at Twin Oaks work to empower

individual choice with regards to labor, value labor uniformly, and work to integrate the

individual with her community. The power of choice when it comes to labor, and the kind of

culture that this reflects within Twin Oaks, is perhaps the community's most quintessentially

non-bureaucratic element. The fact that this choice exists, let alone the community, speaks to a

real, lived alternative to bureaucracy that disproves Max Weber's assertion that bureaucracy is

both inevitable and omnipotent.

Research Literature

Further theoretical contributions stem from a growing literature on worker cooperatives. Based on Weber and Michels, critics of the intentional communitarian lifestyle and/or worker ownership might look to find the inevitability of oligarchy in any and all egalitarian initiatives. This assertion has already been adequately refuted. Still, critics may choose to focus on the overall consequence of localized egalitarianism, stating that an emphasis on local business over global or transnational exchange does not help to grow national economies, and thus, that the very idea of hoards of individuals living and working locally is ludicrous. In this matter, it must firstly be made clear that the end goal for individuals choosing to live in contradiction to mainstream culture in community or by working cooperatively is *not* to rot their national economy from within. They also do not assume the necessity of capitalism, in which the stated goal is to increase profit for owners. Furthermore, they do not assume the inevitability of bureaucracy, which works to rationalize work and life. Because advocates of egalitarian alternatives are denying the premises of both capitalism and bureaucratic social organization, said individuals cannot be put under a microscope in which the lens is skewed in favor of the necessity of capitalism and the inevitability of bureaucracy. What is more: even when viewed through this lens, case studies illustrate how cooperative workplaces *can* be conducive to regional economic growth.

In the case where Michels would have stated that oligarchy is inevitable, fieldwork in cooperative workplaces in North America have shown otherwise. In their award-winning book, *The Cooperative Workplace* (1986), Joyce Rothschild and J. Allen Whitt detail case studies that persuasively contradict any expectation of bureaucratic forms of labor organization. Rothschild and Whitt's work is firstly based on the assumption that direct democracy, as it becomes lived

within a collective organization, is organizationally possible, and not "utopian" (1986, p. 1). A collective organization is one that bases itself on a direct democratic experience, juxtaposing an organization's need for "leadership" with the directive of equal voice. The cooperative workplace falls within this category as an organization that utilizes the collective ideal and manifests it in its workplace, where "control [of a workplace] rests ultimately and overwhelmingly with the member-employees-owners" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 2). Cooperative workplaces are seen as "attempts to build organizations that are parallel to, but outside of, established institutions and that fulfill social needs…without using bureaucratic authority" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 11). In contrast to representation, direct democracy is made achievable in cooperative workplaces through real participation and input of members, and oligarchy and bureaucratic social organization are stringently resisted.

Collectivism celebrates the democratic organizational union between localism, decentralization, and egalitarianism. Pateman (1970) insists that one only comes to understand (participatory) democracy "through participation" (cited by Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 13). Rooted in Marxism, anarchism, and participatory democracy, the collectivist model calls into question the dominant mode of representative democracy (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, pp. 14-18). Rothschild and Whitt challenge the views of Weber and Michels, stating that bureaucracy is not inevitable, and that there is no "iron law of oligarchy" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, pp. 23-24). They propose an addendum to Weber's conception of there being three distinct forms of social organization. Again, Weber understands that essentially three different forms of social organization can exist, stemming from traditional, charismatic, and legal-rationalities. Rothschild and Whitt add a fourth: value-rationality, which is manifested in radically democratic organizations that are cooperative/collectivist. In other words, for them, the evolution of social

organization does not stop with bureaucracy. Rather, a group's values, e.g. worker ownership, can translate into a form of social organization (radical democracy) that breaks down bureaucratic authority, and gives authority back to the collective. The concept is simple: beyond legal-rationality, a group can come to the conclusion that common ownership is what they wish for, and a corresponding democracy will work to organize it.

In order to substantiate this claim, Rothschild and Whitt present case studies of five cooperative workplaces which work outside the limits of bureaucracy. They are: (1) a cooperatively run community medical clinic, (2) an alternative high school, (3) a food co-op, (4) a collective newspaper, and (5) a legal collective (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 27). In utilizing participant observation methods and document analysis, as well as surveying participants in all organizations with the exception of the legal collective, Rothschild and Whitt developed a thorough understanding of collectivism, resulting in a theory of how collectivist organizations function, as well as how they work to better dignify individual autonomy. Characteristics of collectivist organizations, they claim, are (1) the "rejection of bureaucratic justifications for authority" (2) the rejection of binding rules within an organization, (3) the rejection of corporatist, centralized decision-making, (4) the furthering of community values, (5) employment based on "friendship and social-political values" rather than "specialized training or certification" (6) an incentive structure that relies "on a sense of shared purpose" rather than money alone, (7) an egalitarian social structure, and finally, (8) "general" and "whollistic" work roles that do not require specialization (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, pp. 51-60). All of these characteristics combined make for organizations that stand as "efforts to realize wholly different values", and they do so on a localized basis (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 72). In a collectivist organization, one's employment, as the most basic economic unit, becomes a vehicle through

which one can experience direct democracy through forms of participation. Rather than being dictated to in the workplace, worker-owners of cooperatives are each responsible for carrying the weight of the group, and this creates inventive for them to voice opinion on relevant issues.

Rothschild and Whitt go on to list external conditions that are conducive to the implementation of the collectivist organization model. Firstly, they claim that the formation of an "oppositional stance" towards mainstream society can help to solidify group relations (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 120). Furthermore, external reforms could "weaken the once-oppositional organization" since this would mean that their message would become "watered down" to appeal to a mainstream palate (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 121). Secondly, when collectivist organizations are surrounded by a local community that is hurting because of its lack of self-efficacy, the community may work to incentivize collectivist structures; when "significant needs [are] unmet" and "a large and supportive professional population" exists, cooperatives have the potential to thrive (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 121). This means, for example, that a local community that has been devastated economically and cannot successfully advocate for itself would be more likely to professionally support a collectivist organization that offers a chance for greater self-efficacy to citizens. Another external condition that helps a collectivist organization thrive is its connection to the social movement that substantiated the need for its existence in the first place, since "[t]he more a collectivist organization remains identified with and oriented toward the broader social environment that spawned it, the less likely it is to experience goal displacement" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 128).

Overall, collectivist organizations work to "recreate human-scale, decentralized institutions in the community and in the workplace" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 145). The mainstream economic goal of maximizing profit is not of interest in collectivist organizations.

Instead, they work to practice direct democratic ideals, provide excellent products and services to the community, create "alternative" employment opportunities, satisfy their members, and (hopefully) "contribute to a larger societal change" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 145). Most at stake for collectivist organizations is "the creation and maintenance of organizational democracy" and the resulting spillover effect of "human happiness" (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 146). The only negative component of a cooperative workplace in relation to the individual is the disorder that can result from governance that is not hierarchically based. A survey conducted by Rothschild and Whitt indicates that only eight percent of members of the four cooperative workplaces that participated in the study saw their operation as running smoothly (1986, p. 156). Rothschild and Whitt claim that this statistic speaks to a difficult balance between "less alienation" for workers that results from labor not being divided bureaucratically, and the increase in stress that they may feel from increased responsibility (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 156). However, even with only eight percent stating that they perceive operations running smoothly, it seems that members are generally willing to put up with relative anarchy in order to have a greater participatory experience. In essence, this speaks to the overall motivation for joining and maintaining collectivist organizations; disorder is a small price to pay for a chance at greater organizational autonomy.

As outlined by Rothschild and Whitt, the future of cooperatives is uncertain, but is directly related to three factors. The first is their ability to compete in a market economy (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 160). If cooperatives are based locally, they will more than likely not wield as much economic power as a large corporation. The second is their life span. External and internal pressures may affect how long a cooperative organization will survive. The third, final, and perhaps most important factor influencing the future of cooperatives in the United

States is the role of the state itself in helping to incentivize cooperative enterprises (Rothschild &

Whitt, 1986, p. 160). So long as "entrepreneurs in a capitalist enterprise have little incentive to

share with others the fruits of their ideas or control over the production process," collectivist

organizations may suffer without the help of the state (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 163).

Collectivist organizations are not easy to implement and maintain in absence of the

above-mentioned factors. Despite this, cooperatives in the United States have seen a rich history

in their association with social movements, and "continue to function as effective and democratic

organizations" even after they dissolve (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 181). They also "survive

considerably better" than small businesses on average (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 181).

Overall, Rothschild and Whitt argue that the changing state of society's circumstances will result

in a return to local solutions; "the world's resources are limited and shrinking…[and] we are

moving away from gargantuan size and rapid growth rates as yardsticks of success to a concern

with the social utility and quality of products or services" (p. 190). As a result, democracy, as it

is expressed in collective organizations, will appear both as a greater value and priority

(Rothschild & Whitt, 1986, p. 190).

The argument in favor of the collectivist model is that it brings not only greater worker

satisfaction, but that it also works as a form of association that brings the experience of

participatory democracy (the truest form of democracy) to the fore. Cooperative workplaces have

the potential to significantly impact civic life for the better. Assuming one works in a

bureaucratic workplace 40 hours per week, the average American working full-time spends over

2,000 hours per year in a state of relative alienation, unable to practice self-efficacy in the

workplace. The real democracy one experiences is thus severely limited by socioeconomic

circumstances. The collectivist model offers as an alternative to this state of being, bringing

localized, direct experiences with democracy to workplaces and communities and allowing for

greater opportunities for individual autonomy, egalitarianism, and overall worker satisfaction.

The collectivist model thus functions as an addendum to Weber's theory that there are three

"ideal types" of social organization, and challenges his view that bureaucracy is inevitable.

A prime example of a successful worker cooperative that fits within the collectivist

model is the Mondragon Cooperative Cooperation (MCC), the world's largest cooperative

organization located in the Basque Region of Spain (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 3). MCC has

grown overtime from around 100 cooperatives in 1956 to over 250 as of 2010, employing just

fewer than 84,000 people in 2011 (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p.3; "Most relevant data", 2011).

Mondragon has been noted as "the most impressive refutation of the belief that worker

cooperatives have little capacity for economic growth and long-term survival" (Whyte & Whyte,

1991, p. 3). Its founder, Jose Maria Arizmendiarrieta, (or Arizmendi), a Priest in Mondragon,

held an interest in the local socioeconomic makeup of the Basque region. This led him to stress a

reinterpretation of work, where "cooperation and collective solidarity," combined with proper

education would help to ensure Mondragon's economic prosperity (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p.

29). Arizmendi founded various institutions that worked to educate blue-collar youth, support

families, provide medical care, and promote recreational activities (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p.

29). He also founded a technical school, the Escuela Politecnica Profesional, where he worked to

teach students "conflicts between labor and capital, reform of private enterprise…self-

management and the participation of workers in ownership" (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 33).

Combined, Arizmendi's initiatives laid the groundwork for what later became a thriving

movement in Mondragon, when students of Arizmendi founded a number of worker cooperatives

(Whyte & Whyte, 1991, pp. 34-35). Together, the worker cooperatives of Mondragon are

recently listed as contributing to 3.6 percent of the Basque region's total GDP, and 6.6 percent of its industrial GDP ("In 2008", 2009).

The governance structures of Mondragon cooperatives encompass various circles of individuals responsible for guiding the cooperative mission in line with the desires of worker-owners. These circles include a governing council, responsible for making policy, a manager, a management council responsible for executive decision-making, a general assembly that acts as a "town hall" where worker-owners vote on executive decisions, among other committees, councils, and various departments (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, pp. 37-39). All worker-members vote on council and committee memberships, thereby mitigating the potential for bad management. Unique to Mondragon's governance structure is its social council, which acts as another medium through which worker-owners can guide management. The social council advises the governing council and management on topics that are of vital importance to all worker-owners, to include: safety and health while working, social security, compensation, and social work activities or projects (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 40). No management or governing council member is permitted to make decisions regarding any or all of these issues without first consulting the social council (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 40).

The Mondragon model has both influenced worker cooperatives in other parts of the world and provided a case that can be studied in terms of its successes and failures (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 282). Overall, MCC provides an example of a viable alternative to legal-rationality, since it "suggests the increasing importance of growth through horizontal exchange and service relations, rather than through vertical hierarchies in which leaders…try to bring under their control as much as possible of the human and material resources needed to produce

their goods and services" (Whyte & Whyte, 1991, p. 296). In this sense, the Mondragon

experience has successfully refuted the norm of bureaucracy.

      A brief study of the potential of real-world cooperative practices, in combination with the

theories of Marx, Weber, and Skinner, laid the foundation for my own study. The goal was: to

find another case study of a successful fight against bureaucracy, against oligarchy, and

consequently see that there *is* incentive for more egalitarian practices in society today. What is of

interest is that the collectivist model can be taken and studied within an intentional community,

in order to revisit whether bureaucratic domination and oligarchy have, in fact, conquered

modernity from all sides.

Method

This thesis relies on findings from a participant observation study conducted during a three-week

visit to the community in May through June of 2011 as part of the Community Visitor Program.

All descriptions of the field setting in the study, unless otherwise cited, are based on my

observations and field notes.

Participants

At the time of this study, the population of Twin Oaks Community was around 100, to include

88 adults and 15 children. In addition, there were several long-term visitors and a group of 7

short-term visitors at the community that were present during observation. Most members were

young and single, although there were several families that all retained membership, as well as

some senior citizens. There was a visible split in the population between the old and the young;

during my stay, I did not identify very many middle-aged people, although there were plenty

who were quite young, and a few that were far older. I would speculate that most members were

quite young, as there was a large population in their 20's and 30's. Most members were not of

familial relation. The gender ratio was fairly even, although at Twin Oaks, one comes to learn

that gender differentiation is not a necessary distinction, as it is on the outside. Demographically,

the population was predominately White, but there was a small amount that was minority (Black,

Latino). There was no one religion in the community that unified members, and the community

identifies as secular. That said, I came across a variety of religious beliefs in the community,

most notably Christian, Pagan, and Atheist. Also important to note was the fluidity of Twin

Oaks' population. While no members left during my stay, one new member joined up, and many

members told me that the population was rather fluid, with people joining and leaving the

community on a fairly regular and continuous basis.

Procedure

Observations were made while participating in community life, with regards to more direct

and/or anarchistic forms of democracy and decision-making processes evident at Twin Oaks.

Observations were also made of the general organization of the community and the overall

environment. Additional observations were made regarding social rituals, individual motivations

for joining the community, and individuals' thoughts regarding the functioning of the

community, as these seemed to logically stem in conversations from the way that the community

was organized in comparison to other communities, and/or in relation to "the mainstream."[5]

Observations were made in a variety of settings, as the study was participatory; I interacted with

members while working and living alongside them. As I was observing an intentional

community, where it is rather difficult to be completely alone at any given time, most

observations were made in group situations. A majority of observations were made alongside

members while engaging in labor activities. The environments in which I most often observed

include: a warehouse storing tofu and hammocks, a facility where tofu was made, a facility

where hammocks were put together, dining areas both inside and outside, and the grounds of

Twin Oaks generally, to include its vegetable, fruit, and ornamental farming areas. The visitor

group also made a half-day trip to neighboring Acorn Community, and I recorded notes there as

well, while helping to farm.

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[5] Many Twin Oaks members used this term in reference to the outside world during my
observation, which led me to adopt it in this study.

Twin Oaks members were initially made aware that I would be conducting a participant observation study during my stay when I first applied to participate in the Community Visitor Program. The application process consisted of writing a letter describing my intentions to visit to the community and e-mailing it to their office. The community's liaison for the visitor program reviewed the material and approved of my visit, and my letter was posted in public around the community for members' review. In my letter, I explained that members should express if they did not want to participate in the study, and encouraged them to contact me directly if they so decided, in accordance with IRB standards. I did not hear from any member indicating their refusal to participate in the study. In order to ensure transparency, I posted another reminder on the community bulletin board during my stay that specifically identified me as the visitor that had written them about performing participant observation during my stay, and once again encouraging them to tell me if they did not want to be included in the study. Yet again, I received no refusal to participate in the study. Instead, to my elation, several members came out of the woodwork in response to my post on the bulletin board, and approached me offering resources and information that could be of help.

While it was necessary to maintain transparency, I also desired to limit the possibility of a Hawthorne effect during the observation. In order to minimize the risk of this effect, I did not actively record notes in situations where I felt that my note taking would distract members from behaving normally. I also found it hard to juggle a notebook while working alongside members, since I needed my hands to perform the tasks I was assigned, e.g. gardening, cleaning, cooking, and working in the warehouse. So, for both of these reasons, I chose to not record notes at the time of observation. Instead of constantly toting around a notebook, I would mentally take note of observations relevant to my study, and then record them immediately afterward on a laptop in

my private living quarters. This worked quite well, and in many cases I was able to jot down

direct quotes and relevant information without trouble recalling. Note: any time direct quotations

are found in this thesis, you may rest assured that they represent verbatim what the relevant

individual stated. Additionally, all names of individuals listed in the analysis are aliases, (not

member's real names), and each is annotated with an asterisk. I was meticulous about noting

where I had any speculation as to what exactly a participant had said, and where there was any, I

did *not* use direct quotations. In these cases, you will find summaries of what was said in my

own words that competently represent the expressed sentiment.

In two situations, I was lucky enough to have members interested in my thesis work offer

or agree to meet with me individually. In these instances, I would take along a notebook and ask

their permission before recording notes. Various presentations, as well as question-and-answer

sessions were also held during the Community Visitor Program in order to educate visitors on

Twin Oaks' processes. While I took handwritten notes during these meetings, I did not rely as

much on this data, for fear of bias. Only when discussion became more fluid and unrehearsed did

I take care to note members' responses and attitudes. No video recording, tape-recording, or

photography was performed of any kind.

I chose participant observation as my method of study primarily because I knew that

interviewing members would be too individualized; I needed to observe the way that the

community functioned as a cohesive unit and draw my own informed conclusions on the larger

relevance of Twin Oaks' processes. Also, my participation alongside members, as a visitor,

helped to inform me of the significance of what I was observing, as observing something versus

experiencing it in some small form represents a clear distinction in attempt to truly *understand*

versus witnessing from afar. I hardly find it necessary to explain why ethnography would be the

preferred methodology with regards to my study. When studying something as intricate as community life, it is hard to present it properly through quantitative analysis. I suppose I may have conducted a survey of community members, which would have assisted in deriving statistical information on members' attitudes towards their lifestyle. Perhaps this would have led to a more in-depth analysis. However, I strongly feel that the data I have gathered through participant observation is both rich and incredibly intriguing. Perhaps a quantitative study could be performed in the future to compliment what I have accomplished here. However, I once again emphasize the difficulty in properly representing the intricacies of an intentional community through quantitative analysis. Above all else, research that one performs at an intentional community should not follow the same standards of quantifiable rigidity so revered by social science. The research I performed at Twin Oaks was open-minded and, lacking the distraction of quantitative analysis, I believe that the approachable nature of my study attracted far richer data than any statistical analysis of the community could have captured.

Some potential errors in my data collection may stem from an inability to foresee the strenuous nature of the physical labor that I would perform, and the difficulty that I would face when trying to properly balance my labor activities as a participant with my observations as an academic. The hot weather in late May and early June made for some setbacks, as it is difficult to pay close attention to detail when one is physically strained and/or exhausted. Another rather unavoidable potential error may have risen from the fact that as a member of the visitor group, I was already viewed as an outsider to members. It took some time for some members to open up around me, and consistently, some were more willing to open up than others. However, I did manage to build a broad enough network of relationships to gather a great set of data.

A critique one could readily have when reviewing my work is that the amount of time I spent performing the participant observation study was rather short, and ideally, I should have remained at the community longer. In this regard, I must say that given the scope of my study and what I set out to find, three weeks was a suitable time frame. I also must note that it is impossible for an outsider to understand the way that time passes at Twin Oaks, where I would argue (and members would agree) that time can be made to linger. Free from the distractions one might encounter on the outside, such as an eight-hour workday or cable television, one has far more time to develop personal relationships and interact with others. I feel that three weeks of participation at Twin Oaks was ample time for me to discover a wealth of information, which I outline in the following section.

Findings & Analysis

Upon approaching Twin Oaks Community in Louisa, Virginia, a sense of naturalness overwhelms the visitor. Tucked away behind thickets and trees, the community boasts an expansive organic farm stretched across the horizon. Dutch belted cattle graze freely over a pasture, their black-and-white frames strong and visibly healthy. After a short drive up the gravel path, one passes an emerald green sign surrounded by wildflowers. Its white lettering spells out "Twin Oaks Community." Situated in a beautiful natural environment, Twin Oaks seems to stand at the fringes of society, its settlement representing an oasis of community in the midst of what looks to be isolation. Despite its perceived isolation from the outside world, Twin Oaks has established its foothold as a prime example of countercultural success; the community just celebrated the forty-fifth anniversary of its founding (participant observation, May 2012), making it one of the oldest secular and egalitarian communities in all of North America (Jones, 1998, "The Other American Dream"). Since 1967, it has been joined by many other organizations and social movements geared towards work and lifestyle alternatives.

Twin Oaks Community was founded on June 16, 1967 by a group of eight individuals on the former site of a 123-acre tobacco farm (Kinkade, 1994, p. 9). On what was once a relatively blank landscape with few landmarks now sits a sprawling community, boasting near nine residences,[6] a large cafeteria and meeting area, a retreat cabin, a conference site, a wood shop and warehouse, as well as several barns and sheds, a pasture, a pond, and a large garden. Many residences, in addition to the cafeteria, warehouse, and woodshop are located in the forested area of the community.

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[6] Some buildings are multipurpose and are not just residences, and one building, Aurora, is for visitors and guests only.

Community members have chosen to define Twin Oaks as "intentional," meaning that Twin Oaks is "a community with its own clear boarders and membership", and that the "essential element" of the community is "people who want to live [at Twin Oaks] have to join, be accepted by those who already live there, and go by its rules and norms, which may in some ways differ from those in society at large" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 1). Twin Oaks is exceptional, in that it is secular, egalitarian, "income-sharing, experimental, economically self-sufficient" and "without a charismatic leader" (Kinkade, 1994, p. 1), making it rare, but not unique in comparison to other intentional communities. The most robust unifying principles of the community are its devotion to income sharing, a simultaneous dedication to both an individual's autonomy and her connection with others, and a commitment to egalitarianism. Other unifying principles and norms of the community include secularism, gender equality, environmentalism, and minimalism. The community is a registered 501(d) organization, which for tax purposes classifies it as a communally owned organization, based in a common religion or teaching (Internal Revenue Service [IRS], 2010).

At present, there are 90 adult members and 15 children ("Welcome to Twin Oaks Community," para. 1). There is also a growing network of communities that have branched from Twin Oaks, as there are three communities that Twin Oaks members have helped to establish. Living Energy Farm (LEF) has 4 adult members and was founded in 2010, is also located in Louisa County, and is both a community and education center committed fully to sustainable living; Acorn Community has 24 members and was founded in 1993, is consensus based, and is the shortest distance from Twin Oaks, located in Mineral, Virginia; East Wind Community, founded in 1973, has 60 adult members and 4 children, and is located in rural Missouri ("FEC Communities," n.d.).

Applying and obtaining membership at Twin Oaks involves a fairly standardized process, in which the applicant first informs the community of her interest to visit. Upon approval for a visit, the prospective member visits for a three-week period in which she works alongside members of the community, fulfilling 37 hours of labor credit the first week, and 42 each subsequent week. During her stay, the applicant must inform members of her desire to join the community in written format, which is posted for all to read. The prospective member must then undergo an interview with the Community Membership Team (CMT), after which she will leave the community for a minimum time of one month. During the prospective member's time away, members give input and vote on whether or not she should be allowed to join. Members can vote "accept," "reject," or "visit again" in reference to prospective members (Not Utopia Yet, p. 10). It is not mandatory for members to vote on prospective memberships, but generally it takes 20 or more votes to determine the community's general feedback regarding the applicant. The CMT can then make the final decision, based on the community's feedback, regarding whether or not the prospective member may join Twin Oaks. Once initiated as a member, a new member is subject to two more rounds of input, occurring 3 and 6 months after membership is obtained, respectively. If there are major concerns surrounding a new member, e.g. she is not meeting quota with her labor, is showing signs of substance abuse that interfere with her ability to work, or she is being disagreeable or abusive towards other members, then she may be asked to leave.

Once an individual is taken on as a "full" member, indicating that she has passed both rounds of feedback, she can begin to find her niche within the community. Most members accomplish this by finding labor activities that they enjoy, and performing these on a regular basis. A member's labor activities may earn income for the community, or can simply be domestic in nature. Twin Oaks primarily earns income through a variety of small business

endeavors that the community owns. These consist of its hammocks, tofu, and book indexing

businesses, which are Twin Oaks Hammocks, Twin Oaks Tofu, and Twin Oaks Book Indexing,

respectively. Members can also grow seeds and work with Acorn Community in their organic

seed business, Southern Exposure Seed Exchange. Twin Oaks' small businesses are currently

ranked in terms of their financial contribution to the community on the community's website:

> Our hammocks and casual furniture business has generated most of our
>
> income in the past. Making tofu as of 2011 has become roughly equal in
>
> importance to hammocks. Indexing books and seed growing are also
>
> significant sources of income ("Welcome to Twin Oaks Community,"
>
> para. 3).

The majority of the community's income is earned through its small businesses—around

$600,000 per annum ("Twin Oaks: Living in harmony," para. 8). Supplementary income sources

include visitor fees, member donations and monies earned offsite, and money that is earned from

accepting donations/charging for entrance to various gatherings, conferences, and parties hosted

by the community. All income that the community earns is split into an even monthly allowance,

currently $85 per member. Members may save money in the form of "vacation earnings" that

they may use only while on vacation "off the farm."[7] Vacation earnings are monies received for

performing an outside job, such as gardening or tutoring for someone in Louisa County.

However, as stated before, formal income-earning activities are not the only form of

justifiable "labor" one can perform as a community member. Maintaining life at the community

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[7] This phrase, as well as "on the farm", were used many times by members during my observation. If something is held "on the farm," this would indicate that it is on the grounds of Twin Oaks, while "off the farm" would indicate the opposite.

is a massive undertaking in and of itself, and at Twin Oaks, domestic labor is ranked equally

with other labor activities in terms of overall importance:

> [L]ess than half of our work goes into these income-producing activities; the balance
>
> goes into a variety of tasks that benefit our quality of life—including milking cows,
>
> gardening, cooking, and childcare. Most people prefer doing a variety of work, rather
>
> than the same job day in, day out ("Welcome to Twin Oaks Community," para. 3).

While this is discussed in detail later, it is important to understand how very equal income earning

and domestic labor forms are regarded, as well as the fact that they are interchangeable within the

community. Twin Oaks' understanding of labor as something that can exist beyond the realm of

earning income is highly significant to integrating an individual's labor activities, and to breaking

down the mainstream work/life balance into a more fluid, less complex relationship that benefits

both an individual and her community.

Initially, my reason for selecting Twin Oaks was to study the way that direct democratic

organization could have a trickle-down effect into members' lives, allowing them to impact

directly the way that their lives were governed. From this, I hypothesized that a key motivation

for joining Twin Oaks lies in a desire to be involved in a more directly democratic form of

governance, contrasted with largely undemocratic forms of governance found within local, state,

and national implementations of political and economic organization. What I found is that this

hypothesis did not suffice; there was a bigger picture to be drawn that had little to do with

democracy, *per se*. Realizing this, my hypothesis and my findings became more general, yet

more meaningful than I had originally anticipated. While motivations for joining the community

range from joining in order to experience more gender equality, to joining for ecological reasons,

to joining due to a general distaste towards mainstream life, members were not consciously

deciding to escape mainstream governance in search for better forms of governance; they simply wanted to live *alternatively* from the mainstream. However, members did indicate that the way that Twin Oaks was run was preferable to social organization on the outside.

This observation begged the question: what is it about Twin Oaks Community that truly makes it so different, an "alternative" to living in the outside world? Sure, many "norms" are different, and it seems to readily offer counterculture, but what is the basis for its endearing quality and what underlies all of its formal and informal organization? The answer is simple, yet succinct: Twin Oaks' *conception of labor in relation to life* stands as radically different from the conception of labor found in the mainstream. First and foremost, at Twin Oaks, labor is hinged to life in such a way that life activities are valued as they contribute to the community's strength. All individuals are valued and respected equally, as workers and as persons, as the two roles are inseparable. At Twin Oaks, members' conception of labor is also not bound by a traditional white collar/blue collar, feminine/masculine divide. There is a cross-temporal embrace of all labor forms, in that all labor activities, whether pre-industrial, industrial, or post-industrial, are equally revered, since they all help community to prosper. There is thus no superiority of industry over other labor forms, and no incentive to place any one member in any specific role or specialization.

As I noted this new distinction, or, this revaluing of labor, I became aware of the fact that Twin Oaks' conception of labor translates into a culture of responsibility towards the community; given membership at Twin Oaks, an individual comes to experience a tie to the community that is expressed through her labor. This has some profoundly interesting consequences, namely: work is dignified; there is a good deal of experimentation and innovation

that occurs on-site; work can be rather enjoyable; and given all of this, members quite literally

work their way out of alienation, outside the legal-rational norm of the mainstream.

Through the lens of Twin Oaks Community, empowerment through labor can no longer

be thought of as constant battle against alienation, or, against what we understand to be "work"

in mainstream society. Instead, an individual's empowerment can become a lived reality. The

following sections speak to the ways in which an individual's empowerment becomes lived.

First, I discuss the labor organization of Twin Oaks, and general organization of the community

as it applies. Second, I discuss the "mainstream" conception of labor and Twin Oaks' revaluing

of this conception to encompass life, and labor from all epochs. From this, I describe the

outcome of this revaluing, which I perceive to be the integration of an individual and her

community, through a culture of responsibility to the community and resulting innovation, as

well as an overall enjoyment of life and labor activities.

Reuniting labor and life: The labor organization of Twin Oaks Community

Labor organization at Twin Oaks is special, in that it is not authoritarian, nor is it

bureaucratic. Instead, it is rather flat, as it is guided by an individual's *choice* with regards to

what activities she engages in that become constituted as work. All activities that the community

conceives of as work are formally organized through a labor credit system, which I have

mentioned briefly already; Twin Oaks members utilize the labor credit system in order to

organize their personal workweeks, where one hour of labor constitutes one labor credit, and

members are currently required to complete 42 hours of labor credit per week in order to meet or

make quota. In the event that members cannot meet the 42-hour requirement that week, they

must work to make up the hours they miss over a given amount of time. Some may choose to

take on a heavy workload for a week or two, and others may choose to spread out the burden

more evenly by doing a small amount of extra work weekly over a longer period of time. The

Twin Oaks workweek starts on Friday and ends on the following Thursday. This is deliberately

done in order to differentiate members' labor activities from the traditional Monday-thru-Friday

grind. Before a new workweek starts, members fill out a blank labor sheet with their proposed

schedule for that week, which they must submit before Tuesday morning at 9 AM. A labor sheet

is essentially a piece of paper on which there is a blank calendar, and members can fill in their

proposed labor activities for each day on the calendar. By Wednesday evening, labor assigners

will have reviewed members' preferences and made any needed corrections. Between this time

and Thursday at noon, a member may make revisions to their schedule as it is written at that

time, and then resubmit her labor sheet. Labor assigners try to take into account the request of

the member and balance this against whether there are enough members spread out across

different tasks. Finalized labor sheets are available for pickup on Thursday evening. Members by

no means are completely free to choose all of their labor activities, because sometimes the

activity they request may not be attainable. For example, there may be limited space in certain

areas of the community where there are enough members already filling required posts. Perhaps

not surprisingly, members that have been at the community for a longer period of time will at

times have greater flexibility when requesting their labor for each week, as they will have

already established a presence, as well as routinely requested and obtained shifts in specific

areas. For example, the longer an individual retains membership, the more likely she is to come

across an opening in working with Dairy, in which positions are usually filled. She can then

request to work with Dairy, and find placement there for as long as she requests that work.

However, this does not mean that once a member establishes a certain pattern of labor activities each week, that they can then not become trained in and execute a different labor activity. It is entirely possible for a member to leave one area of work in the community in order to break into another if they grow tired with their current one. In order to break into a new line of work, a member must first seek approval from the manager who oversees the area in which they are interested. As stated before, managers fill voluntary positions in which they oversee specific areas in the community, and request a certain amount of funding each year in order to keep their area of the community functioning. Managers make up councils that are accountable to the Planners, and all positions are finally held accountable to the community as a whole, as any member of the community can check decision-making. Once a Manager approves, the member can then request the labor on their labor sheet. If the specified activity requires training, then the member can take lessons from another member in order to learn the necessary skills.

Once a member signs on to a new area of work, managers loosely organize their activities in relation to the needs of the community. For example, if numerous community members have approached the Dairy Manager and have indicated that they would like the Dairy to produce less cheese and more milk, or if the Dairy Manager has simply observed that members tend to drink more milk than they eat cheese, then it is the responsibility of the Manager to inform members performing in his area of what tasks they must perform in order to meet community demand. In addition to managerial guidance, individual members take turns "honchoing," or being in charge of a shift, in order to make sure that the specified tasks outlined by the Manager are completed. That said, it is important to understand that members whose responsibility it is to "honcho" do not stand back and watch others work while barking orders. Instead, those "honchoing" place

themselves in the group, and work alongside others as a team to ensure that the group completes

specified tasks.

Also important to note is the fact that managers do not hold the ultimate authority in

making decisions for their specific area. If a member disagrees with a Manager's decision, or

becomes in any way concerned with the Manager's behavior or general demeanor, Twin Oaks

processes permit that member to freely approach the Manager and voice her concerns. As stated

before, if a member still feels that a Manager is making a poor decision, then they may appeal

their grievance to the Council on which that Manager sits. For example, if a member disagrees

with the Dairy Manager's decision, but the Dairy Manager fails to adequately address her

concern, then that member can appeal her grievance to the Agriculture council. Should the

Council still side with the Manager, the member could appeal her grievance again to the

Planners. Lastly, if the Planners uphold the Manager's decision, the member can appeal to the

community and ask for their input via an "override," where more than half of the community

must then decide in favor of or against the proposition. Again, proponents of a new decision, or,

those trying to veto decisions via an override, can advocate for their reasoning informally, but

cannot campaign against the manager or council that made the decision. The decision reached

regarding the dispute by the community as a whole has the last word. Overrides are fairly

uncommon, however, as the community tends to frown upon members that refuse to come to a

compromise.

Twin Oaks' governance structure is relevant to the community's labor organization, as

outlined in Figure 1; this is significant, because it speaks to the ways in which decisions can

become formally disputed by workers/members at Twin Oaks. What the chart may not speak to

is Twin Oaks members' informal adherence to a culture of compromise. Many view compromise

as essential for the sake of the community's overall survival and cohesiveness. Furthermore, because the community and its respective businesses are not in existence for the sake of squeezing out huge profit margins, it can be seen how their structure is not strictly segmented, but rather fluid. All Planners and managers are members, first and foremost, and it is because they are members that they strive for success. Their roles are voluntary, and they are in response to the needs of the community.

This is not to say that theory is always in line with praxis, or, that members can and will consistently navigate the process system to challenge or argue against decisions. Although some (ex-)members that are disenchanted with the Twin Oaks system may argue otherwise, the practice of decision-making in the community is *not* hierarchical, nor is it bureaucratic. When compared to the hierarchy of the private sector, (see Figure 2), where there are divisions of labor and employees become alienated from one another based on their specialization within the company, one can come to understand that Twin Oaks' system is not mimicking bureaucracy, but indeed, rejecting it. While on paper, it may look somewhat hierarchical, the informal values that substantiate the Planner-Manager system permit the structure to exist only if it serves the good of the community, and does not exploit members, where a traditional hierarchy might. Although informal leadership may occur in the community at some level, a member strongly indicated to me during my stay that this is balanced by the community's non-hierarchical culture; "We're all sort of the boss of everything…there is no social capital around here if you pushed your own authority [and] humility is a big deal" (participant observation, May 23, 2012).

As stated previously, overrides are not typically practiced in the community, but as far as I could tell, this meant that members did not see overrides as necessary. As noted before, members consider compromise to be essential to the survival of Twin Oaks. One member

indicated to me that overrides are looked down upon when they are seen as a refusal to

compromise. This member had in his understanding been at the community long enough to

understand the intricacies of the community's governance process (participant observation, May

23, 2012). Furthermore, in my own observation, it became evident that abrasive assertions of

opinion and presumably, also overrides, are seen as disruptive and not conducive to compromise

at Twin Oaks. There were several members who I witnessed assert their opinion aggressively

during my stay, and typically this only had the effect of flustering those around them. For

example, when one such member left the room after asserting his opinion that the volume level

was too high in a common area, his fellow members discussed how his attitude made them feel

like scolded schoolchildren.

In my observation, another reason why overrides did not seem necessary is because of the

fact that managers and Planners must be accountable *to the opinions of members*. I witnessed

several instances in which members listened and worked in accordance with honchos during a

shift, and were informed by the Manager of an area what needed to be accomplished. I did see

occasions when members asserted their opinion regarding a task to a Manager during a shift. In

one instance, a member and the Garden Manager had a moment where they discussed how the

day's task of drying garlic was being carried out; the member felt it was not as successful as it

could be, and wished for it to be carried out differently from the way that the Manager had

recommended. I saw them come to a reasonable compromise, although the member that raised

the issue seemed to wonder why she had to say anything at all; she was of the opinion that the

Manager had an oversight. Overall, for the sake of the community's survival, members seem

willing to place a certain level of trust in those members that volunteer to make decisions for the

good of the community. This does not mean that it is not within one's right to protest a decision;

instead, there is an issue of members being able to put their trust in others, to value

interdependence. Again, there are *many* Manager positions and areas in which members work;

where one member may be someone else's Manager in one area, any informal "power" this

member has becomes checked as soon as they work in another area that is managed by another

person. This latter fact is perhaps most integral to the management of informal hierarchy at Twin

Oaks.

Still, so long as a concern or opinion is valid and is not expressed for selfish reasons, but

for the good of the community, it seems that opinions are taken into account when making

decisions at the level of Manager or Planner. I did not sit in on any Planner, Council, or

Management Team meetings. However, input is taken from the community via the input box on

a regular basis, in order to gauge public opinion on particular topics, and I witnessed public

opinion being gauged twice during my three weeks at the community and used to make

decisions. In the first instance, input was collected and reported back to the community regarding

whether two long-term visitors should be allowed to stay at the community for a given length of

time. In the second, input was collected and reported back to the community when two members

were running to co-manage the Kitchen. I also witnessed members flocking to the O&I board, or,

"Opinions and Ideas" board, where members can post written arguments on subjects that both

pertain and do not pertain to the functioning of the community, and where fellow members can

write responses. During my stay, the O&I board saw a flurry of activity, and held many posts.

One that received much attention and some heated debate among members during shifts was a

note to the community that was requesting action to limit the amount of visitors allowed to the

community during the summer. As a result of an argument being presented on the O&I board,

there was much discussion during shifts about whether the argument held any weight, as well as

potential solutions through compromise. The posting also garnered many written responses on the board itself.

Further differentiating the Twin Oaks' Planner-Manager system from a traditional hierarchy found in the private or public sector is the fact that managers can oversee both domestic labor and labor committed to small business endeavors. In the Twin Oaks system, activities that normally are considered supplementary to work become valued *as* work, and both the informal and formal structures of the community reflect this. There are many labor-creditable activities at Twin Oaks. In fact, there are so many that it would be exhaustive to provide a full list. However, a fairly general, or, partial list can be found in Table 2, divided simply between creditable labor in and outside of the community's small businesses. With reference to Table 2, which is a partial, albeit fairly comprehensive list of labor-creditable activities at Twin Oaks, there is clear interchangeability of roles that one can have as an individual member. Members can perform both blue- and white-collar work in one day, as well as work in a business or home environment to receive labor credit. There is no gender distinction, as women perform what modern society has come to define as traditional "masculine" tasks, i.e. physical labor, labor outside the home, and men perform traditional "feminine" tasks, i.e. raising children and babysitting.

Moreover, rather than have strict limits on the amount of "sick days" and "personal days" a member can have, the community's structure is build to absorb the shocks that life can bring. If a member should fall ill and find herself unable to perform labor activities that day, she can earn up to six labor credits that week for staying home and working on getting better, since "when you are sick your job is to get well again" ("Not Utopia Yet", p. 6). It is also possible to receive labor credit for taking care of someone who is sick. There are, of course, reasonable limits to

this. The labor credit system is run on honors, and no one will check to make sure that a member

is really ill, but if a member were to claim to be sick every week, this could raise a red flag. Said

member may then be approached by the community's Health Team to see whether the member

needs medical treatment for a recurring condition.

Most fundamentally, the Twin Oaks labor credit system facilitates an exchange between

members and the community, where a member's 42 hours of labor per week earns for them a

place to call home, sustenance, clothing (if desired), meals (if desired), and healthcare. Lunch

and dinner are served 6 days per week, and brunch and dinner are served on Sundays in the main

dining hall (Zhankoye, or ZK for short). This means no member has the obligation to prepare

food for at least 2 meals per day, unless of course they are working on a Kitchen shift (cooking

for the community that day). Some members choose to forego this option, and cook at home in

their residences instead, which are all equipped with full kitchens. However, most members seem

to enjoy mealtimes at ZK. With regards to healthcare, all members are covered completely, and

do not need to pay out of pocket for any policy. General health care is covered by the University

of Virginia's indigent care center, which sees patients that qualify for Medicaid. The community

covers all other health costs, and response to members' health needs is determined as needed.

Approximately $40-45,000 of Twin Oaks' budget is set aside for general health care. Dental care

is also covered by the community, and makes up about $25,000 of the community's budget.

The benefits of membership follow a person even when they are unable to be physically

present the community for a length of time, as members are permitted access to a 6-month

sabbatical system where they may leave "the farm" for up to 6 months, and retain their

membership. Members are also allowed to take Leaves of Absence (LOAs) for a few weeks in

times of crisis or emergency. The only case where membership benefits would stop would be if

one's membership were discontinued. It is possible for individuals to be expelled from the

community after becoming full members. Members are not commonly expelled, because

typically the member in question senses it coming on and leaves before expulsion can occur. As

one member noted, it can be rather uncomfortable living in a community in which one's presence

is no longer desired, and this is why most individuals leave before their expulsion becomes

official. Expulsion of members has historically been for good reason; physical violence is

absolutely not tolerated, and deceit is looked down upon, so if a member were to commit either

of these acts, the community would be swift to react, as it has in the past (participant observation,

May 21, 2012).

Aside from pointing out the relative choice offered by Twin Oaks' labor credit and

governance systems, it is significant to note that what Twin Oaks members are formalizing with

their governance systems is a form of participatory democracy. Roughly defined, participatory

democracy can be thought of as a mode of governance in which all members are invited, but not

necessarily obligated to participate in decision-making practices (Rothschild & Whitt, 1986) and

in which the outcome will either directly or indirectly affect some aspect of their lives. The

assumption follows that those affected by decisions should be involved in making the decisions.

Participatory democracy stands in contrast to representative democracy, in the sense that

representative democracy is regarded as largely undemocratic as it is currently practiced

(Pateman, 1970). For proponents of participatory democracy, representation is seen as a

mechanism through which power is given away, and then concentrated, potentially in the form of

oligarchy. Nowhere at Twin Oaks is one *formally* discouraged from having an opinion or stance,

or from participating more generally in discussion and decision-making. This, of course, does not

mean that one cannot be *informally* discouraged from taking issue with the way that the

community functions, and in fact, there are informal barriers to one's fluid expression of opinion.

Informal pull for or against the expression of a person's opinion exists at Twin Oaks, just as one

can imagine it exists in any relationship between people. Take for instance the example of a

group of friends: one might be shy and new to the group, while another might readily deliver

their opinion and be viewed by others as knowledgeable. Members of the group may flock

towards this latter person, as they might see them as holding some sort of informal authority.

Seniority of membership definitely plays a role at Twin Oaks in establishing an informal

approval structure. As many young, able-bodied members do not stay at the community for long,

there are instances in which senior members are looked to for guidance. This is not because they

hold any *real* or *formal* authority over others. Rather, it is because senior members have more

expertise in how the community has come to function the way that it does. During my stay, one

member in particular was looked to as an informal authority for all things having to do with

Hammocks, because he had been the driving force for getting the Hammocks business off the

ground at the community, and because he quite literally knew every process and all that was

needed on behalf of members in order for the business to function properly. Certainly, the

community hurts more when a member who shows informal leadership in a certain area of the

community leaves, as there is a gap in knowledge that inevitably occurs as a result. I witnessed

one such instance, when two members described how difficult it was for them when an ex-

member left the community, since he held much informal authority in the Tofu business, and

knew more about its processes than others (participant observation, May 26, 2012).

Prior expertise, or, a willingness to specialize in a particular area may also cause someone

to have a certain level of informal authority in that area. For example: a member who has prior

experience working on a dairy farm before coming to Twin Oaks may be seen as having some

authority on that subject, although this does not indicate necessarily that this person will become

Dairy Manager. There are also members of Twin Oaks who are more popular than others.

Typically, these members had not only proven themselves during the social trial period that each

new member experiences, but also had found a niche within the community and stretched

themselves for the community's sake. These individuals might have more informal charismatic

pull, given that they get along well with others. At Twin Oaks, and arguably in many social

situations more generally, if an individual cannot get along well with her peers, her input may

not be as valuable in informal situations. Because of this, a member's voice may be informally

discouraged. Typically, this seems to happen when a member is generally bossy or disagreeable.

In these instances especially, if a member cannot get along with others, her opinion is not seen as

valuable as opinions put forth by others in informal situations.

  None of this informal hierarchy implies true hierarchy. There is no single leader at Twin

Oaks, nor is there oligarchy. Rather, any informal hierarchy that occurs illustrates members'

desire for the community's continued *survival*; it makes sense to rely on experienced members in

the community for information and guidance when needed, so that the community continues to

run smoothly. It also makes sense that as human beings, members will be drawn to other

members, but not to all members universally. Groups of friends form within the community, and

some may choose to work together. Others choose not to. This phenomenon speaks only to the

formation of friendships, and as work performance, not friendships alone, is what affects a

person's ability to be placed in a certain area, or to fill the position of Manager or Planner,

informal power does not necessarily affect the weight that one has in the community. Members

are always free to object to others' input when input is requested from Managers and Planners

via the input box, and they are free to express their opinions more generally as well. However,

when living in community, it is important that a person is able to get along with others; informal hierarchy is managed through a general commitment to the value of compromise and the willingness to cohabitate peacefully with others. If a member or a clique were to become too self-righteous at Twin Oaks, it would likely only isolate their group from others in the community. While there may be some bold personalities, there is a core group of people at Twin Oaks that are not interested in personal prowess or influence, and communicate this very well to others. Conclusively, the fact that there is a great number of Manager positions at Twin Oaks, and not very many members, means that members have a high probability of being able to directly oversee and affect change in the community, or, express themselves easily through formal decision-making. Input given via the input box, as well as posts on the O&I board also work as forms of expressing opinion. Formally, the input of personal opinion is encouraged through governance processes. Informally, it is hard to live in community with a person that constantly demands change and is never satisfied; the majority of members seem to be at peace with the level of empowerment that the community offers them, should they wish to enact it. Conversely, they generally dislike members who "rock the boat" frequently. Overall, the desire for the community to both survive and remain permanent is expressed at Twin Oaks in the pursuit of relative compromise. This does not mean that members' voices are not heard, or that there is hierarchy. Instead, this speaks to a consequence of local democracy: in a highly participatory faction, there is a need to come to some compromise in order for the affected structure to survive.

Twin Oaks members are empowered through their participatory outlook on industry. Members practice workplace democracy, as they can choose which labor activities speak most to their interests, and there is a formal system of checking any entrenched power that a Manager

might hold over others. Managers are ultimately responsible to other members, as they are held

on an equal plane. Similarly, all democratic processes are educative, in that through participating

in the community, (both formally and informally), Twin Oaks members have the capacity to

learn how to participate, and come to expect to always have the option of participating in

decision-making that directly affects their labor and life activities. Twin Oaks' democratic

culture extends beyond formal decision-making practices. Once again, the community's

emphasis on compromise helps to create an informal structure through which participation is

ensured and through which informal power concentrations can be checked.

This is not meant to imply that Twin Oaks' system is perfect, or that its methodology

goes unchallenged. Some ex-members, to include co-founder Kat Kinkade, left to form other

communities. During her life, Kat was a driving force behind the formation of nearby Acorn

Community, which is run through consensus decision-making. However, Acorn Community is

much smaller than Twin Oaks, with fewer members, and there is far less turnover. Members that

are disenchanted with Twin Oaks' governance must be willing to sacrifice the security and

structure of the Planner-Manager system in order to experience a more radical form of

democratic decision-making. Members of Acorn Community thus bear greater personal

responsibility in the directing of their community's policies, and can spend more time

concentrating on process, to ensure that an amiable decision is reached for all members.

Either way, (through consensus or the Planner-Manager system), both Twin Oaks and

Acorn Community present alternatives to the mainstream through norms of participatory

democracy. Individual choice and responsibility are heightened in practices in both communities.

Both communities work to incentivize participation outside of formal institutions that is

educative and that is rooted in labor practices (industry). This makes them truly stand out is their

challenging Michels's "iron law of oligarchy," as well as Weber's insistence on bureaucracy being the quintessential form of social organization in modern society. Particularly, Twin Oaks' age and stability challenges Weber's idea that even in local, more democratic outfits, that direct democratic administration is "highly unstable" and can easily morph into "domination and administration" (Bendix, 1977, p. 293).

In sum, the interchangeability of labor efforts that would traditionally be divided between work and home speaks to the need for a unique, participatory governing arrangement at Twin Oaks. Governance systems at Twin Oaks aim to manage labor and life in the community in a manner radically different and independent from indirect, representative forms found in the mainstream. What is special about the labor credit system at Twin Oaks specifically is that it empowers members in terms of (1) how labor is defined within the community, and (2) how members choose the activities in which they engage for labor credit.

Reconciling labor through time: Valuing forms of labor cross-temporally, differently from the "mainstream"

Housing approximately one hundred adults and children, Twin Oaks offers a mode of workplace democracy that exists alongside egalitarian governance processes. In combination, both provide the schematic for a rather unique integration of labor and life. Members come to experience labor differently than they would in the mainstream, as the Twin Oaks system reifies a revaluation of labor that works across the boundaries of time. Members' conception of labor at Twin Oaks demonstrates a deliberate movement away from how they understand labor to be practiced in the mainstream, and because of this, rather interesting social rituals emerge. A

culture of responsibility coincides with innovation, and labor carries the potential of being enjoyable.

In order to demonstrate Twin Oaks' revaluation of labor, and the consequences of this revaluation, the following section is divided into four parts. First, I give a brief explanation of what it is about modern industrial and post-industrial labor practices that makes people tick, and why exploitation in the workplace seems to be unending. Second, I demonstrate Twin Oaks' alternative way of valuing labor. I conclude with three consequences of Twin Oaks' revaluation of labor: their culture of responsibility, innovative processes, and their perception that labor can be enjoyable.

Human exploitation in industrial, post-industrial forms of labor organization. As they have come to exist after the Industrial era, social science defines many mainstream labor practices as alienating, restricting, and insulting to the human condition (See: Garson, 1975; Hodson, 2001; Marx, 1978; Schumacher, 1973; Weber, 1998). While the birth of industry in the 19th and early 20th centuries revolutionized the way that we consume, industrial and post-industrial practices have come to require a division of labor and a demarcation between individual tasks.

Frederick Taylor, who developed the system of "scientific management," revolutionized the way that industry came to depend on deskilling and dividing labor. With Taylor's insistence that every task performed by a laborer could become divided and manipulated in order to maximize output, efficiency in production was seen as having greater weight than the paid laborer. Managers' responsibility in the factory was to divide tasks in a manner that relieved

individuals of the need to use their brainpower; Taylor detailed the process of deskilling labor as

a necessary component of scientific management:

> The work of every workman is fully planned out by the management at least one day in
>
> advance, and each man receives in most cases complete written instructions, describing in
>
> detail the task which he is to accomplish, as well as the means to be used in doing the
>
> work…This task specifies not only what is to be done, but how it is to be done and the
>
> exact time allowed for doing it…Scientific management consists very largely in
>
> preparing for and carrying out these tasks. (Taylor, quoted in Hodson, 2001, p. 29).

Taylor's scientific management later gave way to Fordism, renowned for the complete

manipulation and control of the "assembly line" system. The spread of scientific management in

modern times has come to formally disallow individual thought, to break down and classify

individuals based on a single task, and finally to deliberately hire uneducated individuals, teach

them a certain skill, and fire them if they do not meet a rigid, standardized set of expectations.

All of these practices, compounded over time, have contributed to a culture of profit

maximization in both blue and white-collar workplaces. Even apparent "employee involvement"

programs and the recent "teamwork" fad in the private sector have become manipulated, and

typically purely represent efforts on behalf of management to "increase production" (Hodson,

2001, p. 32).

Informally, workers have come to express their distaste for modern workplace

organization, but *not* their distaste for *labor*. It has been noted that human beings seek fulfillment

through their work. Even in situations when this is regularly denied, workers will find ways of

dignifying themselves through various rituals, such as taking on greater responsibility and

socializing (See: Hodson, 2001). This speaks to two things simultaneously; first, most human

beings desire to become dignified through their labor, and second, labor, and the performance of

labor is not what is at issue. What is problematic is both how labor is valued, and how it has been

organized in society through forms of bureaucracy, as Weber noted:

> The individual bureaucrat cannot squirm out of the apparatus in which he is harnessed. In
>
> contrast to the honorific or avocational 'notable,' the professional bureaucrat is chained
>
> to his activity by his entire material and ideal existence. In the majority of cases, he is
>
> only a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism which prescribes to him an essentially
>
> fixed route of march. The official is entrusted with specialized tasks and normally the
>
> mechanism cannot be put into motion or arrested by him, but only from the very top. The
>
> individual bureaucrat is thus forged to the community of all the functionaries who are
>
> integrated into the mechanism. They have a common interest in seeing that the
>
> mechanism continues its functions and that the societally exercised authority carries on.
>
> (Weber, in Gerth & Mills, 1998, p. 50).

It is evident in Weber's discussion of bureaucracy that bureaucrats/laborers come to experience a

world that is divided, and their existence, as a result, is both bleak and uninteresting. However,

there is an overall motivation for bureaucracy to continue, in order for authority and control in

society to carry on in some organized fashion. The "ruled," or, those that do not sit in the upper

strata of society, live in a permanently subdued state; they "cannot dispense with or replace the

bureaucratic apparatus of authority once it exists." (Weber, quoted in Gerth & Mills, 1998, pp.

228-29).

It is fair to say that the way labor is conceived in the mainstream is that it is somehow

naturally divided, both structurally and psychologically. Structurally, a person's labor is typically

bracketed by a specific specialization. In most cases, decisions that directly impact workers are

above their pay grade. Many times, daily tasks are limited in all cases to the responsibilities of

that worker's position, and the requirements for work are no more and no less.

Psychologically, the majority of individuals do not see integration between their work and home

life, and they can easily become buried under the monotony and/or expectations of their position.

While the majority of work is currently performed under a "task system," where management is

no longer telling workers whether they may "'sit [or] stand,'" the way that labor is organized

very often results in an "analogous feeling at work" (Garson, 1975, p. 211). When work no

longer requires "imagination," it can leave workers with a feeling of dread, since they have "no

goal" and "must move as in a depression, by putting one hand, one foot in front of the other"

(Garson, 1975, p. 211).

Overall, it is important to understand that the way work is currently organized

hierarchically, as well as the way labor is conceived, is not purely the result of industry. Rather,

exploitation is what ensures that labor's organization is unchanging and that it is conceived in

terms that stratify individuals:

> When you're using someone else for your own purposes, whether it's to build your
>
> fortune, or to build your tomb, you must control him. Under all exploitative systems, a
>
> strict control from the outside replaces the energy from within as a way of keeping people
>
> working (Garson, 1975, p. 211).

Thus, "[t]he humiliating and debilitating way we work is not a product of our technology, but the

result of our economic system" (Garson, 1975, p. 211-12). Again, this is not to say that modern

economic arrangements spawned human exploitation. Rather, industry arguably perfected it;

labor, as an extension of man's economic potential, is currently perceived in a manner consistent

with maximizing profit for the owner, and controlling the worker to ensure that each margin of

profit is successfully garnered, as this is what capitalism requires. When labor is perceived differently, and when the structure in question reflects this difference in perception, tangible alternatives to social organization become apparent.

Twin Oaks' revaluation of labor. Twin Oaks' revaluation of labor is symbiotically connected to the community's organization of both labor and life. There is thus a rather conscious fight at Twin Oaks against the normative assumption that labor must be distinctly separated from life experiences, i.e. the assumption that there is work, carried out in a professional space, and then there is life, carried out in a domestic space. Furthermore, labor does not designate formal roles for Twin Oaks members, and individuals are not treated differently because they favor a domestic job to a job that earns income, or a pre-industrial or industrial job to a post-industrial job. Without gender roles, and without a blue and white-collar distinction, there is much more room for flexibility with regards to the activities one chooses to perform for labor credit.

One of my immediate observations upon arriving at the community is that members are rather intelligent, and many hold higher education degrees. Also, many members' intellectual curiosity extends to their work, where they share their ideas on how to better their environment fairly readily. Moreover, they understand that only pursuing their own individual wellbeing would not benefit the community, and that indirectly, it would not benefit them, since the community must survive in order for members to continue to call it home. Because of this, most members seem to understand how, through their labor, they have the potential to directly impact their community for the better. The vast majority of members I met would push themselves both physically and mentally for the sake of bettering their community. They did this because it was

expected of them, sure, but more importantly: most members would push themselves because their conception of labor allowed them to see the benefit of their efforts fairly directly, and thus, to take pride in their work. At Twin Oaks, members' intelligence and understanding of every other members' potential allows them to differentiate between their labor practices and corresponding definition of labor, and those that are accepted as normal in what they refer to as the "mainstream."

It is my conception that Twin Oaks redefines labor to be *the many activities that sustain life for an individual and her community*. Combined with this is the idea that in order for an individual to survive (to continue to live at the community), she must put forth the effort to ensure that her community survives in whatever way that she is able. As mentioned before, there are many activities that one can perform at Twin Oaks for labor credit. Indeed, far more activities are considered to be legitimate work at Twin Oaks than in the outside world. In the mainstream, activities considered part of "life" in the work/life distinction become considered work at Twin Oaks. With less of a distinction between life and work, there is more room for a different conception of what can constitute labor. Because of this, members are not put in a position where one form of labor is seen as more or less valuable than any other. Farming can be just as valuable in the labor credit system as the community's small businesses, tofu production is as valuable as childcare, and members are quick to thank others for their contribution that day during downtime, or at minimum take interest during mealtime conversations in what others have done that day to benefit the community. There also seems to be pressure at Twin Oaks to value more forms of labor than what might be valued in the mainstream, simply because it would be impossible to live in harmony otherwise.

While valuing labor differently may be seen as an ideal in mainstream society, it becomes

real at Twin Oaks. It is difficult to tell what comes first, the chicken or the egg; does a deliberate

revaluing of labor occur before the community's social organization, or does the organization

cause labor to be revalued? The answer is not quite clear. Either way though, members without a

doubt understand that a great many activities can benefit the community, and thus a great many

activities become valued as real labor, whether professional or domestic.

I came across many members that indicated their witnessing a true difference between the

community's conception of labor and how labor is conceived on the outside. Some joined and

retained membership for this very reason:

> *[Emerald City, a cluster of buildings at Twin Oaks that includes a woodshop, warehouse,*
>
> *and sawmill, is] a good fifteen minutes' walk into the woods. In the afternoon, Ian*, a*
>
> *young man in his thirties who has been a member for almost a year and a half, talks with*
>
> *me as he time-stamps, fills, and tapes shut boxes of tofu for pickup at the warehouse.*
>
> *When asked why he likes Twin Oaks, he mentions the fact that the community uses a*
>
> *minimal amount of "capitalism" to get by with its small businesses, but is not organized*
>
> *around capitalist principles. When pressed further on this point, Ian* states that he is*
>
> *proud of his work; he talks rapidly [about the many accomplishments of the community]*
>
> *while stacking boxes of tofu about how popular Twin Oaks tofu is, and how it is marketed*
>
> *and sold throughout the United States. He mentions the fact that when he was just*
>
> *recently in another state, he saw a sticker on the outside of a restaurant that stated it*
>
> *"proudly served" Twin Oaks tofu* (participant observation, May 20, 2012).

In this instance, a member indicated to me that he saw a clear difference between capitalism on

the outside and the way that the community functions internally, and almost in the same breath,

he told me how proud he was of the community's tofu business. This member in particular worked almost exclusively with the community's tofu business and saw sense in the way that the community was run; for him, the fact that Twin Oaks structurally denies the exploitation found in capitalism, yet still sees success in its small business endeavors is something worth taking pride in.

Another member, with whom I interacted on a fairly regular basis, was quick to open up to me on a variety of topics, particularly the benefits of working and living at Twin Oaks.

Pete* arrives to lead workers to the area of the farm where flowers are grown for sale and distribution. He appears to be in his early forties. He wears glasses and large rain boots and speaks fast. His loyal dog trails behind him, casting a suspicious eye on visitors. As he de-weeds and plants he…discusses why it is that he thinks people are attracted to Twin Oaks; because it is simply an alternative to the "mainstream," and that people who come to Twin Oaks are in some way, shape, or form dissatisfied with the "mainstream." Pete* says that in his estimation, many, if not most members are college-educated and simply have chosen to opt out of a traditional lifestyle. […] He hacks away at more weeds for a while, and then adds his impression of why it is that people come here: Pete* thinks that the Twin Oaks lifestyle is appealing because of the fact that human beings naturally crave to work and live in groups, where they are socialized and can support one another. He personally came to Twin Oaks because he did not want to be "employed," and he did not want to be someone else's "employer." He says he does not think he will leave anytime soon. […] For Pete*, the benefits outweigh the costs; he admits that he has always hated "living alone" (participant observation, May 28, 2012).

In Pete's* case, the desire to experience both labor and life in a more satisfying way is what led him to Twin Oaks after his college career. He did not indicate a desire to live anywhere else, at least not anytime soon; at Twin Oaks he does not have to be involved in the bureaucracy of the outside, where there are employers and employees, or, where there is a hierarchical relationship between workers and the owners of the means of production. By delineating between Twin Oaks' culture and the culture of the outside both in his labor and life, it becomes clear that Pete* joined the community to experience more integration, both psychologically and in terms of achieving a more fluid connection between work and life. Following his logic, if all human beings desire to live and work in groups, and this is what Twin Oaks offers, then Twin Oaks gives members a more natural balance between living and working.

Pete* was far from the only member I encountered who implied that a mainstream work/life balance was not of interest, and that Twin Oaks' system was preferable to what one would encounter on the outside. During a dinner shift at ZK, I met two members in their mid-twenties. One, Amy*, said that she had graduated from college with a Bachelor's degree. During her senior year in college, she visited Twin Oaks and liked it so much that she applied for membership. Upon being approved for membership, Amy* said she had a sigh of relief, since that meant she did not have to try to find a job on the outside. James*, the other member of the pair, did not go to college, but was also attracted to Twin Oaks around the same age for similar reasons. Both indicated to me fairly strongly that they enjoyed the fact that Twin Oaks was there to save them from following the beaten path of looking for jobs (participant observation, May 29, 2012).

Tom*, a long term visitor to the community who had been living and working at Twin Oaks for 2 months, discussed how he felt unappreciated and overworked while doing contract

work as a house painter. Sometimes he would work for 12 hours straight with no break and no

food or drink, and he even considered calling the Better Business Bureau to report his employer.

However, he decided against it, and quit instead. Twin Oaks for Tom was an entirely different

experience, because he felt that his labor was "more appreciated" by the community (participant

observation, June 3, 2012).

Heather*, a Twin Oaks member who had been at the community for a year, informed me

while raking leaves that she had hopped around from community to community for a bit before

settling at Twin Oaks. She laughed as she discussed how awful it was to live in both suburbia

and urban areas, mentioning the fact that she had always worked awful jobs where she felt

unappreciated. When she came to Twin Oaks, though, all of this changed; she now feels that she

is an integral part of the community, and she enjoys her work (participant observation, June 3,

2012).

Still other members were quick to mention the benefits of the Twin Oaks system in

relation to the outside. Anne*, one of Twin Oaks' older members, discussed how Twin Oaks'

survival depends on each member's willingness to take ownership. Even though this can be

stressful for members, a main draw is to maintain the benefit of a stable lifestyle that may not

exist for them on the outside:

> *In Oneida residence, the bottom floor is a women's residence. Anne* sits in the living*
>
> *room of Oneida, sipping a mug of herbal tea. All of the walls of the room are painted*
>
> *lavender, and are lined with bookshelves which are arranged by section; "Lesbians,"*
>
> *"Self Help," "Erotica," and "Fiction," to name a few. Anne* insists that the first thing*
>
> *one must understand about Twin Oaks…is that, "we who live here own the place…we are*
>
> *all responsible for what happens." It's not like summer camp, she says, and it is not like*

a college where the university is responsible for upkeep. Given this, she insists… "we

don't force [anyone to do specific jobs]"; even if the community relies heavily on a

member with plumbing skills, for example, and that member wishes to switch jobs, the

community accepts this and lives with the consequences. Sometimes this means that

someone will step up to the plate and fill the position, sometimes this means this area is

neglected for a while, because "no one will take on dealing with it." Anne* seems to

insist that there is a strong culture of responsibility for each member to help bear the

burden of maintaining and running the community; "Be careful what you grumble

about," she says, "because someone might just tell you to [stop complaining] and make

it better."

…

[All of this said, Anne states that] there are no penalties if one stops doing a job

whenever one wishes. It is very easy to change jobs, she emphasizes, as she sips her tea,

checking her pocket watch for the time. This, she says, has its disadvantages sometimes,

but she insists that it is nice to have the mobility; if one changes jobs at Twin Oaks, "you

won't lose your house, you'll still make rent, you'll still eat." (participant observation,

May 28, 2012).

At Twin Oaks, Anne* acknowledges that there is no pressure to do any specific job, and

members are never stuck in any one job, since it is easy to switch. This differs greatly from the

mainstream, where there may be much pressure to perform a specific job, or even to have an

entire career because of the salary, or because there are simply no alternatives. It is very difficult

to switch careers in the mainstream, and it is quite risky to do so if one does not have secure

financial footing during the transition. Twin Oaks members do not have to worry about these aspects of a work/life balance when switching labor activities.

Twin Oaks also works to value labor differently in the mainstream in terms of its lack of a temporal distinction between labor activities. This means that pre-industrial labor (farming, cooking, cleaning) becomes valued alongside industrial (tofu processing, hammocks construction, maintenance of machine parts) and post-industrial (book-indexing, office work) labor processes. There is no distinction between a white-collar job, (typically understood to be one that is post-industrial/based in an office), and one that is blue-collar, (work that is highly dependent on trades, machinery, or factory work). What is more, there is no distinction between these forms of labor and the forms of labor that preceded industry. There are thus no "roles" for members that choose a specific concentration within the community. This is further supported by the fact that many members in a given day will perform labor that falls under more than one of these categories. Going against mainstream divisions of labor based on white versus blue-collar work, or work that is defined by gender roles, labor at Twin Oaks is valued equally. There is also an incentive to outsource work to other members that may otherwise isolate an individual to their home, as it is labor creditable to do so. Examples of this may include allowing other members to perform one's childcare, cooking, cleaning, and food preparation.

Having no "role" distinction is very important to many members of Twin Oaks. One member noted this while talking about some of the norms in the community. Specifically, he was quick to observe that there are no "super-masculine, Type-A personality" men, or super feminized women who cannot handle physical labor. A certain level of gender neutrality permeates the community, where no member is domineering and above performing housework (participant observation, May 23, 2012). Another member, who loved to discuss parenting and

raising children in a communal setting, spoke of the child policy at Twin Oaks. On average, he said it costs around $1,000 and takes 1,000 hours per year to raise children in the community, and that this is a *communal* effort, rather than one designated only for women. He reiterated many times that Twin Oaks is family oriented, and that this creates a great incentive to raise children communally. The end result of this outlook is the breaking down of gender distinction. One younger male member actually received labor credit for biking around the community with one of the children, since there were not many other children the same age for that child to play with. Again, while looking after children may on the outside be considered a traditionally female activity, it is an activity that members of both sexes exchange for labor credit at Twin Oaks.

The breakdown of roles, and the corresponding revaluing of labor from all epochs, so long as the community deems the labor creditable, speaks to a distinct alternative that Twin Oaks offers from the mainstream. Many positive consequences of revaluing labor were present during this study. One of these was a culture of responsibility among members that made way for innovation in the community.

A culture of responsibility alongside innovative processes. When present at Twin Oaks, one can readily perceive a culture of responsibility among members, as it permeates all environments were labor is practiced. This culture of responsibility might not be as evident in a circumstance where one's labor is separated from one's life, as is the case with mainstream labor practices. As stated here, a culture of responsibility implies that a member will take on an increased level of responsibility, not because it is mandatory to do so, but because they wish to positively impact their community.

Coupled with this observation is another: when stepping into roles for the sake of the community, or even just by participating in certain labor activities, members have room to experiment and to innovate with labor and production practices. This is in contrast to the stifling of human imagination and innovation which can occur in a traditional hierarchical setting, where workers do not have a vested interest in working beyond the minimum labor requirement. At Twin Oaks, there is actually incentive to go above and beyond what is expected, because the community is not just a member's place of business; it is also her home.

The culture of responsibility and resulting innovative practices present at Twin Oaks reaffirm the values of Skinner's utopia. While Twin Oaks members vocally express that their community has in many ways departed from the pursuit of Skinner's behaviorist utopia, some behaviorist values still linger in the community. The basic notion of recreating reality by changing the circumstances through which reality comes to be is classic Skinner; whether they realize it or not, Twin Oaks members are in many ways working to change behavior outcomes by changing the environment through which labor is experienced. The majority of members deliberately adheres to their non-bureaucratic structure, and experiences their relationship to labor and life differently because of it. Also, as mentioned before, there is a changed system of rewards for Twin Oaks members that becomes learned. For example, as workers, members will not be punished for needing to take a break from working when they become physically exhausted or drained. Nor will they be punished for socializing while performing labor activities. In fact, members come to learn the exact opposite of many mainstream work values: they are formally permitted to take care of their bodies and minds, and they are encouraged to socialize while working. Additionally, members learn that their voices are valuable, rather than the alternative, which is that their input accomplishes little to nothing when it comes to changing

their circumstances. Insofar that the environment in which members practice labor is revalued to focus on the needs of the individual in relation to her community, rather than the drive for profit, members come to learn a new reality. This reality is not the result of exploitation, and it does not represent an environment in which there is rampant alienation.

At Twin Oaks, the essence, or, pursuit of mediocrity does not reign. As with any population, there are likely those who follow the perception of the theory, and are more reluctant to take on a greater level of responsibility, since they believe they will not be rewarded for more work, but instead that only an ever-increasing amount of work will become expected of them as a result of their increased accountability. However, the dominant assertion among Twin Oaks members seems to be that, because they will not be exploited monetarily or otherwise for working hard, there is an incentive to take on more than the bare minimum when contributing to the community. At the very least, the majority of members seems to understand that if the community is decimated by members' unwillingness to work hard, then their home will no longer exist, and they might have to re-enter the dreaded mainstream. A general attitude permeates the community that is centered on a strong work ethic and a desire to make the community thrive. Whether members anxious about the community's survival initially perpetuated this attitude is unclear. What is readily observable is that Twin Oaks' culture of responsibility creates a driving force for members to take pride in their work, and to push themselves a bit for the sake of the community. In mainstream workplaces where bureaucracy runs rampant, the essence of mediocrity is present. A worker's best bet in a bureaucracy is to find the point at which they expire the least amount of effort possible in relation to their income. This is because if an individual were to increase their workload and take on greater responsibility, management would likely only come to expect her to perform the duties she

voluntarily assigned herself. There is also of course the inherent risk that management might come to depend on her more with no guarantee of issuing her more income, let alone giving her praise.

At Twin Oaks, where income is equalized, there is no monetary incentive to take on more responsibility. What constitutes the community's culture of responsibility is a commitment to the community's success. Members are always free to find a job to perform in another part of the community, and are also allowed to leave the community to acquire vacation earnings. A member will not be "fired," or expelled from the community if she takes on greater responsibility for a little while by volunteering for a Manager position, but then decides that she does not enjoy the work and moves on to another area.

The many acts that signify taking on greater responsibility in the workplace have come to be known as "citizenship behaviors," defined as "[c]reative and purposive activities oriented toward helping production successfully take place that are above and beyond organizational requirements" (Hodson, 2001, p. 18). In some cases, a worker will deliberately form a sense of citizenship in order to feel more dignified, in contrast to her predominately exploitative work environment. This is because workers have a fundamental need to feel that they are "getting somewhere in life as a result of their own efforts" (Hodson, 2001, p. 44). Workers naturally wish to engage in labor that enhances their own "self-worth" and "potential," because "the right to produce with pride, purpose, and dignity is a fundamental human need" (Hodson, 2001, p. 44). Marx noted mankind's affinity for performing basic labor activities in his discussion of man's *species-being*, when he notes that individuals do not innately crave utopia in which they may constantly leisure. Instead, individuals wish to feel they are engaging in natural life-activities, or, performing the basic activities that help sustain their lives and the life of the species. This is not

to suggest that workers should not be allowed more leisure than they currently experience in mainstream life. *Walden Two* discusses the importance of integrating leisure into life in order to inspire free thought. Put simply though, it seems that man's natural state is not lying around. A worker is happy to isolate the various labor activities that are necessary in order to sustain her own life and the life of her species. Furthermore, as Hodson notes, "the human will to become self-assured and self-expressive is a great catalyst for invention, cooperation, and creative adaptation at the workplace" (Hodson, 2001, p. 45). While he takes account of the ways in which workers strive for self-assuredness and self-expression in mainstream workplaces, Twin Oaks' members do not need to fight to keep their dignity as workers.

Examples of members taking on greater responsibility in the community were abundant. While in the "Tofu Hut," the miniature factory at Twin Oaks in which tofu is processed and packaged, an ex-member discussed that tofu work can be very physically exhausting. Because of this, he noted that it is at times considered an undesirable job to work in tofu processing, and that many members do not sign up for tofu shifts. However, managers' "dedicat[ion]" has proven to outweigh any consensus in the community that tofu work is deplorable (participant observation, May 19, 2012). There are a number of very devoted tofu workers that specifically request tofu shifts on a regular basis. When asked why this is, the ex-member responded that he would take on extra responsibility as a member because it made him feel good to know that he was helping out the community. So long as he was helping the community, he was happy to work physically demanding shifts. Tofu makes a great deal of money for the community, so the ex-member indicated that members appreciate the business and tofu workers' commitment to their work, which gives tofu workers the sense that their work is important.

The citizenship culture at Twin Oaks does not represent a fight for greater dignity at work. Instead, it seems to be related to members' desire to see the community function, with all members contributing to help the community survive. Sometimes, a member's desire to see greater citizenship from others can be so deeply rooted that it results in perceived conflict. I witnessed several instances of this during my stay. During a garden shift one morning, a group of 10 to 12 members and visitors were assigned to pull weeds out of the green bean and beet patches, and to place plastic film over a melon patch. The act of unrolling the plastic film requires workers to dig up and toss dirt on the edges of the film, so that it stays put in all weather conditions. Frustration erupted when some began to work more quickly than others, and one member began to verbally express her frustration, stating that some people were refusing to put extra effort in their work in order to ensure that the job was well done. Occasionally, she commented quite harshly about how others were veering towards easier jobs, and how there were too many people present for the garden shift that day, since only a few disciplined workers were needed to perform the assigned tasks. As she made these comments, she jabbed her spade in the ground and threw dirt upward onto the film in a rather aggressive fashion. It seemed she was deliberately performing her job with more visible effort to show others how seriously committed she was to the project. Overall, I interpreted this incident to be a member flaunting her work ethic. Clearly, she had a certain expectation that others would express her same level of citizenship.

Another similar happening took place one afternoon in the Hammocks Shop, where members may enter at any point in the day in order to work on weaving and knotting hammocks:

> *Some older experienced members are trying to figure out why a hammock was left*
>
> *outside [in the courtyard] without being completed, and note that whoever had*

taken the hammock outside had not noticed that it was custom-made, and

therefore [that it] should not have been tampered with. Dave* says that there was

a sign on the hammock that clearly indicated that it should not be touched, and

[he is frustrated]. Sandy* mentions that she needs to work on "managing chaos"

that is erupting in the hammocks shop for a number of reasons: members [are]

improperly completing work, not completing work, not marking their names on

the work they have completed, or leaving hammock parts in places where they

should not be. She acts flustered, walking in and out of the hammock shop and

asking questions of Dave* regarding various inconsistencies [with the work that

has been done that day]. (participant observation, May 22, 2012).

While Sandy* was expressing her frustration at the above situation, she did not shy away from

correcting the mistakes made by fellow members. There was no reluctance on her part to step up

and play a more assertive role when one was needed, and she was willing to take the time and

effort required to ensure that the end product—a successfully woven custom hammock—was

completed. In the end, the mistake was corrected, and the person who had left the hammock

outside had a polite discussion with Dave*, where the misunderstanding was corrected. The

member was not chastised or scolded, and he seemed interested in helping to ensure that the

same mistake was not repeated.

A worker's strong commitment to the community does not always result in perceived

conflict. Members commonly express dedication to the community with their willingness to take

on Manager positions. Doing so allows a member to order a particular area of the community in

a way she and her team see fit. There are many instances in which Twin Oaks members choose

to step into Manager positions in order to make sure there is some structure in areas where

structure has been lacking. Manager positions are relevant to the discussion of Twin Oaks'
culture of responsibility not just because they are voluntary; while Manager positions help
structure the community, they can also give way to pockets of innovation where human
imagination and creativity can flourish. This results in a member taking even greater ownership
over their work.

At Twin Oaks, innovation can result from a member experimenting with new methods in
order to achieve a task. This stands in contrast to the innovation that occurs in the mainstream,
where work can be riddled with alienation and heightened expectations of efficiency. When
workers have the opportunity to take on management positions in areas of the community that
interest them, they have a responsibility to the community that is directly associated with their
taking ownership over a particular area. In the process of taking ownership over her work in a
setting that is not strictly regimented and where experimentation with work is valued, a Manager
can become free to work with her team to imagine better ways of completing tasks. Similarly,
new projects and areas may open up in the community, as managers come to see new ways the
community can be improved. While she may not be granted an extensive amount of money to
take on new projects, and while members of her team or other members who work often in her
area also have a great deal of say in what goes on, a Manager has a great deal of freedom to think
up new ways of completing tasks while working. At Twin Oaks, a Manager is a volunteer who is
given the community's blessing to express a level of creativity that they might not otherwise
express in the mainstream. On the outside, there is a great deal of pressure for managers to
conform to bureaucratic power, seen as lines of authority. At Twin Oaks, there is a transcendent
drive for managers to see the community survive.

A member's expertise in a particular area is not necessarily a prerequisite for them taking up a Manager's position in that area. Every member has the *potential* to step into the role of managing an area, regardless of her level of expertise. All that a member must have is a willingness to learn as she goes. Interestingly enough, the Twin Oaks members I came across that had stepped into Manager positions with little expertise seemed no less informed than those who had prior experience. This illustrated how human beings can and will learn a job when given the chance to rise to the occasion, even if they lack prior knowledge. There are many instances of members stepping up to fill empty management positions for the sake of the community's survival. It is commonplace for Twin Oaks members to make the sacrifice of stepping into a Manager position in order to allow the community to continue to function. As one member indicated, "There's no reason to be a manager if you're not in it [for the good of the community]" (participant observation, May 28, 2012). Unspoken, too, is some informal peer pressure within the community for members to sacrifice some for the sake of their fellow members. Many members expressed thanks to others for their various contributions on a daily basis. In another member's opinion, those members that are most qualified, who realize that "for the good of the community" they should step into Managers' positions, represent a force that keeps the community running smoothly. The same member estimated that about 70 to 80 percent of members at Twin Oaks do things that they might not wish to do otherwise, because they are committed to the success of the community (participant observation, May 23, 2012).

During my stay, two members were about to step forward and offer their services to co-manage the Kitchen area. The position had gone unfilled for a fairly long amount of time, and because of this the kitchen was falling into disarray. Efficient meal planning was also at stake, and with a community of nearly 100 to feed twice daily, this made for a rather pressing issue.

One of the members desiring to co-manage the kitchen had attended culinary school. The other

had been a chef at the White House during the Clinton administration. The latter member

discussed quite openly the difficulty of the Kitchen Manager position, but seemed excited to fill

the role. He explained that his reason for wanting to co-manage was because no one had stepped

up as Manager for quite a long time (participant observation, May 22, 2012). Since he felt the job

would be easier to accomplish with two managers, he seemed fairly energized at the thought of

taking on greater responsibility. Both members were later approved to co-manage the Kitchen.

Another member, Damian*, became Legal Manager although he had no prior law

experience. As Legal Manager, his chief responsibility was to develop an understanding of the

legal details of Twin Oaks, to include how Twin Oaks is organized for tax purposes, and what

legal rights and responsibilities the community retains. He joked openly about the fact that he

had no legal expertise. Yet, when prompted for specific information, he was very knowledgeable

on the topic, and was able to freely answer questions without any hesitation or difficulty.

Damian* indicated that he had stepped up to become Legal Manager because no one else had

offered to fill the position for months, and he felt he wanted to take on the responsibility

(participant observation, May 21, 2012).

In the act of volunteering as Manager, a member allows herself the opportunity to learn.

Creativity and innovation can flourish as a result. Thus, alongside the responsibility of stepping

into a Manager's position, there is room for a certain level of freedom for members to manage

creatively while consulting with others. An experimental environment in the community is then

conceived that spurs innovation. It has been said that the "magic" of human imagination is

released as soon as workers have a sense of ownership over what they produce (Garson, 1975, p.

210). When Twin Oaks managers can utilize their imagination, they are energized in seeing their

creative efforts materialize in a final product; "when we can feel of a need, conceive of a means, and visualize the outcome, there is an energy released that helps draw us through all the labor that lies between the idea and the finished [product]" (Garson, 1975, p. 210).

Human imagination is hindered in many ways in mainstream bureaucratic workplaces, where what is at stake is the simultaneous desire to divide labor and the desire to rely on human beings to perform mechanical tasks (Garson, 1975, p. 219). The danger with this lies in the fact that, unlike machines, human beings can think for themselves, so bureaucracy must be maintained by "increasingly costly supervision" (Garson, 1975, p. 219). If the goal in mainstream workplaces is to "block" a worker's "vision" in order to protect the bureaucratic system in question, then the goal at Twin Oaks is to cut the costs of strict supervision and release the power of human creativity. At Twin Oaks, managers are not just expected to think about how they manage an area, but to manage to *think*. It simply becomes worth the risk for members of the community to cut supervision costs in order to allow more opportunity for imagination.

A positive side effect of having voluntary managers committed to a community is the fact that managers can and will learn as they work, and cultivate skills accordingly. Their innovations can spawn a new standardization of practices that benefits the community at large. Furthermore, the fact that managers, or, teams of members in specific areas, experiment to find best practices means that expertise can be developed. Members striving for greater knowledge care how their work benefits the rest of the community and are quite passionate about their work as a result. This is in stark contrast to bureaucratic settings where workers experience limited self-efficacy.

One member, Ashley*, who was in charge of food processing, stated that after about two years on the job, she was still very much learning how to properly store, batch, and preserve food. She also admitted that she does not know how to properly preserve every crop for the

winter months, stating that she had made mistakes in the past. The mistakes Ashley* made were difficult to correct after the fact, since the end product of her labor (preserved food) is cooked months after it is preserved (participant observation, June 2, 2012). However, previous setbacks did not cause her to give up, and with the support of the community, she did not allow the challenge of processing and storing food overwhelm her. During my stay, she enlisted the help of visitors and members alike to properly wash, cut, and store crops so that the community could have a reliable supply of fresh food in the winter months. Although she did discuss previous setbacks to her job, to include the earthquake of fall 2011, which decimated a large quantity of Twin Oaks' stored food preserves, Ashley* spoke more of her commitment to the community, and her willingness to reinvent the methods by which she conducted her food processing.

Further innovations resulting from Twin Oaks' experimentalist culture have occurred with the cultivation of various trees in the community's orchards, which are scattered throughout the grounds:

> *Orchard help in the afternoon, raking leaves to be used for mulch. [Those participating in the shift] meet Nancy*, a member who is "honchoing" the orchard shift. She appears to be in her late twenties; she has a soft, but strong voice…and a confident walk. As she leads [the group]…through the orchards, she explains the various projects and experiments that she has been helping to lead with planting and cultivating different kings of fruit trees organically. Because no one [at Twin Oaks] has [a high level of] expertise in [Orchard work], it seems to have been done over the years through trial and error; Nancy* explains how she came upon variations of fruits that normally would not grow in [certain] climates, but grow well at Twin Oaks because they are a type specifically made to survive in colder climates. She explains that this means that Twin*

Oakers can eat fruit later into the fall and winter months than they would if they

depended solely on varieties meant to survive in warmer climates. In other words, by

working with the Virginia climate, and not against it, Twin Oakers are able to live off

their land more efficiently. (participant observation, June 3, 2012).

The above illustrates how more innovations came to fruition quite literally when several

members committed themselves to orchard work in the community. In the process of

spearheading an effort to improve the community's many small courtyard orchards, Nancy* and

her fellow members have come to learn through trial and error how they can better serve their

community. There is a strong sense of dedication Nancy* has to her work. Because of this

dedication, and because of the fact that she was given room to experiment with various methods

of cultivating plants, Nancy* has become an expert on orchard work and has helped provide a

greater amount of food for her community grown on-site. As she sifted through the orchard and

described her efforts, she spoke quite passionately of her efforts. Nancy* seemed to view her

orchards like a puzzle that she was eager to solve.

Overall, it has been noted that human beings' desire to take ownership over their work, as

well as their potential for creative energy, becomes limited in an environment that is too rigid.

The voluntary nature of managerial roles at Twin Oaks, and the relative flexibility managers and

their teams experience with their work, spawns innovation. At Twin Oaks, human imagination is

unhinged when members have the freedom to step into management roles, as well as when they

have the opportunity to experiment with both different *types* of work and *within* their selected

area of work.

Making Work Enjoyable. It may seem simple, but the very act of making work both

comfortable and flexible for Twin Oaks members creates the potential for members to actually

enjoy performing the tasks at hand. A key component of how labor is conceived at Twin Oaks is

that work does not have to be dreadful. At Twin Oaks, labor is viewed as a necessary part of life,

rather than a dreaded chore. As it is currently practiced in the community, labor is thought of in a

similar light to how Marx viewed life-activity. As stated previously, Marx referred to labor

activities in their natural state as constituting one's "life-activity" (Marx, 1978, p. 75). It was his

understanding that man's natural production is producing "means of subsistence" (Marx, 1978,

p. 150). While laboring to convert nature into basic products for the sake of survival, man

naturally works in groups. It is Marx's understanding that in this natural environment, a person

finds purpose. A bond between an individual and nature, as well as between an individual and

her species, arises out of life-activities. Additionally, a person's ability to think, to introspect and

to develop their person arises in this natural state. It is only with exploitation and

industrialization that the bonds between man and nature, man and others, and man and

him/herself become disrupted.

Given the development of technologies that came out of industrialization, E.F.

Schumacher noted the importance of maintaining a new code for how labor is practiced. *Small is

Beautiful* is his attempt at communicating the dire need of an economic awareness more sensitive

to the real needs of mankind and the environment. For a better economy, and a better society,

Schumacher believed that the organization of labor and motivations behind labor must be

reconsidered:

In industry, we can interest ourselves in the evolution of the small-scale technology,

relatively nonviolent technology, 'technology with a human face,' so that people have a

chance to enjoy themselves while they are working, instead of working solely for their

pay packet and hoping, usually forlornly, for enjoyment solely in their leisure time. In

industry…we can interest ourselves in new forms of partnership between management

and men, even forms of common ownership. (Schumacher, 2010, p. 22)

At Twin Oaks, both the ideas of Marx and Schumacher seem to be taken into consideration, in

the sense that labor is reconsidered to constitute a non-bureaucratic "form of common

ownership," that does indeed give members the opportunity to enjoy their work. Members' more

natural balance of labor and life allows for basic sustenance, and is congruent with Marx's notion

of life-activity. This is of course not meant to imply that Twin Oaks is pre-industrial; rather,

Twin Oaks combines Marx's notion of life-activity with industry in a way that is not exploitative

or capitalistic. Put simply, Twin Oaks' conception of labor is correlated with members' overall

sense of worker satisfaction. Much in line with the predictions of Marx and Schumacher, Twin

Oaks is a perfect example of how people can and do enjoy their work when it is more in line with

human nature, when it has a "human face." Apart from the fact that a member can choose what

labor activities in which she wishes to engage, other factors that contribute to worker satisfaction

seem to be: (1) socializing during work, if desired, (2) a special regard for leisure/time to relax

and reap the rewards of one's work, and (3) in many cases, working on a task from start to finish,

or, seeing the end result of one's work, rather than only working on a highly specialized task.

As for the first factor, this does not mean that tasks must be outright "fun"; simply by

allowing members to socialize as they work, Twin Oaks' work culture permits members to

experience work differently from how it is conceived in the mainstream. It should be noted that

socializing at Twin Oaks does not have to interrupt the task at hand. At least most members are

aware enough of the norm of socializing while working that they are able to socialize without

interrupting the flow of a shift. Where they are lagging, they may begin to feel some pressure from fellow members to pick up their pace.

As for the first factor, when workers are given the opportunity to socialize at Twin Oaks, they can work to build solidarity, and can come to enjoy themselves. The act of socializing with others while working is an act of maintaining dignity in any workplace, where dignity can be understood as inherent and earned "through actions" (Hodson, 2001, p. 4). In the mainstream, it can be the case that workers must make an effort to socialize in instances where dignity is consistently denied, and/or socializing while working is not allowed. In comparison, the concept of human dignity is a base from which Twin Oaks' labor norms are both created and sustained. Socializing at work entails "social diversions, friendships, and other activities whose purpose it is to provide meaning in a world too often offering too little of it" (Hodson, 2001, p. 18). An attraction to socializing in the workplace occurs for specific reasons; "[c]oworkers also provide a significant line of both formal and informal defense against managerial fiat. As trade unionists have known since the beginning of industrial society, there is power in numbers" (Hodson, 2001, p. 18) Relationships formed between coworkers come to constitute informal social structures in the workplace, which in turn results in "positive contact and mutual assistance" (Hodson, 2001, p. 47).

The opportunity to form social bonds while working at Twin Oaks is readily apparent, and in many cases, the bonds that form within a member's work group can and will spill over into her leisure time, where the people she socializes with during work become the same individuals she socializes with during her leisure time. Of course, it is not universally true that a member will get along with everyone with whom she works. At the very least, solidarity in the workplace is very much encouraged at Twin Oaks. This is in contrast to mainstream workplaces,

in which this kind of solidarity is typically discouraged due to management's fear of strikes and worker's unions.

While at the community, there were many instances in which I witnessed workspaces set up to ensure that socializing while working was possible. In the Hammocks Shop, looms are set up in such a way so that members can work across from one another and carry on conversations, if they wish. Also, looms are in the same area where the harnesses of the hammocks are completed, so multiple members can perform different jobs in the same area and converse fairly easily. Additionally, there is an extensive library of music in the Hammocks Shop, and members are allowed to listen to whatever music they desire, so long as it does not disturb others. If a member should grow tired of repetitive work in the Hammocks Shop, they can take a break and rest for as long as they need. Weather permitting, they may also move a loom outside and work in the courtyard with others.

The Hammocks Shop is not alone in its creation of a work environment that encourages socializing. During Garden shifts, members work mostly in groups, and talk readily as they harvest. The same goes for Kitchen shifts, where members work together to cook a meal for the community. While it is difficult to hear one another over the sound of the machinery in the Tofu Hut, workers blast music over a stereo during processing. They also make up for lost social time during cleanup, and in the warehouse, where they may socialize while boxing tofu for shipments. I observed one such instance in the warehouse during my stay, when four individuals, including myself, were able to socialize, and discussed a variety of topics while organizing a large amount of tofu for shipment:

> *Tofu boxing in the morning; 2 members and one long-term guest are present and assist*
>
> *with packing tofu into boxes, and then sealing the boxes with tape. The shipments are*

large and there is a lot going on, as there are various different kinds of tofu that must be

discerned from others, and placed into specific boxes that are date-stamped and meant to

ship out to different distributors, who have all ordered different quantities. All three

throughout the shift demonstrate that they are well-educated…[two of them] discuss

methods for improving efficiency in tofu production, as well as different topics in IT, as

both have been involved with IT configuration for the community. (participant

observation, May 26, 2012).

In addition, the three individuals with whom I worked that day discussed their personal

backgrounds, their passion for music, and some philosophy.

Parents and children are also permitted to work alongside one another at Twin Oaks, and

children can receive some labor credit for shadowing their parents during shifts, the idea being

that by observing their parents, they are learning how to later operate as functional members of

the community. Children work very little—2 to 6 hours of week, outside of their education—and

they are encouraged to find things that they enjoy doing for labor credit. Thus, the mainstream

concept of having to constantly work to keep family separate from one's work, with the

occasional exception of family-owned businesses and "Take Your Daughter to Work Day" is

shattered at Twin Oaks.

The second factor that contributes to worker satisfaction at Twin Oaks is the

encouragement on behalf of the community for members to take leisure time. When asked what

her favorite part of living at Twin Oaks was, one member replied that it was when she allowed

herself a moment of leisure, to pause between shifts, that she enjoyed her membership the most.

This was because she could feel her body relax knowing that she had completed what she set

forth to accomplish that day. This member also emphasized that she enjoyed having moments of

leisure in the natural setting that Twin Oaks offers (participant observation, June 2, 2012). No

live television is permitted in the community, but members can and do practice musical

instruments, exercise, socialize, take naps, read books from their communal library, and work on

hobbies in their free time. Twin Oaks members also talk on the phone and surf the Internet,

watch movies on either laptops or in common areas. There is something to be said for spending

leisure time with others, rather than alone, and while Twin Oaks members value what little

privacy they have, many participate in impromptu get-togethers. Members might sit in a circle

together in the courtyard and have a conversation, or play music together. There are additionally

more organized social gatherings at the community, i.e. holiday parties, birthday parties, musical

performances, visitor parties,[8] and the occasional wedding. Some activities that might be

classified as leisure in the mainstream are labor-creditable at Twin Oaks, as members can receive

some labor credit for planning parties. During my stay, two ex-members got married at Twin

Oaks. Many members of both Twin Oaks and Acorn Community helped plan and execute the

wedding ceremony and reception. The bride and groom were quite grateful, since the labor put

into their wedding was creditable meant they were able to have a wedding for almost no cost.[9]

It has been noted that human beings derive satisfaction from seeing a task through from

beginning to end; "[w]orkers are deeply affected and energized by the meaning of their work.

Few satisfactions are greater in life than those derived from the self-directed completion of

worthwhile tasks" (Hodson, 2001, p. 45). Twin Oaks members do not always work on tasks from

start to finish. However, many tasks have a defined beginning and end, as there is typically a set

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[8] Visitor parties are parties thrown for members by visitors to the community, and are held
primarily for the purpose of getting to know members.
[9] Normally, weddings are not done at Twin Oaks for couples that are not currently members. A
special exception was made in this case, since this couple had just recently left the community
only one month prior.

of specific tasks that must be accomplished in a given shift, and many members both see and

benefit from the final product of their labor. In the case of gardening and harvesting food,

members consume the food that they harvest later in the day. Working in the tofu business,

members produce, package, and ship tofu, as well as eat some of the tofu they produce. Thus,

members have the potential to have a hand in every part of the production process. One area in

the community where this may not be the case is with hammocks production, which is slightly

more divided; spreader bars are cut and polished in one part of the community, harnesses and

hammocks assembled in the other. Hammocks pillows and accessories are also sewn and

assembled in separate parts of the community, as well. Typically, the workers who cut and polish

spreader bars do not also sew and stuff pillows, assemble harnesses, or weave together the final

product. However, as stated before, members have the opportunity to move into another line of

work in the community if they grow tired of their current line of work.

       In sum, the Twin Oaks work culture permits socializing during work, encourages ample

leisure time, and in most instances allows members to work from start to finish on a product. All

of these factors contribute to an enjoyable work environment for members.

Building community: Liberating individuals from alienation

       Twin Oaks' revaluation of labor to give meaning to a wide variety of tasks, across

traditional boundaries of time and tradition, has one additional consequence that has been alluded

to, but not discussed outright. This final consequence of valuing equality in labor and allowing it

to be self-chosen is that individuals become bonded with *others*. At Twin Oaks, alienation gives

way to integration between the individual and her community. As it is my understanding that

labor is conceived at Twin Oaks as *the many activities that sustain life for an individual and her*

community, I witnessed many instances in which this definition worked to solidify a bond of trust between members. The equal valuing of activities that sustain both the life of the individual and her community translates to workers seeing a connection between themselves and others that they may not have incentive to see otherwise.

Both Marx and Weber noted the forms of alienation that can occur in capitalism and bureaucracy, respectively. Marx saw human liberation from capitalism as achievable through revolution; Weber did not see human liberation from bureaucracy as occurring in the near future, since he understood bureaucratic organization to be the most efficient form of social organization, and there being no real incentive for it to end. As both capitalism and bureaucracy plague modernity, Twin Oaks Community offers a small-scale initiative that transforms how human beings relate to one another through its redefinition of labor. In building and sustaining community, Twin Oaks members have contested the apparent necessity for exploitation and alienation in the mainstream. Bonds of trust replace the shackles of ownership; as one member indicated, "Everything is so trust-based" at Twin Oaks that no forms of malevolence or betrayal are allowed to persist within the community's borders (participant observation, May 21, 2012). The community's small size and comparatively flat governance model seem to prevent it from slipping into a disintegrated state, where individuals could not connect with their surroundings or fellow members. At Twin Oaks, there is a real connection realized between an individual's labor and communal benefit. Hence, so long as the community benefits, the individual also benefits, since the community is her home. Furthermore, members are not forced to participate in community activities if they do not wish; "hermits," or, those community members who choose to keep to themselves and not participate in some community processes, are embraced for their contribution through labor as equally as others (participant observation, May 23, 2012). There is

thus an accepted level of difference in the community. The only way in which a member must conform is by meeting quota and respecting some basic norms.

When asked what holds Twin Oaks Community together, one member was quick to answer that the size of Twin Oaks was perfect for *Gemeinschaft*, "I think there's actually something about humans that's not greedy…but this is very hard to see when a community gets too big" he said (participant observation, May 23, 2012). It was his estimation that while smaller communities may carry a greater potential for fraternity, there is still a feeling of connection at Twin Oaks between individuals and the community that hold it together. This connection stands in contrast to the "dissociation" that can occur in larger communities, (mainstream society), where things like the "bystander effect" and "broken windows theory" are real issues that social science must deal with. At Twin Oaks, this member stated, someone can accidentally drop a 20-dollar bill on the floor in ZK, and that fellow members would likely post a bulletin asking who is missing a 20-dollar bill (participant observation, May 23, 2012). This example, he thought, really illuminated the contrast in Twin Oaks' values to those perpetuated in the mainstream. When I asked this member why he personally came to Twin Oaks, his answer indicated that he wished to get away from the kind of alienation that occurs in mainstream society. He answered that his values do not fit that of the "mainstream," where personal comfort, privacy, and money are all highly valued. Instead, he said that Twin Oaks offered an alternative; the real integrated community and lack of materialism that Twin Oaks offers were more appealing to him than pursuing a normal existence (participant observation, May 23, 2012).

Integration between the individual and community also occurs during mealtimes at Twin Oaks. One can easily see the opposite of alienation occurring during any mealtime at ZK, where members sit in groups and talk primarily about what work has been performed that day and what

activities are planned for the evening, but also cover a variety of other topics, such as: ecology, health and nutrition, exercise regimens, upcoming parties, and ways to improve the efficiency of shifts (Bernhards, participant observation, May 25, 2012).

There is no question that living in community is in many ways no easy task; the community's survival is dependent on individuals' cooperation and willingness to compromise. As one member noted, "the main gift of living in community is the people, and the main [challenge] with living in community is the people" (participant observation, May 27, 2012). Members were quick to say that compromise is essential in order for community to survive, both in terms of the community's governance and in the sense that a member must share her life with others. While one member stated that members "try to come up with solutions that satisfy most of the people most of the time," there is conflict at Twin Oaks between members, just as there is on the outside (participant observation, May 28, 2012). It is not written in stone that each member must get along with every other member, let alone make friends. Twin Oaks is made up of around 100 members, and while there is much social integration, there is a sense among some members that even more social integration is desirable. One member indicated that he saw Twin Oaks to be a "community within communities," in the sense that many people find their niche in a small group of friends, but are typically not friends with everyone (participant observation, May 31, 2012). The same member stated that he felt Twin Oaks was a nice "transition place," because it is where people go to flee mainstream society and the isolation it generates in search of community, or to flee a former community in search of something more established (participant observation, May 31, 2012). Another member concurred with this sentiment, stating that a person living on the outside must listen to their feelings about getting away from mainstream society, because these feelings indicate that a person might be happier living in

community (participant observation, May 31, 2012). While becoming a member of Twin Oaks

does not imply that one makes friends instantly, it must be emphasized that the community

certainly *allows the opportunity* for a level of social integration between members that could not

occur otherwise in the mainstream. In the mainstream, if one were to work a full-time job, live

and commute alone, there would be limited opportunity to realize solidarity with others.

Mainstream workplaces are also hierarchical and rooted in competition, and if a person were to

lose her job, she would stand to lose the ability to sustain her lifestyle. At Twin Oaks, coworkers

reside together, children are in a large sense raised communally, and there is a level of

acknowledged dependence on others that would not otherwise exist in a market society. When

cooperation with others ensures the continued survival of community, where integration is

certainly seen as preferable to alienation, members are not left to fend for themselves.

        In sum, Twin Oaks offers a new way of viewing individuals in relation to their society

and works to integrate individuals to community through their labor practices. In trusting that

others will meet labor quota, and depending on this fact, members become less alienated from

others. Additionally, members live and work in groups, and come to rely on one another for

things that they might not in the mainstream, i.e. the general upkeep and survival of the

community, as well as entertainment through social interaction. It is in this sense that Twin Oaks

Community carries a kind of shock value for those who cling to the notion that living in modern

society automatically implies that one must accept a lack of egalitarianism. The community's

revaluing of labor causes members to live cohesively *with* others rather than in competition with

others. Studying Twin Oaks provides insight on how community can come to prosper and

liberate individuals from alienation.

Conclusions

The strong emphasis on a high quality of life for community members directly impacted how I as a researcher began to view mainstream society. There were two instances during my stay in which I noticed the benefit of living in community in contrast to alienation in the mainstream. The first occurred during a going away party for a long-term visitor:

> *Guitar-playing in a circle beside Morning Star, a residence. French songs are played in honor of…[a long-term visitor] who has visited Twin Oaks for a month or so. She is leaving in order to participate in student protests [in Canada]…protesting tuition costs. A storm rolls across the sky, and bats flutter ahead as a member sits carving up plums from the orchard. As time goes on, Bob Dylan songs are played on guitar as the sky grows darker. Some members lie on their backs and watch the clouds roll in.* (participant observation, May 29, 2012).

There is something to be said for relaxing at the end of a long day, being in tune with nature, with one's self, and with others. There is an unspoken emphasis at Twin Oaks on achieving higher quality of life, and it seems to be a direct result of sharing life in union with others. As a visitor, one can become rather attached to this feeling quite quickly, and in turn, come to learn that the distractions of the mainstream (e.g. cable television and internet) are not only unnatural, but are not really needed in order to obtain personal fulfillment.

The second instance took place when I left the community one evening to get ice cream with some members and fellow visitors. This was the first time I had been off of community grounds in over two weeks:

> *Entering the Food Lion parking lot, the shock of entering back into mainstream society is immediate. Trash cans line the parking lot, there are cigarette butts everywhere, and*

plastic bags flying across the lot. We walk inside, and the shock of cold air conditioning hits us as I look around to see utter and complete abundance. What came over me was a feeling that was almost indescribable; all I knew was that I wanted to return to the van and go back to Twin Oaks immediately. The bright lights, the enormous shopping carts stuffed with food, the shelves upon shelves of manufactured food product…I could not stop looking around me and noticing, really noticing the odd way in which the majority of society lives; we have no real relationship to our food, we have no real relationship to the land upon which it is grown. All that we seem to care about is the end product, the final result: a fully stocked grocery store. We turn left, towards the frozen section, and there is an entire refrigerated wall of cheese, an entire bakery with stacks of fudge and cakes and cookies and pies…the frozen section is filled with what appears to be hundreds of varieties of ice cream. When we finally make our selections [of ice cream] and return to the van, the relief that washes over me is immediate. I don't believe it's ever been so clear to me how peculiar modern society is until this moment. (participant observation, June 3, 2012).

The act of living in tune with nature—of seeing and interacting with one's food source and working to convert nature into basic necessities—stands in contrast to human alienation present in a market society. Granted, not all labor activities at Twin Oaks are pre-industrial in this sense. But when placed in comparison to the alienating activities associated with living in mainstream society, life at Twin Oaks seems to be far more in line with human nature.

An analysis of how labor is revalued, at Twin Oaks, to encompass care and trust between human beings speaks to how small-scale economics can come to carry a greater emphasis on one's quality of life, rather than the quality of one's material possessions. As one member stated

quite brilliantly, "You don't come to Twin Oaks to live better. You come to Twin Oaks to be better at living" (participant observation, May 26, 2012). The purpose of this thesis is not to make the argument that workers should give up entirely on trying to navigate work and life in the mainstream. It should not be seen as attempt to proselytize, to convince others that living in an intentional community is some ideal that must be realized. Rather, it is a small attempt in opening up dominant discourse with a discussion of *real, lived* alternatives to human alienation. Instead of deeming it necessary for human beings to work their fingers to the bone for vastly unequal pay and little or no chance for social mobility, can we not think of ways to better our society so that individuals do not have to experience exploitation and alienation in their work and in their lives? Have we as a people not grown tired of one-dimensionality?

As a closing remark, I have no grand suggestions for how to fix exploitation and alienation in the mainstream. Rather, this thesis is an attempt to chip away at some rather intricate problems, as they currently exist in mainstream society, by sharing a small-scale alternative: the story of a community that has committed itself to a revaluation of labor. As Twin Oaks has revalued labor, it has ensured that all human beings are seen as potential contributors, as having the potential to be creative. It is also important to emphasize the notion that the act of alienating ourselves from others is only to the benefit of those who own the means of production; an alienated labor force is a labor force that will not demand a change in circumstances. Contrary to Marx's sentiment that revolution is necessary to avoid alienation in capitalism, a case study of Twin Oaks community illustrates that alienation can be actively fought against through a redefinition of labor and life that exists within specified borders. Also, contrary to Weber's idea that bureaucracy is virtually impenetrable, due to the fact that it represents a maximization of efficiency in social organization, Twin Oaks offers an alternative to bureaucracy that is not

failing. Instead of buckling under the weight of the bureaucratic, market-oriented mainstream,

Twin Oaks has both prospered and regenerated to form other communities throughout the

country for 45 years. Just as Skinner thought, if we change our environment, we can come to

learn and expect a different reality. If we were to practice the kind of egalitarianism that exists

currently at Twin Oaks, or at least something similar, we might come to realize a new way of

conceiving economy that could reflect the importance of both human life and community.

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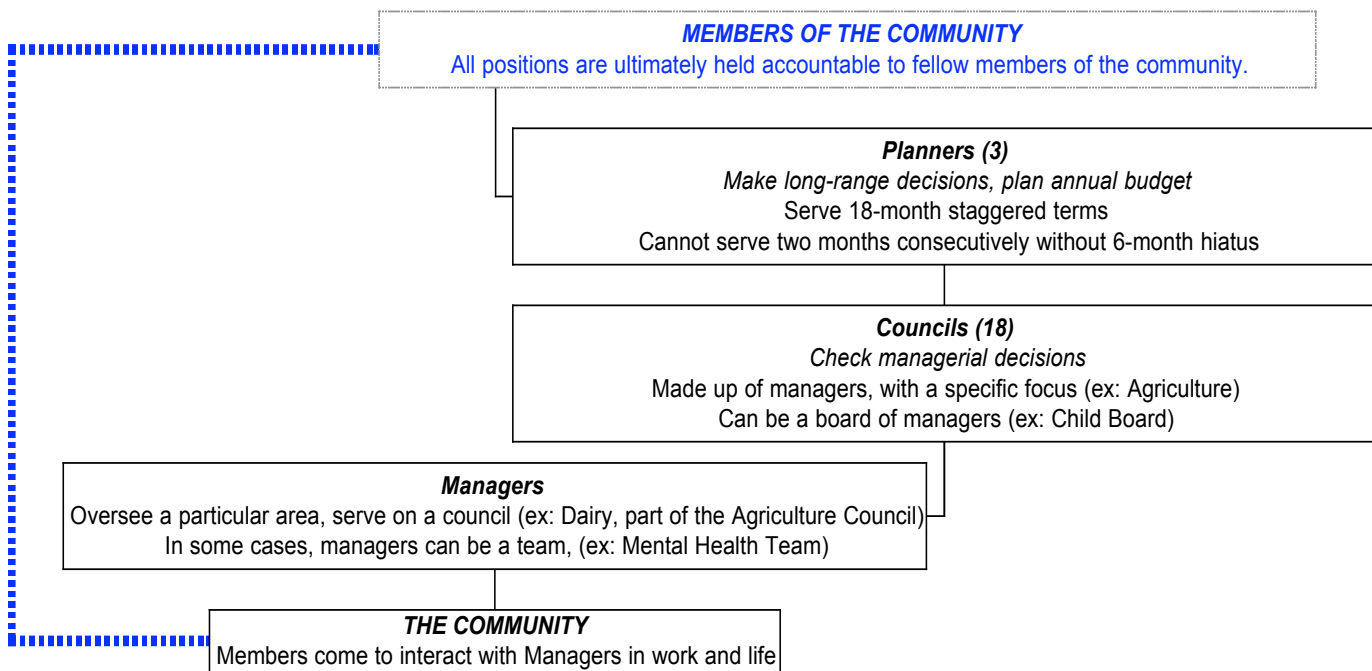
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APPENDIX A
The Decision-making Apparatus of Twin Oaks Community

The governance structure of Twin Oaks Community is divided between Managers, Planners, and Councils. All are responsible for organizing specific areas of the community, and are ultimately accountable to community members when making decisions. The fulfillment of all roles is voluntary. Members can appeal Managers' decisions to Councils, Planners, and to the community as a whole, respectively. The figure below is original, derived from research performed in this study.

Figure A1
The Governance Structure of Twin Oaks

MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY
All positions are ultimately held accountable to fellow members of the community.

Planners (3)
Make long-range decisions, plan annual budget
Serve 18-month staggered terms
Cannot serve two months consecutively without 6-month hiatus

Councils (18)
Check managerial decisions
Made up of managers, with a specific focus (ex: Agriculture)
Can be a board of managers (ex: Child Board)

Managers
Oversee a particular area, serve on a council (ex: Dairy, part of the Agriculture Council)
In some cases, managers can be a team, (ex: Mental Health Team)

THE COMMUNITY
Members come to interact with Managers in work and life

APPENDIX B
Councils, Managers, and Areas within the Community

There are multiple areas within Twin Oaks that offer activities, which members can perform for labor credit. Councils are made up of managers of specific areas. Members have the opportunity to choose to work in areas of interest, or become Manager of an area. Information for this table was derived from a listing posted on the community bulletin board at Twin Oaks, entitled "Councils, Areas, and Managers." It is not a full listing.

On occasion, rather than a single manager, there is what is called a Management Team, which works together to co-manage an area. Some areas require further explanation: Commie Clothes is a communal clothing center; members can select outfits from garments that are communally owned. This is managed, and it is labor-creditable to work in Commie Clothes' upkeep. Pets in the community are also shared, and it is a labor-creditable responsibility for members to care for pets. MT Garden is an area of work that requires members to work in the garden near a building called "Modern Times."

Table A1
Councils and Managers, Areas in which Labor is practiced

Council	Areas representing Labor-Creditable Activities, Management
Agriculture	Bees; Dairy; Farm; Fences; Forestry; Garden; Herb Garden; Mushrooms; Orchard; Ornamentals; Poultry; Seeds; Alt-Orchard
Child	Managers make up a board, and there are 3
Community Service	Local Relations; Movement Support; Reading Window
Construction/Utilities	Building Maintenance; Domestic Sawmill; Electrical Maintenance; Equipment Maintenance; IT (phones, computers); Plumbing Maintenance; STP (Sewage Treatment Plant); Woodshop
Culinary	Cook; Food; Food Processing; Kitchen; Meat

	Processing; Milk Processing
Domestic	Commie Clothes; House; House Furnishings; Pets; Room Assigning; Stereo; Trustery
Grounds	Footpaths; MT (Modern Times) Garden; Pond/Sauna; Yard
Health	Dental; Health Team; Mental Health Team; Safety
Material Support	Archives; Darkroom; Library; Recycling; Woodheat/BTU
Office	Accounting; Office; Taxes
Outreach	Communities Conference; CVP (Community Visitor Program); Federation of Egalitarian Communities; Leaves (Twin Oaks Newsletter); Recruitment; Visitor Correspondence; Women's Gathering
Planning	Community Planners; Econ Team; Labor; Land Planning/Space Use; Legal; Membership Team; New Member Liaisons; Process Team
Social Support	Holiday; Recreation; Video
Transportation and Maintenance	Auto Maintenance; Battery Carts; Bikes; Machine Shop; Road Maintenance; Vehicle Use; Welding
Income Council: Rope Products--Operations	Desk; Fairs; Marketing; Purchasing; Shipping; Warehousing
Income Council: Rope Products--Production	Fabric Beds; Grommet; Hammocks Chairs; Hammocks Kits; Hammocks Shop; Pillows; Rope
Income Council: Rope Products—Wood	Warehouse; Chair Varnish; Sawmill; Stretchers

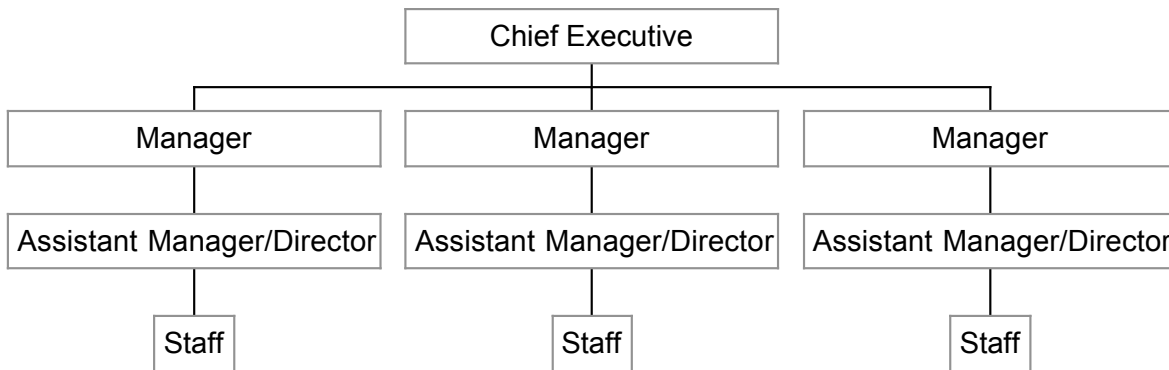|	
Income Council: Tofu[10]	General Manager; Management Team, Marketing; Accounting, Purchasing, and Upgrade; Scheduling, Tempeh; Soysage
Other Income[11]	Directory Distribution; Herb Workshop; Indexing; Kat Kinkade book sales; Ornamentals; Outside work; Seeds

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[10] Tofu is not actually a council. It is run by a management team; what is above is a list of jobs.
[11] Tofu is on the "Other Income" council.

APPENDIX C
Traditional Workplace Hierarchy

Hierarchy in a traditional workplace is typically vertically integrated, with an owner, and management overseeing a diverse specialization of tasks. This is in contrast to the structure of Twin Oaks, where there is a rather flat structure of managers, Councils, and Planners that are all ultimately held accountable by the community at large. Below is simply a basic example of traditional hierarchy.

Figure A2
Example of a traditional workplace hierarchy

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                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │ Chief Executive │
                          └─────────────────┘
         ┌─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┐
   ┌───────────┐         ┌───────────┐         ┌───────────┐
   │  Manager  │         │  Manager  │         │  Manager  │
   └───────────┘         └───────────┘         └───────────┘
         │                     │                     │
┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
│Assistant Manager/│ │Assistant Manager/│ │Assistant Manager/│
│    Director      │ │    Director      │ │    Director      │
└──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
         │                     │                     │
     ┌───────┐             ┌───────┐             ┌───────┐
     │ Staff │             │ Staff │             │ Staff │
     └───────┘             └───────┘             └───────┘
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APPENDIX D
Activities Performed for Labor Credit

There are a variety of activities that can be performed for labor credit at Twin Oaks. What is special about Twin Oaks' system is that it grants equal weight to both "professional" and "domestic" activities. Data derived from observation.

Table A2
Labor-creditable Activities at Twin Oaks

Labor-creditable activities within Twin Oaks' small businesses	Labor-creditable activities outside of Twin Oaks' small businesses
Hammocks:	Construction and Upkeep of Twin Oaks:
Constructing hammocks, warehousing, marketing, organizing for shipping, and hammocks sales. Attending craft fairs and selling Twin Oaks hammocks products. Managing any aspect of the Hammocks business.	Any and all construction/repair of Twin Oaks property as it is needed and approved, as well as cleaning common areas; taking care of the community's pets, laundering communal clothing.
Tofu:	Cooking and Cleanup:
Making tofu and/or tempeh, packaging, warehousing, and organizing for shipping, tofu sales.	Cooking a meal at ZK, the community's cafeteria, ensuring that there is enough for 100 people, plus guests and visitors. Cleaning up after mealtimes, i.e. washing dishes (every member must do this on a rotating basis), clearing the steam table on which meals are served.
Seed-Growing in conjunction with Acorn Community:	
Working with members of nearby Acorn Community to cultivate, grow, stock, and ship organic seeds for sale.	Childcare and Education: Teaching or caring after other members' children, teaching or learning a new skill or task.
Book Indexing:	Gardening, Dairy Production, Agriculture:
Working with the community's indexing business. This requires nuanced job training.	"Gardening," or, farming vegetables/fruits on the community's farm; working in the community's orchards; working with dairy cattle to produce milk and cheese for the community, working with chickens, animal husbandry.
Ornamentals:	
Growing and clipping flowers, arranging and	

selling bouquets.

Organizing and Planning, Budgeting:

General office work, organizing or planning community gatherings/events, working with the Community Visitor Program (CVP) and being on-call to visitors.