

University of Denver

Digital Commons @ DU

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

6-1-2010

Where Have All the Utopias Gone? Ritual, Solidarity, and Longevity in a Multifaith Commune in New Mexico

Linda Prueitt Hansen
University of Denver

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd>



Part of the [Religion Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hansen, Linda Prueitt, "Where Have All the Utopias Gone? Ritual, Solidarity, and Longevity in a Multifaith Commune in New Mexico" (2010). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 266.
<https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd/266>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at Digital Commons @ DU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ DU. For more information, please contact jennifer.cox@du.edu, dig-commons@du.edu.

WHERE HAVE ALL THE UTOPIAS GONE?
RITUAL, SOLIDARITY, AND LONGEVITY IN A MULTI-FAITH
COMMUNE IN NEW MEXICO

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Linda Prueitt Hansen

June 2010

Advisor: Dr. Tracy Ehlers

©Copyright by Linda Prueitt Hansen 2010

All Rights Reserved

Author: Linda Prueitt Hansen

Title: WHERE HAVE ALL THE UTOPIAS GONE: RITUAL, SOLIDARITY AND LONGEVITY IN A MULTI-FAITH COMMUNE IN NEW MEXICO

Advisor: Dr. Tracy Ehlers

Degree Date: June 2010

ABSTRACT

Utopian experiments creating new forms of community have dotted the globe throughout human history. Despite grandiose visions, a majority of communal experiments have faded quickly into oblivion. A wealth of scholarship has focused on reasons why communes typically fail. My research of an ecumenical commune in northern New Mexico examines what has facilitated its perpetuation for over 42 years. I participated in this community for different periods of time for over three years. With the assistance of a resident oral historian, I was able to expand my study into a diachronic view that spanned decades. I conclude that there are multiple and interconnected factors that have given strength to this community. Factors contributing to its persistence throughout its existence have been a strong economic base, strong social structures, overarching ideologies, adaptability, charismatic influence, ritual observances, sacralization of space and material culture, amicable relations with the outside, conflict management mechanisms, and boundary maintenance. In the past two decades other factors have been added or intensified to contribute to its solidarity including a transient population and a widening circle of outside support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude extends to many individuals who have supported this project. I thank my advisor, Dr. Tracy Bachrach Ehlers for her undaunted support of an older student who needed to brush up on her skills by re-entering academia after a twenty-four year absence. I thank my mentor Dr. Larry Conyers who taught me how to use the left side of my brain and taught me how to lighten up when the pressure is on. I thank Dr. Richard Clemmer Smith for his constant guidance and moral support. I thank the Lama community for teaching me how to embrace diversity and open my heart and mind to new possibilities. I thank them for allowing me to conduct this research that can potentially guide other communitarians. A major supporter and guide throughout this research was Ammi Kohn, Resident Oral Historian from the Lama Foundation. He has spent countless hours consulting with me on this Thesis and has offered all of his resources for my benefit. I thank Dr. Hans Von Briesen for his advice on this thesis and expertise as one of the original founders of the Lama Foundation. I also thank my dear husband, Dana Hansen who has stood by my side and supported me in every way possible. I thank my mother, Susi R. Prueitt and my father, Melvin L. Prueitt notable scientist and inventor, for inspiring me to follow my dreams even at an older age.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introducing Utopia.....	1
I. Factors Related to Success and Failure	5
II. Empirical Studies of Commitment and Solidarity	9
III. Lama Foundation: A Diachronic Approach.....	13
IV. Overview of My Research	14
Chapter Two: Historical Contextualization	17
I. Revitalization Movements in America	19
II. Counterculture Revitalization Movement	23
III. New Religion Movement and the Counterculture	29
IV. New Mexico and the Taos Scene.....	34
Chapter Three: History of the Lama Foundation.....	42
I. Founding Years: 1965-1971	42
II. The Holy Wars 1971-1977.....	54
III. The Hondo Fire and Beyond 1980s-2010.....	57
Chapter Four: Literature Review	65
I. Kanter's Commitment and Community	73
II. Clifford Thies: Successful American Communes.....	77
III. Hugh Gardner: Counterculture Communes	78
IV. Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality and Communitas	81
V. Material Culture, Ideology, and Sacralization of Space	85
VI. Performance Studies and Ritual Activity	89
VII. Bennet Berger's Theory of Ideological Work.....	93
VIII. Theories of Charisma and Alienation	95
Chapter Five: Methods.....	99
I. Methodological Concerns.....	105
Part Two.....	108
Factors Contributing to Solidarity and Longevity	108
Chapter Six: Commitment Mechanisms	112
I. Sacrifice Commitment Mechanism	113
II. Investment Commitment Mechanism	115
III. Renunciation Commitment Mechanism	117
IV. Communion Commitment Mechanism	119
V. Mortification Commitment Mechanism.....	121
VI. Transcendence Commitment Mechanism.....	123
Chapter Seven: Charisma.....	128
Chapter Eight: Ideological Work.....	142

Chapter Nine: Governance and Social Structures.....	156
I. Lama Foundation By-Laws	159
II. Scheduling and Organization of Labor	165
Chapter Ten: Economic Base.....	169
I. Lama Foundation: Economics and Ideology	171
II. Redistribution of Material Goods.....	174
III. Sources of Income.....	176
IV. Communes That Were Economic Failures	181
Chapter Eleven: Conflict Management Mechanisms	189
Chapter Twelve: Ritual Activity and Communitas.....	197
Chapter Thirteen: Sacralization of Space and Material Culture	215
Chapter Fourteen: Outside Relations and Boundary Maintenance.....	229
I. Outside Relations.....	229
II. Boundary Maintenance	238
Chapter Fifteen: Conclusions from Research	253
I. Future Research	267
References.....	271
Appendix A.....	282
Appendix B.....	286
Appendix C.....	299

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING UTOPIA

Utopia in many literary works is portrayed as an end-state of ultimate perfection. In this study, Utopia will refer to humankind's relentless aspiration to find better ways to live together. Utopia is a continual process of conceptualization, implementation, modification, and continuation or dissolution. Experimenting with Utopia becomes a creative, diachronic undertaking. The engineering of new types of social institutions and small scale intentional communities is a trial and error exercise where unique forms of human relationships are explored (Kanter 1972). Utopian communities are the place of experimentation, and according to Melville are "experiments for the recovery of Human potential" (Melville 1972).

The term Utopia comes from Sir Thomas Moore's idyllic model of communal living. His *ou-topos* ("no place") and *eu-topos* (the "good place") refers to his Edenic island outpost where each individual was treated equally in all aspects of life (Berry 1992). Utopia in Kanter's definition is "the imaginary society in which humankind's deepest yearnings, noblest dreams, and highest aspirations come to fulfillment" (Kanter 1972:1). Utopian thought arises as a critique of the current order with its evils and problems and is offered as a direct solution to these ills. Berry recognizes Utopian plans as "both escapes and creations—escapes from crisis, real or imagined, and attempts to realize alternative ideals" (Berry 1992). Utopian thought according to Whitworth "thus

appears as a complex product of sustained dissatisfaction, disappointment, and eventual despair of the religious and social condition of the world” (Berry 1992:229). Early Utopian philosophy promoted a vision that man has the potential for goodness if he is placed in the right kind of society (Roberts 1961). Reconstructive programs to produce this right society can be initiated on community or global levels.

Arthur Morgan recognizes Utopian influences in many arenas. He identified Utopian thinking in the code drafted on the Mayflower, the federal constitution of the United States, in religious reform movements, and in fictional writing (Morgan 1946). The list could include every political ideology ever fashioned including Marxism, Socialism, Anarchism, and Democratic models of government. According to Morgan, each formulation is imperfect and they always draw critics and detractors.

My focus here will remain with Utopian visions that materialize into discrete communities that are “self-created and self-chosen rather than externally imposed” (Kanter 1972:1). These are communities that find refuge from the dominant culture to escape its perversions in the hopes of realizing a better form of life. In these communities, conformity comes voluntarily without coercion. It is a separate and identifiable entity with social and physical boundaries (Kanter 1972:1). For the sake of clarity, this thesis will use interchangeably, intentional, communal, communitarian, and Utopian communities and will refer to the same definition offered by anthropologist Susan Love Brown (2002): “The intentional community is one that is purposely and voluntarily founded to achieve a specific goal for a specific group of people bent on solving a specific set of cultural problems.” This broad definition includes a wide variety of possible experiments. The American continent has provided fertile ground for a vast

array of Utopian attempts and my attention to this continent will provide a majority of comparative case studies.

The challenges that North American Utopian experiments face are formidable and the probability for success is low. Sociologist, William Kephart (1974) concludes that communes in America are “characterized by failure” and the causes of collapse are “economic fragility, weak leadership, aberrant membership, lack of commitment, inadequate social organization, failure to satisfy primary group needs, and difficulty in the socialization of children.” Of the thousands of communal experiments attempted in America, there are only a select few that are currently extant. Among the most notable successes from the 19th Century are Hutterite communities that first arrived in America in 1874 and currently have 391 colonies in the United States and Canada (Berry 1992:116). In the 20th Century the Bruderhof, Synanon, Ananda, and several others have achieved notoriety for their longevity.

For each of these successes there are significantly more failures. For example, Berry offers a conservative number of 3,000 short-lived communal experiments established in the Counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s, while Kern provides figures of as many as 50,000 communities (1992:215). As in previous eras, the surge in community building was ephemeral and the majority of communities quickly disappeared. The 1991 *Directory of Intentional Communities* names 750 obsolete communes with only 120 existing communes formed in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Berry 1992:215).

Critics agree that in order for a commune to succeed, it must have strength on many fronts. Each one must respond to “environmental demands, responses to internal

and economic needs and responses to personal needs” (Shenker 1986). Each new social order must grapple with age-old issues such as balancing communal requirements including control and regulation versus individual needs of autonomy and self-fulfillment. Attaining and maintaining physical needs, safety, order, harmony, equality, freedom, and consistent values are difficult challenges for Utopian communities.

My research of a recently developed Utopian experiment allows for an up-close view of how a modern, intentional community has confronted these formidable exigencies. This study will reveal how the Lama Foundation, an ecumenical commune in northern New Mexico, has evolved from the mental constructs of a new Utopia as envisioned by its founders to a physically grounded reality that has constantly reinvented itself in the face of omnipresent difficulties. The fact that this communal experiment, started in the late 1960s, has lasted for over 42 years sets it apart as a remarkable success as compared to other communes established in the same era. The questions naturally arise:

- What aspects of this community are unique and contributive to its perpetuation?
- How does it balance the demands of unity, maintain ideological integrity, and preserve unique freedoms of individual participants?
- How does it maintain solidarity with a diversity of religious faiths?
- Are the factors that contribute to longevity consistent over long periods of time, or do they change as the social milieu on the outside changes?

There are disparate definitions offered by scholars on the meaning of communal success. In this thesis, success and longevity will refer to the same definition provided by sociologist Clifford Theis (2000), which refers to any commune that sustains its “self-professed goals” and has lasted for over 15 years. Quantitative and qualitative studies reveal that successful communes generally have the following aspects: economic stability, strong social structures, rigid boundaries with restricted access, amicable relations with the outside community, tension reducing tools to mitigate interpersonal conflict, ritual observances, and several commitment mechanisms.

It is the purpose of this study to examine which of these elements is present in my case study and, if present, how they are incorporated. In addition, a comparative analysis throughout this thesis will reveal how the Lama Foundation approximates other communes that have succeeded or failed in relation to these same categories. Since this is a diachronic approach, it will be essential to examine how these strengthening factors change over long periods of time.

I. Factors Related to Success and Failure

There are many factors that have been identified in anthropological and sociological studies that contribute to solidarity and long-term success of Utopian experiments. A strong economic base is one of the most essential characteristic to the survival of any communal experiment. William Kephart hypothesizes that the “economic factor is a major cause of communal failure” (1974:131). Popenoe states that “the single most difficult problem for intentional communities as a whole has been how to make a living” (Popenoe et al. 1984). Even the strongest communes have teetered on the edge of bankruptcy. The Oneida Community was on the brink of folding when one member

perfected the manufacture of a steel trap which then provided a steady flow of income, and even a few Hutterite colonies have disbanded due to crop failures (Kephart 1974:131).

New intentional communities are challenged to set up an economic system that is restricted by their ideological values. In many communes, there is an opposition to personal gain and a preference for primitive living which mandates that they “organize their internal resource allocation processes around a single system, that of redistribution” (Stein 1973). Inequity arises when some members do not fulfill their contributive roles yet are equal recipients of goods. These “communities simply cannot afford to distribute scarce resources without assurance that the recipients will devote effective effort to collective ends” (Stein 1973:272). The problem of “free-riding” is a serious concern to all communes establishing an egalitarian distribution of wealth (Thies 2000:187).

Interaction with the mainstream economic system is typically ideologically antithetical to Counterculture communes that eschew the faulty capitalist model. One leader of a Counterculture commune reiterated this, “The system is sick and weak. To depend on it is to be also sick and weak in whatever the proportion of dependency” (Quoted in Kanter 1972:181). Despite this dilemma many successful communes have small scale industries that market products to the outside. For instance, Twin Oaks manufactures and sells hammocks and Synanon had several businesses (Stein 1973:270). Ideological adaptation is essential for communal survival in their economic systems and other institutions as well.

Leadership and social structures can add strength or become an obstacle to stability for intentional communities. Many communes fold when a charismatic leader

does not provide for succession. The Oneida Community disbanded its communal structures when the son of founder, John Humphrey Noyes proved to be an ineffective leader (Kephart 1972:133). Authoritarian leadership can hold a community together but at the cost of individual expression which can alienate the membership. Anarchic communes “without any leadership, without any assertive personal authority, usually collapse” (Fitzgerald 1971:119). Consensual decision making is touted as the most egalitarian form of government, yet it is inefficient and laden with interminable meetings and votes (Fitzgerald 1971:125).

Another aspect of leadership that can be detrimental to Utopian experiments is lack of forethought or preparation involved in setting up a new community. In rejecting the dominant culture, many communal experiments do not present an “affirmative vision” and a blueprint to guide their new organization (Kanter 1973: 446). Sunrise Hill and Oz were Anarchist communes that had no organizing principles and began with enthusiasm but didn’t last more than a year (Kanter 1973:446). Gordon Yaswen (1973) illuminates the problems of Sunrise Hill as arising from lack of foresight, lack of organization of work, and ineffective decision making procedures. In addition to strong leadership either by one leader or a committee, social structures that organize labor, identify norms, and regulate behavior add strength to communities as long as rigidness does not lead to oppressiveness.

Communal arrangements must deal with issues of interpersonal conflict. Close quarters arouse strong negative and positive emotions (Kanter 1973:393). Successful communes regulate relationships through various tension reducing mechanisms including: encounter groups, group meetings, mutual criticism, re-socialization, and ritual

activity to strengthen ideological commitment (Kanter 1973:395). Where conflicts are not mitigated schisms can develop and lead to communal collapse.

Conflicts increase over a period of time as the euphoria of the initial coming together has waned and the difficulties of daily life denigrate unification. As Kanter suggests, “A commune cannot continue to be a revolutionary movement forever; newness wears off; and energy and attention may increasingly be devoted to practical matters” (1973:494). According to French Scholar Henri Desroches, routinization of daily life can be dangerous to morale as Utopian goals are not realized and discouragement sets in. At this point a community concentrates its “...attention inward, to matters of life-style and consumption” which ultimately “...may deflect attention from communal values, or even forms of organization detrimental to the community” (Kanter1973:494).

One of the most powerful tools to offset routinization is communal ritual that reinforces values. Mircea Eliade (1991) is confident that ritual allows the membership of a community to “know the myth” and coalesce around a mutual identity. Ritual maintains, reinforces, develops, and reassesses the communities’ ideologies (Fitzgerald 1971:176). Rituals are prevalent in secular and religious communities and are represented in mutual activities such as work, meditation, prayer, chanting, and dancing. Despite the unifying effects of ritual, their effect is often momentary and repetition is essential.

Communes have a better chance of survival if they have physical boundaries that separate them from the outside world (Kanter 1972:1). Communitarian experiments devise different types of physical and psychological boundaries. Admittance regulations are one factor that creates loose or rigid borders depending on guidelines. Successful

communes have stringent gate-keeping and “choose new members carefully” and “resocialize members” by providing new identities (Kanter 1973:446). New Harmony started by Robert Owen in Pennsylvania in 1825 invited the “well-disposed of all nations” which attracted more than 1,000 members, but this proved to invite undesirable elements and freeloaders (Noyes 1973).

Relationships of a commune to the outside world and surrounding community often determine its success or failure. Counterculture communes had a high incident of failure resulting from community, media, and government pressures. Communes had difficulties with housing and zoning restrictions, tax laws, health inspections, arrests on false charges, and drug raids by federal and local authorities. The media maligned or exoticized communes and “conjured up visions of communal life with an amazing dramatic inflation” (Abrams et al. 1976). The Oz commune started in the late 1960s was one of many communes that folded from community harassment after only 18 months of existence (Houriet 1973). On the other hand, positive relations can support intentional communities in areas of commerce and moral and financial support in times of crisis. There are usually multiple causes for communal failure even as there are many interrelated factors that contribute to communal success.

II. Empirical Studies of Commitment and Solidarity

Several empirical studies focus their attention on the importance of social institutions and commitment mechanisms as they relate to success (for Kanter, success is equivalent to communal survival for more than 25 years). Kanter believes that commitment is imperative since the community must compete with the outside for the members’ loyalties. “It must ensure high member involvement despite external

competition without sacrificing its distinctiveness or ideals” (1972:65). The community perpetuates solidarity by how they organize work, social time, and provide room for autonomy (Kanter 1972:64). Shenker posits that the most formidable task of intentional communities is to simultaneously make life for the individual satisfying, while maintaining organizational structures without sacrificing the framework of an ideological belief system (1986:8).

Kanter conducted a landmark study of Utopian communities founded between 1780 and 1860. She argues that several mechanisms lead to higher levels of commitment in these communities including individual sacrifice and investment in the community, renunciation of outside relationships, homogenous membership, and a set of rituals (Kanter 1972:75). The results of this study demonstrate that all forms of commitment structures have a positive influence on longevity and that “strict, hierarchally organized religious societies” survive longer than non-religious ones (Gardner 1978).

A recent follow-up study by Clifford Thies’ of 283 communes spanning from 1683-1937 reveals that Pietist, single faith sects had a much higher probability of success than communes having “New Age, tolerant, and secular belief systems” (2000:197). In addition, he concludes that communes having a high “index of commitment” and allowance for personal property and individual autonomy increased the probability of success (Theis 2000:197). The Ephratans, Shakers, Hutterites, and Inspirationists are 19th Century communities that fit this mold and have lasted for over one hundred years, whereas the secularist, democratic communism attempted in the same era by such communes as New Harmony was a “disastrous failure” (Holloway 1966).

Kephart observes stronger commitment in 19th Century communes than Counterculture versions. The earlier set had strong attachment to community ideology and structured social organizations. Examples he refers to are the Amana, Zoar, Rappites, and Shakers (Kephart 1972:134). These communities had rigid boundaries, restricted access, clear mandates for work and social arrangements, and high personal investment in membership. Conversely, he acknowledges that Counterculture communes have not demonstrated commitment on the same scale. Their social organizations reflect this paucity with vague economic policy, poor relations with the outside community, and a lack of rules (Kephart 1972:134).

Anthropologist Hugh Gardener put Kanter's quantitative study of commitment structures to the test on thirteen Counterculture communes (the years 1965-1973) in the rural West of the United States. He also determines that there is a decrease in commitment mechanisms in Counterculture communes versus 19th Century communes. He found that commitment mechanisms were still statistically imperative to survival. He noted that fluctuations in the outside economy influenced the results, but that "All things considered, more conservatively structured communes still seem to have a better chance for long-term survival today" (Gardner 1978:219).

At first, the Lama Commune appeared to be yet another Counterculture commune, yet it has lasted for over 42 years with a model quite different than the rest. While it has formal social structures, it tolerates multiple religious traditions and currently has a transient membership. These qualities present a challenge to Kanter's commitment mechanisms of individual sacrifice, renunciation, transcendence, and investment as it relates to solidarity. Isolation and ideological removal from the outside

world is also contributive to Kanter's commitment and solidarity, yet Lama is following a modern trend of transiency and closer alignment with the mainstream which calls into question these prerequisites.

While most scholars studying communal organizations have determined that religious, single faith communes with hierarchal structures are the most successful forms of intentional communities, the Lama Foundation appears to contradict these findings. It has always had an egalitarian form of government and each member follows his own religious path. It would seem that these qualities would not be found in a commune that has lasted for so many decades. It is the goal of this analysis to uncover the reasons why this commune has been able to defy the analysis of other scholars of long-lived communes. In addition, scholars are in agreement that firm boundaries between intentional communities and the outside are essential for long-term survival. Yet over time Lama has relaxed its borders and has a fluctuating population. It is remarkable that Lama can develop commitment and strength under these circumstances. Understanding how Lama accomplishes unity and perpetuation with all of these anomalous conditions is a central focus of this thesis.

In its current condition, Lama seems to fit into a new model of intentional communities that benefit from fluidity. The salutary effects of escaping routinization and rigidness allows for ideological adaptation on the community level. The rotation of membership and leadership in the community avoids entrenchment and stagnation in personal relationships and in religious leanings. It is my observation that transiency enhances individual ideological freedom and supports an individualistic approach to an eclectic spiritual path. At the same time, I hypothesize that one reason for Lama's

persistence in the face of the high rate of communal failure is that it balances individual freedoms with several commitment mechanisms. This analysis will test for mechanisms that might be found in governing structures, rules, norms, rituals, and schedules. The strength of these mechanisms has fluctuated over its 40 year lifespan; hence this examination is set against a temporal backdrop.

III. Lama Foundation: A Diachronic Approach

My ethnographic study of the Lama Foundation provides a picture of how this community has persisted as a commune. Historical records and oral histories reveal a dynamic community that has adapted and transformed in the face of a changing outside world. Communities that are long-lived face challenges with each new generation. Kanter recognizes this dilemma for senescent communes, “Those groups that continue more than a generation often must change the terms under which they operate, and sometimes this leads to eventual dissolution” (1973:494). When a community has a higher ideology that is vague enough to accommodate for economic, social, personal, organizational and environmental demands it has the flexibility to avert disintegration (Shenker 1986:243). Bennet Berger (2004) describes this process as “ideological work” which allows a group to “continually adapt their convictions to their circumstances.”

The Lama Foundation’s inception occurred in the midst of a national movement that was rejecting the current order, and it has continued beyond this diminishing impulse. Initially, the founders desired for the community to be an ecumenical, monastic retreat center where individuals and families could commune spiritually, raise their children, and live out their lives. Over time, it transformed into a spiritual center with transient membership focused on ecological principles and diverse spiritual paths. Lama

at one time rejected the dominant culture but appears to be slowly moving toward a national trend of intentional communities more aligned with the mainstream. The Fellowship of Intentional Community of 1991 described one of the new focuses as a “theme of the individual choosing a lifestyle of social and environmental responsibility” (Berry 1992:243).

This new trend allows communities to incorporate certain aspects of the outside world into their realm. McLaughlin and Davidson (1986) recognize that instead of rejecting the mainstream, communal members now “contentedly enjoy whatever they wish that mainstream America has to offer while snuggled in the comforting embrace of communitarian values.” The new theme focuses attention on individual freedom to enter and exit communities with ease. Instead of waning, intentional community building is multiplying “the range of life-styles available to individuals who look to the mainstream for work and to intentional communities as home” (Berry 1992:245). These new trends test the validity of prior theories and present new principles that contribute to success. The Lama Foundation has persisted for over 40 years for multiple reasons and these interrelated factors have changed over time. There are factors that brought it vitality in its early, founding phase that have remained consistent throughout its history, while current innovations have provided new sources of strength.

IV. Overview of My Research

I have conducted ethnographic research at the Lama Foundation near Taos, New Mexico for over two years. Before entering the field, I became familiar with historical and contemporary studies on intentional communities. I read background information on Counterculture communes and particularly on communes developed in northern New

Mexico. Understanding the local social, political, and economic environment that existed during Lama's existence contributes to my analysis and demonstrates how other nearby communes negotiated the dominant culture.

When I got into the field, I was prepared to make observations related to multiple aspects of community that contribute to solidarity and longevity. I was particularly interested in evaluating this intentional community based upon Kanter's commitment mechanisms. My analysis compares Lama's use of commitment mechanisms in the recent past to Gardner's evaluation in the early 1970s. My archival research and review of oral histories has allowed for me to witness changes in the community and how these commitment mechanisms and other factors, such as economic viability and transiency, have altered over time.

The theoretical implications of Bennet Berger's "ideological work" have also directed my observations. Ideological work is the process whereby ideology is negotiated and altered to meet the everyday needs of communards. The implications of ideological work are important to a community that has survived leadership crisis and natural disaster. Other theories related to my analysis will be discussed in Chapter Four and in Chapter Five I reveal how my methods, guided by these theories answer important questions crucial to my analysis. These central questions focus on factors that contribute to solidarity and longevity.

In Chapter Two I will situate Lama Foundation in a contextual manner as an integrated piece of a national, regional, and local milieu. It will also present connections to historical and current revitalization movements. These movements cannot be

generalized and are diverse, multi-vocal, and fluid in nature. A temporal history of the Lama Foundation will follow in Chapter Three.

The final chapters will concentrate on specific factors that contribute to communal strength and longevity. Each element of success will have theoretical application. As each variable is discussed, a comparative analysis will take place using a variety of case studies. The comparative analysis will demonstrate how the principles of success and failure relate to other experimental Utopias and former research. The final chapter will provide a synopsis of my findings and raise questions concerning the future of my case study as well as encouraging future research on intentional communities.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

*Man cannot live as a full human being without Utopian visions, though
Each of them conceives of the character and nature of these visions in different terms.
Mircea Eliade*

The Lama Foundation is not a discrete, isolated community, but is situated in a connected and dynamic social milieu. According to Roger Keesing, anthropological work must situate cultures “in a context—historically, economically, politically” (Keesing 2006). Eric Wolf suggests that society is interconnected and transient versus homogenous and stable. In contrast to theoretical models of functionalism, he regards “society as heterogeneous, interpenetrating, interdigitating, and more complex and interconnecting” (Lim 1998:3). The complexity of culture allows for social research to become “exploratory and suggestive rather than definitive and conclusive” (Barnett 1953:973). Wolf’s argument about culture in general is appropriate to my analysis of Lama as a changing community interconnected to the dominant culture. Clifford realizes that anthropologists are studying social institutions that are “an always disappearing structure that invites imaginative reconstruction” (Clifford 1986:119).

The Lama Foundation was founded in 1968 in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near San Cristobal, New Mexico in the heyday of Counterculture community building. There were five other communes established at the same time and in close proximity to Lama and they were: Magic Tortoise, New Buffalo, Reality Construction Company,

Morning Star East, and Lorien. There were scores of communes that also started at the same time period in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Out of all of these Counterculture communes, Lama is the only commune still operating 42 years later. Lama was inspired by different goals and values than the others. Importantly, it was the only spiritual commune that received income from spiritual retreats and publications, had restrictions on drugs and alcohol use, and had limited membership. Lama was more insular in its early days and seemed to avoid the tensions that arose by the momentous influx of hippies in the late 1960s and early 1970s into the Taos area. The Lama Foundation has adapted and changed but its central mission as an ecumenical center has remained constant throughout its existence. A more detailed history of Lama will be provided in Chapter Four. At this time, I will discuss the movements that have influenced communitarian building on the American continent with more focus on the Counterculture movement of which Lama was inextricably associated.

Revitalization movements are important to study because they usually spawn a number of new communal organizations. Revitalization movements in America, in particular the Counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s, influenced the early days of the Lama community. The Counterculture is described by many scholars as a youthful rejection of many of the values of the older generation. The Counterculture revolted against stifling roles within the workplace and was disenchanted by many aspects of the mainstream culture including the Vietnam War, lack of civil rights for minorities and women, and environmental degradation of the planet. New religion movements also flourished within the Counterculture movement. The new spirituality

explored by some segments of this movement spawned the creation of communes based on Eastern religions and personal healing such as Anananda, Synanon, and Lama communes. Communal settlements inspired by the new religion movement within the Counterculture revitalization movement became some of the most successful communities of the era in terms of longevity because they thrived around a central purpose. An examination of revitalization movements is essential in contextualizing these successful communes.

I. Revitalization Movements in America

Revitalization movements create shifts within a culture that often influence communitarian movements. Anthony Wallace (1956) describes revitalization movements as recurring social phenomena that are a “deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.” He points out these movements are prompted by chronic stressors and rampant social disorganization. Other scholars have pointed to different stressors that influence communitarian impulses. Berry’s empirical study correlates economic downturns in America with intense community building. In addition to economics, social disorganization is catalyzed by wars, internal conflicts over values, political subordination, epidemics, and so forth (Wallace 1956:269). The goal of these movements is often to return to a former pristine age that included higher virtues, simplicity, and connection to nature.

There have been several waves of intense community building in America that have surged in response to different crises. The very first wave of European immigrants was involved in a revitalization of the Old World into a geographically separated new

order. The American continent provided a new landscape for immigrants to escape “Old World corruption” and many immigrants believed that America would become an “Earthly Paradise” (Berry 1992: 9). The first wave came in the form of immigrating religious Pietists in the late 1600s that left behind the ills of the European order.

A second intense period in the early 1800s, referred to by McLaughlin as a “Second Great Awakening,” influenced Utopian communities that served the redemption of mankind (Berry 1992:10). These communities repudiated the debauchery of industrial capitalism that occurred in competitive economic struggle. Another wave occurred during the economic crisis of the early 1890s. These early American Utopian experiments were triggered by catastrophic natural and social crises that they believed portended the Apocalypse and were based in religious radicalism including the “Salvationists” and the “Perfectionists” (Berry 1992:14). These intentionally formed communes located in physically separated and defensible locations. Each commune was formed around an ideological framework that included distinct values and principles including secular forms, anarchic types, and religious types.

Secular socialistic models, referred to by Kanter as a “politico-economic” critique, also appeared with their own version of Utopia during these same periods (1972:5). They hoped to transform society through exemplary successes of individual communitarian settlements (Zicklin 1983). New secular communities were founded on the visions of social re-constructionists and philosophers such as Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.

Utopiast, Robert Owen was revolted by the inequities between the elite classes and the lower classes. He designed a reform program that allowed for a limited aristocracy, communal ownership of property, and a non-competitive economic system. There were ten short-lived Owenite communities formed in 1825 and 1826 and seven during the Depression of the 1840s (Berry 1992:56). Charles Fourier's ideas were popularized by Albert Brisbane's book, *The Social Destiny of Man* in 1840. As a result of propagandizing in New York and Pennsylvania, 30 Fourierist communes called Phalanxes were instituted from 1841-1847 (Berry 1992:87). These communities followed the philosophy of equitable distribution of wealth and rotating social roles. These and several other secular experiments during this time period were all short-lived. A thorough discussion of these and other well known communities will not be offered here but several of them will be used in the comparative analysis that will come later.

A majority of revitalization movements in the 18th and 19th Centuries in America resulted from political and religious subordination as well as economic stressors. Economic hardship and physical deprivation are closely associated with millenarian movements. These movements emphasize a world that can be transformed by supernatural intervention when all other alternatives are not available (Wallace 1956:267). The revitalization movements in the early period of American History were especially impacted by economic downturns.

Brian Berry draws a strong correlation between economic long wave conditions (economic downturns) and upswings in community building. He concludes that "periodic Utopian surges are sympathetic reactions to these long waves, reflecting a

continuing tension between capitalist and socialist ideals. Socialism flourishes when capitalism sags” (Berry 1992:239). When there is a dramatic downturn in the economy and there is an atmosphere of an impending catastrophe, a statistically significant swell in community building occurs as a form of refuge and an antithetical response to the mainstream (Berry 1992:239). Economic stressors are one of many types of pressure that influence revitalization movements and are not the only cause for retreat from society.

The Counterculture faced different social stressors which did not include extreme economic deprivation. Unlike former peaks in community building, the rejection of the mainstream occurred in the prosperous conditions of the 1960s (Gardner 1978:15). As many scholars have noted, the youth of this movement were disproportionately from the affluent middle and upper class (Zicklin 1983:164).

Kanter refers to the Counterculture movement as a “psycho-social critique” of the current order (Kanter 1972:6). This critique is oriented to the stresses caused by alienation and social fragmentation rather than economic deprivation. This revitalization movement occurred in an environment where “normative patterns regulating interpersonal and communal relations” broke down and became disorganized, and there was a “crisis of moral meanings and cultural values” (Robbins 1988). Karol Borowski (1984) recognized that the Counterculture communal-revitalization movement was an attempt to obviate the deleterious effects of the mainstream by a “conscious, collective and spontaneous attempt to create an alternative society by restoring values and institutions, providing a more satisfying culture.” In response, a host of new communes formed which valued amorous connections with the land and each other. Freedom to

pursue individual growth and psychological health was valued over narrow roles experienced in the mainstream. It is in the context of this movement that the Lama Foundation was organized.

II. Counterculture Revitalization Movement

Of all the revitalization movements in America, Counterculture communalism dwarfed in numbers all prior movements. Prior to 1965, only 600 known communes were established in a 300 year time span (Gardner 1978:240). Zablocki (1980) relied on 13 sources to identify 10,000 communes built in a five year period of time from 1968-1973. Within this large social movement, there were many factions that had diverse goals and different ideas of how to address the problems associated with the mainstream (Gardner 1978:240). The Counterculture movement was unified in many of its goals and purposes, but there were also factions within the movement that were oriented toward their own specific aims.

A movement of collective behavior is made up of multifarious interests and groupings. Smelser suggests that collective behavior is guided by “various kinds of beliefs—assessments of the situation, wishes and expectations” (Smelser 1962). Collective action can be oriented toward reconstituting a variety of values, norms, situations, or the entire social order. These reconstituted beliefs fragment the “prevailing systems of meaning and value” (Zablocki 1980:38). Value responses within the Counterculture movement include diverse groups such as radical militants, anarchists, pacifists, Vietnam veterans, Native American spiritualists, fundamentalist Christians, “alternative lifestyle” religious groups, art colonies, and syncretization of many varieties

(Niman 1997). The 1968 Directory of Intentional Communities lists only a minority of total possible existing communes at the time, but it does identify that half of 212 communes included described their own belief systems. The following list is not comprehensive but demonstrates ideological diversity in Counterculture communes: Twenty-two groups were listed as Christian, four were based on Eastern Religions, three created their own religions, ten groups had a form of group marriage, five were revolutionary, seven anarchists, nine based on economic cooperation, four on “macrobiotic” gardening, and three based on B.F. Skinner’s Walden Two planned Utopias (Roberts 1971:16).

The sub-groups of the communal, Counterculture movement are influenced by historical antecedents in varying degrees. While a majority of participants had a limited knowledge of historical communal experiments, many early founders were connected to earlier communitarians (Miller 1998). For example, the founders of Morning Star Ranch and Drop City had family and personal links to the “Oneida Community, the Bruderhof, the Communist Party, and the long tradition of communal sharing among bohemian artists” (Miller 1998:199).

New communes replicated many themes of past movements with experimentation with sexual relations, back to the land principles, asceticism, and intimate social relations. The Fruitlands, a transcendental commune formed in 1843, had identical features and ideals of modern hippie communes. They had crowded housing, were concerned with vegetarianism, pacifism, economic communism, and rustic living conditions (Miller 1999). Belasco noted that one cultural feature of automobile

“gypsying” and caravanning across the country actually had roots in America between 1910 and 1920 (Niman 1997:37). Although many of the goals of this Counterculture movement “took off in directions all its own” (Miller 1998:200). The causality for this divergence came from some societal stressors that were different than in previous eras.

The antecedents to the communal movement came in the late 1950s and early 1960s from multiple sources. The Civil Rights Movement involved university students in such organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Roberts 1971:3). With violent government crackdowns, members of this movement realized that present institutions promoted subjugation and repression. Also in the early 1960s, the “post-beatnik bohemian youth culture” of coastal cities began experimenting with psychedelic drugs which altered and undermined “preexisting social and perceptual programming” (Gardner 1978:5). Associated with the psychedelic experience are “profound religious awakenings” and an “ego-loss” and a “more authentic discovery of self” (Gardner 1978:5). The implications were an erosion of values of the old social order and euphoria over the construction of new values and social conditions.

The Counterculture was also dissatisfied with the present economic order and this occurred on several levels. The Counterculture was cynical about the emphasis of capitalistic consumerism promoting the idea that “individual fulfillment and happiness” is found only in “the possession and consumption of material goods” (French et al. 1975). Work in a capitalistic economy was seen by many as alienating individuals from close social relations. The celebration of technological advances has negative consequences. A society dominated by technology “suppresses the idiosyncratic in favor of the

predictable, the mechanization of time, the veneration of efficiency and output” and further isolates individuals from each other (Melville 1972:17).

The Counterculture was also concerned about the effects of the Cold War. They saw nuclear build-up as a potential source of impending annihilation. Another major catalyst for the Counterculture movement was the protest movement against the Vietnam War and subsequent violent repression. Before 1965, there were only three rural communes that were related to the ‘hip’ generation: Gorda Mountain, Tolstoy Farm, and Drop City (Gardner 1978:7). The year 1965 saw the beginnings of continuous bombings of North Vietnam and resulting protests from anti-war teach-ins, anti-war marches on Washington, and the draft card demonstrations. From 1965-1967, a dozen more communes were formed during the height of the Haight-Ashbury and the “Human Be-In” in San Francisco (Gardner 1978:7). The movement was galvanized by several events in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1968, there were the strike and sit-in at Columbia University in protest of plans to build an atomic reactor on site and bombings of the ROTC facility at Stanford and Berkeley as well as politically motivated assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy. In 1970, there were shootings of students protesting the U.S. bombing of Cambodia at Kent State and many other violent actions against demonstrations on major college campuses across the country.

A portion of the movement believed that the current system was so corrupt that the only real solution was to start over by creating new social orders in the form of communal experiments. During the year 1968, roughly 100 communes were established and by 1970, according to Zablocki a conservative figure of 1,000 rural communes were

established (1971:300). The communal wave was further perpetuated by mass media coverage. Communes were sensationalized by *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Life Magazines*, television networks, daily newspapers, and underground newspapers. The “avalanche of publicity” brought “new legions of seekers swarming into communes” (Miller 1999:15).

The Counterculture communal response to the chaos was an entire constellation of new beliefs that contradicted the present order. A reaction to the belief that “the American system *in toto* was morally bankrupt, evil, and unredeemable and the Counterculture had a way of defining itself in diametric opposition to the prevailing social order” (Berry 1992:215). In opposition to technology and materialistic greed, an alternative system of simplicity, tribalism, natural products, and subsistence living was idealized (Gardner 1978:13). Pastoralism was revered as part of an idyllic past and ecological consciousness was valued over industrial pollution and waste. In contrast to stratified and bureaucratized social structures, communes allowed for un-differentiated roles, intimate coupling and re-coupling, spontaneity, and egalitarianism (Berger 2004:19). There was also a generalized belief that work to earn a living was enslavement and an obsolete notion. A recurring message was “drop out, and have a good time” (French et al. 1975:22). The mainstream emphasis on scheduled time was abandoned for a temporal flow that existed only in the present. A purposeless existence where pleasure and joy was found in the moment was emphasized (French et al. 1975:23).

Adapting Counterculture ideals and values into viable and stable social structures in a communal setting is a daunting task. According to Barbara Epstein, one of the “greatest weaknesses” of the 1960s period “was lack of strategic thinking about how to

accomplish its goals” (Reich 1995). The momentous surge of communal experiments quickly dissipated largely as a result of an inability to inculcate Counterculture values with stable social structures. As Kanter notes, “Hippie communes reject the establishment and its confining, stifling, isolating institutions without providing a clear substitute vision” (1972:7). For instance, strict boundaries and set structures found in straight society were antithetical to Counterculture values. As a result, many communes had unlimited membership and subsequently became numerically overwhelmed. Eventually, for survival sake many groups abandoned the ideal and limited membership (Zicklin 1983:162).

Another dialectical struggle in communal settings was encouraging the values of autonomy and freedom of expression while subsuming the individual ego in favor of group solidarity and cooperation (Zicklin 1983:88). In establishing a deviant sub-culture that emancipates individuals from the bondage of the dominant culture, the inevitable irony is that “social structure is smuggled back in—often in the form of a religion” (Abrams et al.1976:132). For this reason, spiritually-based or strong ideologically-based communes that had a belief system that favored more structure had the advantage over communes with loosely held values.

Spiritual communities historically have less difficulty than secular counterparts in streamlining ideology with social institutions. According to Kanter, “Such groups generally have a mission or a strong system of belief that orders and gives meaning to communal life and permits the establishment of the kinds of social arrangements that build commitment (Kanter 1973:493). Abrams and his associates in *Communes*,

Sociology, and Society found that the confusing dilemmas of individuality versus secular equality and other difficulties of secular communes were absent in religious communes. Religious communes benefit from “explicit belief” in a “hierarchy of religious competence” (Abrams et al.1976:207). Long-lived communes such as the Hutterites (400 years old), Shakers (over 100 years), Kibbutz (over 90 years), and Bruderhof (50 years) are all based on a unified ideology (Kanter 1973:493).

The Counterculture revitalization movement influenced the mainstream culture and brought attention to glaring defects in the present order. As in other times in the past, the stressors in society created a movement that spawned a plethora of communitarian experiments. The values of the Counterculture were not consistent with creating solid communal organizations and as a result a majority of communes founded in this era failed. The communes that were successful had strong ideological systems that provided room for firm social structures and ritual activities that facilitated longevity. Some of these new communes incorporated an eclectic mix of Eastern religions and other aspects of the new religion movement that provided an ideological framework from which to incorporate institutions.

III. New Religion Movement and the Counterculture

Emile Durkheim sees religion as “the system of symbols by means of which society becomes conscious of itself; it is the characteristic way of thinking about collective existence” (Pickering 1984). Religion as a collective conscience is constantly modified and reshaped. Jack Eller (2007) views religion in a constant state of flux where, “Social and cultural processes and practices continuously produce and reproduce

religion.” When it is reproduced with former forms it is static, and when it is reproduced with modification it becomes a new religion. New religions become more prevalent in times of change or crisis and surge dramatically in the midst of a social movement that is breaking from the dominant culture.

New religious movements are precipitated by the same factors that catalyze all types of revitalization movements. Significant strains such as war, economic strain, and breakdown of social structures are conducive to “value oriented movements” (Smelser 1962:353). Religion is useful in bringing vitality back into a society where current expectations do not match reality. In the case of the Counterculture, the young generation “were exposed to pressures well beyond their control” in forces like “urbanization, colonialism, capitalism, industrialization, and ‘detrribalization’” (Eller 2007:172). Traditional religious institutions mirrored a larger system of stratification, hegemony, and bureaucratization where the individual was alienated and denied access to the sacred by an exclusive priesthood. The new religions of the Counterculture raised consciousness about needs and deficiencies of the current order (Barker 1982). The critique was lodged against traditional Judeo-Christianity with its hypocritical clergy, stringent rules, and routinized rituals (Rowley 1971:5).

In opposition to the prevailing religious institutions, the new religions of the Counterculture recruited members from an “individuated public” seeking less structure and more “metaphysical support, for personal therapy, encounter, and a lighter, often more contractual commitment of a more adventuring kind” (Barker 1982: 25). Access to a higher state of spiritual being was made available to everyone and was a private,

individual journey. Steve Durkee, one of the original founders of the Lama Foundation, remarked in an interview with Richard Fairfield:

“The world that makes sense is a world where each man and each woman lives out time and the cycles of the seasons, where no man is a priest and every man is a priest, and where the duty to maintain the cosmos is dependent on everybody instead of just a select few. In other words, we’re anti-priesthood. There are no priests here because everybody is a priest” (1972:119)

A central feature to the new religious ideology is that of “cosmic liberty” which is an individual’s freedom to “do one’s own thing” in the spiritual realm. Each person has the freedom to “find God—to *realize* Him” in any possible way and in any possible circumstances (Damrell 1978:146). Cosmic liberty perpetuates the idea that all religions are true; that all forms of worship are legitimate; and supernatural resources are unlimited, ubiquitous, and infused into the mundane aspects of daily life (Damrell 1978:146). This ideology offers more “proximate salvation” which is accessible, therapeutic, spontaneous, and immediate (Barker 1982:20). Cosmic liberty is broad enough to incorporate familiar, indigenous, and alien ideologies.

Several factors in American history influenced certain sectors of the Counterculture movement to shift away from Western religious traditions and toward Eastern, indigenous, and human potential religions. The precursor to this shift was found in mid-nineteenth century America with Thoreau and Emerson’s Transcendentalism—with its leaning toward the East (Rowley 1971:9). A more drastic ideological realignment occurred in America in reaction to the Vietnam War, the Sino-Soviet split, economic tensions among Western allies, and instabilities in the Third World (Wuthnow 1982). In

universities, awareness was raised about inconsistencies of exporting military technology and militaristic interests versus humanitarian ideals (Wuthnow 1982:63). The religious response generated anti-war and anti-technological orientations and a rejection of Western religious traditions that were tied to these cultural structures (Wuthnow 1982:63). Miller believes that “The attraction of the religions of Asia is probably that they offer words and images that are fresh, untainted by long contact with stale religious practices” (Miller 1972:224).

The new religion movement of the 1960s in America was also influenced by global religion movements. National, regional, and cultural barriers in the modern era became porous and new religions spread with ease from one culture to another (Barker 1982:28). In addition, literary works introduced and popularized foreign religions. Werblowsky (1982) notes that in the 1960s there was a plethora or “rush hour” of books written on the “so-called ‘new religions’” of Japan. Zen Buddhism became widely known through *The Three Pillars of Zen* edited by Philip Kapleau Roshi (Tworkov 1994:13). Celebrity figures brought notoriety to certain sects. For instance, the Beatles popularized the Maharishi and meditation, Bob Dylan and Arlo Guthrie advocated the *I Ching*, and Allan Ginsberg and Timothy Leary both promoted an attraction to religions of the East (Rowley 1971:5).

In 1970, 2.5 million people belonged to the new religions of America, whereas ten years earlier there were less than 100 thousand (Rowley 1971:3). The eclectic array of new religions at this time included: Scientology at 600,000 members, Nichiren Shoshu at 200,000, Spiritual Scientists at 150,000, Bahai at 13,000, Meher Baba at 7,000, Gurdjieff

at 5,000, Zenat 2,000, Hare Krishna at 1,500, and so forth (Rowley 1971:3). Many of these new religions were started by charismatic figures. Some examples are: the Bahai faith was brought to America by the son of the prophet founder, Bahauallah. It is a universal religion uniting all faiths. Scientology is inspired by the teaching and writings of L. Ron Hubbard which promotes a vision that an individual can advance through grades of personality development. Large gatherings followed Maharishi Mahesh Yogi to become trained in Transcendental Meditation. Meher Baba came to the United States as the latest reincarnation of God. He was influenced by mystical Sufism and the guru, Sai Baba Hare Krishna. He had a code of silence that he did not break. He was adamantly opposed to drugs and the drug culture. The interesting aspect of the new religious leaders and their movements is that they generally espoused more conservative values, rules, and structures than were generally held in the Counterculture (Rowley 1971:9).

Individuals embrace new religions as a way to provide a new identity and value system as a substitution for the former rejected system and identity. It is a means of socialization and a “process through which one is divested of a secular identity and adopts new ones that befit new found religious convictions” (Damrell 1978:164). Even though new religions were more conservative than the hippie movement at large, they were attractive because they revolved around identity building and individual paths of self-improvement. Paul Heelas refers to these as “self-religions,” which exemplify the conjunction of self exploration and the search for significance (Heelas 1982:69). Another major component to the new self religion or human potential movement was therapeutic

healing, massage, and naturopathy. The Southwest region of the United States and New Mexico in particular were in the very center of this emphasis.

IV. New Mexico and the Taos Scene

New Mexico and the southern portion of Colorado became an epicenter of new religious movements and communal development in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was preceded by several decades of Bohemians that flocked to Santa Fe and Taos to escape the environment of East Coast cities. Northern New Mexico's inaccessibility was a deterrent to commercialized development, but it was "sublimely attractive" to writers and artists who were "threatened by the city's din of distracting and dehumanizing machine-age culture because it disoriented and alienated the individual and blunted his creative force" (Gibson 1983). The attractiveness of the desert landscape, climate, and indigenous cultures was popularized by artists and writers. The allusions to a "cosmic energy" or a zone of "mysterious magnetism" also enhance the area's allure (Fox 1997). The notion that New Mexico was a "spiritually charged" land had its roots in the cosmology of the Pueblo tribes with their sacred mountains and lakes and was adopted by subsequent settlers and newcomers up to the present day (Fox 1997:148).

In the early 20th Century, during the Progressive Era, a group of social reformers on the East Coast coalesced around a rejection of modern society with its mechanized cities and racial elitism. One of the leaders of this Utopian movement was Mabel Luhan Dodge who had a circle of cultural radicals that envisioned a world of aesthetic freedom and social justice and relocated to Taos, New Mexico to establish this new order

(Rudnick 1996). Dodge believed that Taos was “the beating heart of the universe” and a perfect setting to incorporate Hispanics and Native Americans in a new multi-cultural order that incorporated gender equality. There was a popular view among artists and writers that the Native American was in drastic decline and they became committed to preserving the “Vanishing American” and conserving their ancient lifestyle (Gibson 1983:16). Dodge was not alone in her vision of a New Mexican paradise, D. H. Lawrence envisioned New Mexico as a perfect setting for his Utopian colony “Rananim” where men and women could live in harmony with each other and the land (Rudnick 1997:27). He stated that after searching the world over for the right “psychic environment, “New Mexico had most ‘liberated’ him and was the spot most suited to escape “material and mechanical development” (Fox 1983).

Mabel Dodge actively incorporated her dream of cultural integration by marrying a Native American, Tony Luhan. She built a palatial 8,400 square foot adobe house adjacent to the Taos Pueblo that had five guest houses. It was here that many iconoclasts, artists, and writers stayed to promote and live out their new world vision (Rudnick 1997:42). Mabel’s circle attracted expatriates that eschewed mindless conformity and sought a retreat into a rural, tribalistic society. They were attracted by the “holistic philosophies of Indians and the village values of Hispanics (Fox 1983:221) They were an eclectic mix of intellectuals that were attracted to ideas of American Transcendentalism, theosophy, Eastern religious philosophy, environmentalism, and a “new order of man” (Rudnick 1997:8). Guests to the Mabel Luhan Dodge house included Mary Austin who vied for “village socialism;” John Collier who advocated for a return of Pueblo lands and

cultures, writers Jean Toomer and Frank Waters who authored works on social harmony and ecological consciousness; dance and theater innovators Robert Jones and Martha Graham who visualized Native American and Spanish rituals as “total art forms;” women artists and writers such as Elsie Clews Parsons and Georgia O’Keeffe; and many others (Rudnick 1997:29). All of these intellectuals and artists influenced the ambient culture with their philosophies, but in many instances their hopes in realizing the ideal society fell short.

Translating Utopian ideals into reality is always a formidable undertaking. Such was the case for this troupe of idealists. While Mabel invited the three ethnic groups to parties at her home to socially integrate them, she employed servants that were almost entirely Indian and Hispanic (Rudnick 1996:35). Many of the transplanted artist colonies created charitable organizations to relieve poverty, but land acquisitions and modernization harmed the groups they were attempting to help. Their liberating land claim projects for the Pueblo Indians often impoverished the Hispanics. There were ethical breaches such as the publication of Jemez Pueblo secret religious rituals by anthropologist, Elsie Clews Parson (Rudnick 1996:95). The impact on the Taos community was beneficial and detrimental, but nonetheless shaped its future as an artistic and philosophical center as well as fertile ground for new religion and the Aquarian age.

The Mabel Luhan Dodge House continued to be a central focus for a “second wave” of iconoclasts, as ownership of the home fell into the hands of “America’s notorious cultural outlaw,” Dennis Hopper in the late 1960s (Rudnick 1997:189). Hopper is acclaimed for writing and directing subversive films such as “Easy Rider” that

critiqued capitalism and the buildup of nuclear weaponry. Hopper's arrival came at a time when the hippie invasion was in full swing. This influx was also concomitant with an era of heightened tensions and inequality between the Anglos, Native Americans, and Hispanics that has continued to the present day.

The inequities are readily observed in a few facts offered by author, John Nichols in the year 1971. He noted that Taos had approximately 50 art galleries and was the world's third largest art centers (after Paris and New York) as far as volume of art sold, yet more than half of the Hispanic community lived below the poverty level and one-fourth to one-third of the indigenous population was on welfare. The per capita income in the county was \$1,300.00 and unemployment in the year 1971 was over 12 percent. The Federal government owned 44 percent of Taos County; and a steady influx of Anglos grabbed the leftovers (Nichols 2000). The Taos Valley Ski Resort and upscale hotels attracted an upper crust crowd of tourists. The dream of a tri-cultural mix living in peace and harmony was far from realized. Discontented youth of the hippie generation were in search of a Shangri La when they came to Taos, but they were unaware that their arrival intensified local animosities. They tended to be "notoriously apolitical, essentially disinterested in any trip except of their own liking or making" (Nichols 2000:205).

With the diminishing influence of Haight-Ashbury in the late 1960s, the hippie population shifted its focus to Taos, New Mexico and other areas of the country (Melville 1972:139). In 1969, the hippie population was approximately 2,000 compared to 3,500 of the native population (Rudnick 1997: 217). One-thousand lived in communes and four percent of the total lived on welfare. By 1970, there were an estimated 27 communes in

Taos County, one of the highest concentrations nationally (Rudnick 1997:11). Inflated rumors swirled through the community that 25,000 hippies would invade Taos County in the summer of 1970 and that the “freaks” were planning to buy up 100 thousand acres in northern New Mexico from a Woodstock fund (Nichols 2000:201). *Parade Magazine* identified Taos as a “leading candidate for hippie capital of America” (Rudnick 1997:217). This sudden influx created tensions and hostilities with businesses, authorities, and local minorities.

The pressures upon the hippie population came from all directions. Anglo business owners concerned about health issues and negative impacts on their tourist trade posted signs stating such slogans as “Help keep America beautiful, take a hippie to the car wash” (Nichols 2000:199). Violence erupted in the “Hippie-Chicano Wars” on both sides. There were reports of rapes of both Chicano and hippie women. The local underground hippie newspaper the, *Fountain of Light*, warned newcomers to stay away as, “The Taos myth is over. We live not in the land of three cultures, but in a bigoted and provincial society. We have our brand of Klu Klux Klan... burning and dynamiting our cars, and beating, threatening and pistol-whipping people” (Rudnick 1997:230). The paper listed the most recent violent acts against hippies: a Volkswagen bus was dynamited near Penasco, a bridge near a commune in Pilar was burned down, and houses in Ranchos and San Cristobal had their windows shot out (Rudnick 1997:230). Dennis Hopper became a lightning rod in this war when he got into an argument with some Hispanic youths and pulled a gun on one of them in a “citizen’s arrest.” After Hopper’s

arrest and release, he turned the Luhan House into a militarized zone for protection (Rudnick 1997:254).

In the midst of this crisis, the Federal government became involved in FBI investigations and paid many unwelcome visits to the communes. During this time, the Pueblo Indian fight with the Federal Government over their sacred Blue Lake intensified. A bomb was set off in a Forest Service office and an FBI agent implicated the hippies for this act (Nichols 2000:204). The impact on local communes from continual harassment was dissolution, fading numbers, and waning interest in building new communes. As the winter of 1970 came on, the hippies went elsewhere and commune populations dwindled. For example, the Five Star Farm with a membership of 30 to 40 members was one of many communes abandoned at this time (Nichols 2000:205). While ephemeral, the communal surge had long lasting reverberations in the community of Taos, Santa Fe, and the surrounding environs. During this same time period, a steady influx of intellectuals and artists with Utopian ideals continued to transform the culture. New religions and mental healing institutions made their entrance into New Mexico at this time and changed the landscape of the culture as well.

Stephen Fox, a professor from the University of New Mexico in the American Studies and Sociology Department, conducted a study on alternative spiritual communities and healing institutions in New Mexico. He found that the New Mexico tolerance of cultural diversity allowed for many spiritual groups to flourish. He highlights several well-known religious communities in his article, "Boomer Dharma: The Evolution of Alternative Communities in Modern New Mexico." Two schools of

Tibetan Buddhism have been founded in Santa Fe in the late 1950s. One center became a Zen Buddhist Center in 1985 and then transformed into an ecumenical institution in 1992. In 1974, Michelle Martin founded another Zen monastery in the Jemez Mountains known as Bodhi Manda and was run by a female abbess. The most revolutionary aspects of American Buddhism are that 50 percent of students are female (Fox 1997:163). A sect of Sikhs with connections to the Counterculture, Jook Savages and Hog Farmers, established a collectively owned compound in Espanola that grew to include 70 families and an acquisition of a 150 acre camp that offers spiritual and yoga retreats (Fox 1997:158). The Southwestern College in Santa Fe had a history of occult practice with psychosomatic healing called "Mind Cure." After its establishment in 1981 in Santa Fe, it included John Roger's Movement for Spiritual Awareness with "Insight Training Seminars." These training sessions presented group interaction training sessions and five days of meditation (Fox 1997:149).

Aligned with spiritual regeneration offered by the new religion movement were the human potential movement and the alternative healing movement. The alternative healing movement incorporated Counterculture ideals of emotional health, natural and holistic therapies, and direct spiritual experience (Fox 1983:228). New Mexico became a locus of natural and alternative healing as early as the 1950s and was influenced by the Hispanic folk tradition of herbal cures (Fox 1983:231). A dominant personality in this movement was Jay Victor Scherer who started a school of massage therapy and naturopathy in Santa Fe in 1953 (Fox 1983:223). Scherer's school spawned the development of four other schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. These institutions have

all had an ongoing influence on the local culture and nation in massage and natural healing.

Stephen Fox also recognizes the religious inspiration imbued in Counterculture communes of New Mexico that “served as improvised Monastery retreats” (Fox 1997:151). The New Buffalo commune participated in Peyote ceremonies with the Native American Church with the guidance of three Taos Pueblo elders (Fox 1997:152). His prime example of a monastic retreat center is the Lama Foundation, the focus of this study.

The Lama commune was situated in the midst of a national revitalization movement that challenged the institutions and value systems of the current order and was extensively connected to the new religion movement that pervaded a part of this national Counterculture movement. On a local level, Lama was connected to the Taos communal scene and became a local expression of new religion and natural healing. The next chapter will proffer a brief history of this commune as it is situated in the historical contextualization that has just been presented.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF THE LAMA FOUNDATION

Statement of Purpose, adopted in 1998

“The purpose of the Lama Foundation is to be a sustainable spiritual community and educational center dedicated to the awakening of consciousness, spiritual practice in all traditions, service, and Stewardship of the land.” (Cobb 2008:1)

My representation of the history of Lama comes from an amalgamation of various sources, which will include viewpoints from scholars who have visited Lama, interviews conducted with the Founders and other members, accounts collected and published by former and current members, and Lama brochures and newsletters. The danger in synthesizing any history is the possibility of excluding important perspectives. A Lama brochure (Winter 1979) portrays this difficulty:

There are as many viewpoints of Lama as there are people who have experienced it. It is seen as a way-station where pilgrims are given shelter from outer-world distractions, and as a greenhouse where early spiritual awakening is protected and nurtured. It is seen as a pressure cooker. It is seen as a blending of East and West, and a spot of hope for peace on earth. It is seen as a spiritual community, a New Age Community, a place of opportunity to work on oneself, an attempt by fools to create an escapist reality. It is seen as a synthesis of paths in the realization that all paths lead to one reality. It is seen as not a path at all, allowing those who seek a path the space to find one (McLaughlin et al. 1986).

With reservation, I will attempt to piece the history of Lama together with the inclusion of the actual participants' memories wherever possible.

I. Founding Years: 1965-1971

The story of the Lama Foundation begins with its original founders, Steve Durkee, Barbara Durkee, and Jonathan Altman. Altman described his own partners, the

Durkees, as “larger than life” and creative geniuses (Oral History Transcript 2005). A former member Ahad Cobb describes them in his book *Early Lama Foundation*, “The core trio were...creative spiritual seekers—mystics, artists, musicians, writers—and down to earth people with practical skills—farmers, builders, mechanics (Cobb 2008:2). In an interview with Iris Keltz, author of the book *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie*, Barbara Durkee describes her personal memories of events prior to Lama’s founding:

I was attending Stanford University when I became friends with Richard Alpert who was teaching psychology there. Later on he became known as Ram Dass. We’d have Friday night parties and discuss things like: Do you have to be neurotic to be creative? At that point he was selling ‘psychology as the way.’ Then it became ‘acid as the way.’ Beatniks were the way then. Later he turned to God and became one of God’s best salesmen.

While en route home from Europe, I met Steven Durkee at the Cedar Bar in New York City, a place well known by artists in the 1960s...A year later—on the fourth of July, Independence day—we got married in San Francisco (Keltz 2000:127).

After their union, Steve and Barbara formed an artists’ collective called Us Company or USCO in New York. The name refers to a cooperative work ethic as found in traditional tribal settings. USCO created a traveling psychedelic light show entitled, “Why America Needs Indians” which was featured at the Riverside Museum in New York City, and it was highlighted on the cover of Life Magazine (Kohn 2009). The purpose of USCO multi-sensory shows with “archetypal figures, multicolored rooms, light sculptures, Indian music both Eastern and American” was “to overload the sensory network of the audience...to get all the motors going and bring them slowly down to a simple flat line on the oscilloscope” (Kohn 2009:7). The bombardment and “manifold sensory inundation” paralleled a drug-induced “trip” that had a central purpose: “the

alteration, or expansion of consciousness” (Rodriguez 1969). Barbara and Steve purchased a Methodist church as a studio for Steve’s artwork. Barbara describes this period:

We bought this old Methodist Church thirty-five miles north of New York City. This became a workplace for Steven’s art. We took acid there for the first time, and used the church to give the psychedelic experience to people who had never taken any. Many people came through the church including Jefferson airplane. Like many of those who started taking acid in the 1960s, we believed it was the way to open doors to altered states of consciousness...But the church became too commercial for us. When Scott Paper wanted to hire us to do a tampon commercial for television, Steven and I left. We eventually donated the church to friends of ours from USCO (Keltz 2000:127).

Jonathan Altman, the third co-founder of Lama was a playwright working in New York City at the time he was introduced to the Durkees. He describes that after meeting them in their church they agreed to guide him on his first LSD trip:

And in the course of the first day, meeting them, I mentioned to Steve that I would like to take an LSD trip. He offered to take one with me...At that time, they were disciples of Meher Baba. So while we were doing this, there were different chants to Meher Babathe first thing that I remember, as I made my descent, was Steve and I sitting across the table and that we had one mind, there was one mind. And this one mind already knew everything...So subsequent to that I spent a lot of time in the church with Steve and Barbara....I mentioned to Steve that if he ever wanted to start a commune, spiritual commune, that I would like to do that with him...And he thought that was a good idea. (Oral History Transcript 2005).

After they left the church in New York, the Durkees moved to California and stayed with Richard Alpert for a year before he took off to India on a spiritual journey. In 1966, Stewart Brand, founder of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, convinced the Durkees to move to New Mexico and introduced them to Herman Rednick, a 64-year-old Taos artist who was a student of Metaphysics and Asian religions (Fox 1997:153). Rednick became

their advisor, since their former spiritual guide, Meher Baba had gone into seclusion (Keltz 2000:129). Prior to meeting Herman, Steve Durkee envisioned a Utopian community called Solux which was designed in twelve sections with pie-shaped apartments surrounding a central meditation hall similar to the Aurobindo Ashram in India. Solux would accommodate different lifestyles like “macrobiotics or those wanting sexual freedom or more conservative family types” (Keltz 2000:128). In an interview with Richard Fairfield, Steve related that they went on transcontinental trips looking for a mountain location to establish Solux. The elevation was a critical element that offered a setting where individuals could get spiritually and physically “High” (Fairfield 1972:117). Their new mentor Herman Rednick resisted helping them on their search unless they gave up drugs, reduced the size of their commune, and committed to daily meditation (Barbara Durkee Oral History Transcript 2005). Meher Baba had already suggested this and so they decided on a no drug and alcohol policy for Solux. As a result, 230 people interested in joining the Durkees dropped down to three (Keltz 2000:129).

In 1967, land near San Cristobal, New Mexico was found and purchased with what Steve considered the help of supernatural forces. Johnathan Altman promised to put \$20,000 into the purchase of the property. The first piece of property they found was rejected by Rednick. Herman had an angelic vision that directed him to a person who would sell his land. Remarkably, this seller was willing and asked for the exact amount that Altman had promised to pay. Steve recalls that the owner “had only two weeks earlier decided to sell the land we’ve got now for exactly the sum that this very kind person had offered to begin this world. So, boom! We clicked in and this was the place

(Fairfield 1972:117). Another propitious sign was that the land was found on Meher Baba's birthday on February 25th (Barbara Durkee Oral History Transcript 2005).

The property was on sacred Indian land on the Kiowa Peace Trail and on the third highest peak in the Sangre de Cristo mountain range called Lama Mountain (Fox 1997:153). It has expansive views of the valley below cut by the Rio Grande Gorge and is surrounded on three sides by Forest Service Land. On its western border are privately held holdings and the magic Tortoise Commune, which started at the same time. Two rugged dirt roads access the property, five miles from the main highway (Rodriguez 1969:23). A description of the property is provided on the current Lama Foundation website:

Situated about 20 miles north of Taos New Mexico, on just under 110 acres at 8600 feet, Lama Foundation is almost completely surrounded by Carson National Forest, giving one the feeling of being “way out there,” or away from civilization. There are vistas, sunsets, pristine mountain-spring water, vegetarian cooking, and a wide variety of animals that share the mountain with the community... the land and air are imbued with a special vibration that endow this place with a mystical quality (Lama Foundation Website 1/15/2010).

In 1968, the Lama Foundation was incorporated as a non-profit organization.

Durkee explains that “we became a nonprofit, tax exempt foundation, founded for educational and scientific purposes, we are a center for basic studies” and these studies include concepts of Gurdjieff with growth on “three planes simultaneously—the physical plane, the mental plane, and the spiritual plane” (Fairfield 1972:119). On the physical plane, Durkee had a five-year plan that would bring financial solvency. Income would be generated by a school, artisan workshops, and publishing technical books on building communities and spiritual books oriented toward individual spiritual growth (Fairfield

1972:120). The basic tenets of the new organization were stipulated in a charter composed the previous year, and its main purposes are stated:

The Lama Foundation shall utilize the cooperative energies of the participating membership to develop a focal point of spiritual energy on the North American continent (communal activities were then outlined as physical labor, meditation, and community discussion) the fundamental purpose of these activities is to awaken the human soul, individually and collectively, through cooperative action and to integrate the participants into a more inclusive and harmonious unity... (Rodriguez 1969:24).

The three founders with a small core group of friends started building on the land the very first summer in 1968. Henry Gomez, and a crew of Pueblo Indians taught them how to build with adobe. Henry along with his wife and father Grandpa Joe became the communities' elders along with Herman Rednick (Keltz 2000:130). Stewart Brand advertised the project in the Whole Earth Catalog and 500 individuals volunteered over the next two summers for a week or more at a time (Fox 1997: 153). They started on the community kitchen and Dome and these structures were given precedence over individual residences. Steve didn't want the momentum on these community buildings to be lost once people were situated comfortably in their homes. One of the first buildings to be erected was the Dome, and it is known in the community as an architectural wonder imbued with spiritual energy. Barbara recollects its construction:

Building the Dome was a totally magical event. Steven was fixated on the number eight so we cut off the corners on the original foundation—that gave the Dome eight sides. Then we built a wing on each side of the Dome. One wing became the library, and prayer room (initially called the Truth Room), the other the bathhouse. All doors had to face east. Steve Baer (from Drop City) came up with the design for the Dome which is basically diamonds that fit into each other creating a helix pattern (Keltz 2000:130).

A second wooden octagonal building that consisted of two stories for a kitchen and dining room was started in the second summer.

Another important first step on the physical plane was to clean out the spring, the only water source on the land, which had been contaminated by roaming cattle. Altman described the drudgery of this task, “The spring when we went up there was really a cesspool...I got some information on how to develop the spring. And this meant putting in a box and so forth and really cleaning everything out. And that was a big task.” He recalls that Barbara did most of the shoveling as she was the most disinclined to do it (Jonathan Altman Oral History Transcript 2005:9). The conditions were rustic and there was a tremendous amount of physical labor required.

They were determined to start their lives off the grid and so they cooked over open fires and the only dwellings on the land the first summer were three teepees and a yellow school bus, while during the second summer several A-frames were built. Ahad Cobb recalls that working collectively was a ritual activity, “The work was done mostly in silence because work was seen as conscious labor (and intentional suffering). The emphasis was on awakening consciousness, not on friendship, community and service” (Cobb 2008:7). Altman explained the euphoric sentiments at this early stage: “...it was like we had climbed up through the top of this reality, which was then the bottom, the foundation, for the next reality, and there it was...so it was an effort to purify, start something new or from scratch” (Jonathan Altman Oral History Transcript 2005).

Early in its inception regulations and structures were established. The By-Laws established a rotating leadership that took responsibility for finances. A very consistent

daily schedule was followed. The community arose at 6:30 AM to the sound of a gong and gathered for chanting and meditation followed by a process meeting that outlined individual chores for the day. After eight hours of work, and at Herman's recommendation there was a half hour group meeting followed by half an hour group silence. Barbara recognizes their initial naivety on how to hold healthy group meetings:

Well instead of doing spiritual discussion, which was what he (Rednick) meant...he wanted us to read inspiring literature or, do spiritual practice of some kind. Instead we're just, 'I love you, but...' and there was nobody, what we were just 20, 23, 25, and not very sophisticated. I was 27 actually, but I certainly wasn't sophisticated about hurting people's feelings (Barbara Durkee Oral History Transcript 2005:11).

Sunday was the only official day off and the only day that outside visitors could come onto the property. During the week, visitors were turned away. Members remained on the property during their stay with few exceptions.

The purpose of Lama as expressed in the By-Laws placed more emphasis on the individual versus community than in the charter:

To serve as an instrument for the awakening and evolution of consciousness, individual and collective, thereby aiding its membership and all sentient beings a more complete awareness of their position in the universal structure through integration of the threefold nature of man into one harmonious being (Original By-Laws for the Lama Foundation 1968).

Hans Von Briesen, brother of Barbara Durkee defines awakening consciousness as a process of awakening to the difference between "action and reaction," being alert to what "is present here and now" and transcending the physical plane to a spiritual level by "spiritual practice and experience" (electronic communication to author, May 1, 2010). McLaughlin and Davidson noted upon their visit to Lama

that people join Lama to experience “sangha” or community that supports daily practice and remembrance (McLaughlin et al. 1986:282).

The By-Laws stipulated two categories of membership. A “permanent member” was required to work on the land a minimum of six months in order to live there year-round and vote on all long range community decisions. An “active” member was a person who could vote on immediate issues only and earned this privilege after a full week of participation. All voting was by consensus (unanimous voting) and covered a wide range of decisions including daily schedule, admitting new members, or land use issues (Rodriguez 1969: 28). Housing and food was communally shared and there were work clothes and medical supplies available to those in need. Couples and nuclear families stayed in the A-frames while the bus, tepees, and a larger A-frame housed both male and female singles. Each member was required to work and contribute ten dollars each week for food if they could afford it, and there was no requirement to share personal property (Rodriguez 1969: 33). The average population of Lama during the second summer was around fifteen adults, with a maximum number of twenty-six in July, and in the fall there were as few as five (Rodriguez 1969: 30). By 1970, it is estimated that more than 300 people had lived at Lama and the community had a waiting list for membership (Roberts 1971:64). Each person interested was required to submit an application. This population of visitors and Residents steadily increased with the arrival of Ram Dass, originally known as Richard Alpert, and other charismatic teachers.

Richard Alpert, the Durkee’s former friend, had been on a spiritual quest in India while Steve and Barbara were setting up Lama. He became a beloved student of Hindu

guru, Neem Karoli Baba, who upon his first meeting detailed a dream Alpert had about his mother the night before. Over the next several months Neem Karoli Baba converted Alpert to yogic practices and continually reminded him to calm his anxiousness and “Be Here Now” (Fox 1997:153). The new name the guru gave Alpert was “Baba Ram Dass” which meant “servant of God” (Fox 1997:153). Upon returning to his friends at Lama in 1969, Ram Dass recreated his experience at the Ashram in India and conducted a seven-week “ashram” for the Residents and some of his own students (Keltz 2000:133).

Over the next twenty-four years, Ram Dass played an important role in Lama’s visibility and financial viability (Fox 1997:153). Shortly after his return in 1969, Steve and Ram Dass came up with a unique book project called “Be Here Now.” In 1970, a team of artists at Lama illustrated creative diagrams on brown craft paper and text was added. The first edition was sent out in a hand assembled cardboard box with the book tied together with a brown cord, a record, and prayer flag. Crown Books picked up the distribution of a commercial edition of the book, and it became a spiritual bestseller selling 600,000 copies in 1971 (Cobb 2008:20). The income from *Be Here Now* became vital to the financial stability of the community in its early stages. The book along with annual summer retreat programs featuring Ram Dass and other famous teachers, gave the community notoriety.

Another revered spiritual guide for the community was Murshid Sam Lewis who came to visit Lama from San Francisco in the summer of 1969. He was a “Sufi-Zen-Hindu-Jewish-Christian Master who achieved realization in all of these traditions” and had a large following in the Bay area (Cobb 2008:21). He is most famous for introducing

dancing and walking meditation and started a popular movement with the Sufi “Dances of Universal Peace.” He offered courses at Lama in these unique meditative practices in 1969 and 1970. A famous quote of his was that “at Lama Foundation people practice, practice, practice, what other people preach, preach, preach” (Cobb 2008:21). Both Ram Dass and Murshid requested residency at Lama but Barbara denied this request in an effort to keep Lama ecumenical. In Barbara’s words, “and if you had a really strong teacher coming to Lama, that teacher would be IT” (Oral History Transcript 2005: 26). Before Murshid Sam died in 1971, he asked to be buried at Lama or near his Sufi teacher, Sufi Barkat Ali, in Pakistan. The former location was chosen and his gravesite, called the Maqbara (resting place of a Sufi saint), was placed on the mountainside overlooking Lama, and over the years it has become a place of pilgrimage.

In 1974, Lama was on the forefront of a new industry of spiritual retreat centers and was and still is acclaimed as being one of the first communities to offer spiritual retreats. At first, charismatic spiritual teachers focused their retreats only for Lama Residents and select guests. Some of these teachers included: Hari Das Baba, the silent yogi from India; Pir Vilayat Khan, the head of the Sufi order of the West; Rabbi Zalman Schachter, who brought the (Jewish) practice of Shabbas to Lama Foundation; and Sasaki Roshi, who led the first sesshin at Lama (Cobb 2008:21). These retreats were offered to outside guests after 1974 and brought in another source of income that was supplemented by a fledgling Flag Mountain cottage industry that sold silkscreened prayer flags.

In 1971, construction began on the Intensive Studies Center (ISC) that was to become a separate retreat center where a teacher of any religion could bring his or her students for any period of time for focused studies. The center had a central Dome with twelve small individual rooms surrounding it (similar to Steve's vision of twelve divisions in Solux). Also in 1971, two hermitages were created: one called the High Hermitage which was built in total silence; and a second built close to Murshid Sam's gravesite (Cobb 2008:40). These new centers were to enhance the individual and collective spiritual advancement. In its initial stage, Lama's spiritual school was monastic in style and closed to the outside world. Barbara relates that Lama started out as a "family monastery, but sometimes there were no families or kids other than my own four daughters and their friends" (Keltz 2000:130). She reiterated the vision she carried of this spiritual enclave:

So if somebody came and they were, you could kind of feel a kind of vibratory feeling where somebody might belong on a mystical path, or not belong...people would come to Lama and try on practices and talk to people who had a way and look in the library for guidance. So it was a spiritual kindergarten. And if you had more people who graduated, who got to the sixth grade or the twelfth grade or even graduate school, you had other centers starting that were specialists in that particular voice and that particular worldview and that particular vibratory field (Barbara Durkee Oral History Transcript 2005:16).

Guests and Residents at Lama were on a quest for self-knowledge without the help of drugs or psychoanalysis (Roberts 1971:63). They utilized "intention" and "commitment" as spiritual tools for personal growth. There was a mantra of tolerance for spiritual diversity and it was understood that each person's spiritual path was designed for that individual. Experimentation with different traditions was very common. On their visit to

Lama, McLaughlin and Davidson recognized that “members regularly attend the practices of more than one tradition and feel enriched by this diversity” (1986:285). This tolerance was very pervasive in the early days as long as all members were engaged. The community faced its first trauma in the fall of 1971 when a conflict arose over the spiritual direction of the community. This crisis is known by all in the Lama circle as the “Holy Wars.”

II. The Holy Wars 1971-1977

The Holy Wars began with the break-up of the marriage of Steve and Barbara Durkee, and their disparate and changing visions of the future of Lama. It was a time of crisis and transition. In Cobb’s words, “By the end of 1971 some of the agreements on which Lama Foundation was based were broken, and the experiment entered a new phase” (Cobb 2008:40). Steve resigned as co-Coordinator and left the community for three years to travel to Jerusalem and India with Pir Vilayat of the mystical Sufi order. After his departure, there was a vacuum in leadership and building on the ISC slowed down and rules were relaxed. The brother of Barbara, Hans, noted that in 1973, “Bagwan Dass had been there and he’d gotten a lot of people to smoking grass. It was pretty loose” (Kohn 2009: 6). Hans took over the Coordinator position in 1974 and steered the community back toward the strong traditions of the early years including limiting drug use.

While Steve was in Jerusalem, he converted to fundamental Islam and rejected the mystical aspects of Sufism which he believed was too tolerant and eclectic (Kohn 2009: 6). He changed his name to Nouradin and returned to Lama with the promise to complete

the construction of the ISC as a place for his disciples to conduct Muslim practices. Essentially, the fundamental approach at the ISC and the continued ecumenical spirit of what became known as “Lama Central” split the community in two. The split was physical as well as ideological and a gate was erected in 1977 to demark the boundary between the two communities.

At first, relations between the two communities were amicable but as time went on tensions escalated as the Muslims increased their proselytizing. One Resident at Lama Central recalled that when they conducted their circling practices which included holding hands that a Muslim would yell out “Haram” meaning forbidden things (Kohn 2009: 8). Hostilities intensified on both sides. The Muslims tied a sheep to a pole to be sacrificed in a festival the next morning, and during the night some Resident cut the rope and freed the sheep. A woman from Lama Central was condemned by the Muslim community for having an intimate relationship with one of their members before three menstrual cycles had passed since her divorce. There was a trial conducted in the Dome and there was actual talk about stoning this woman (Kohn 2009: 9). Reconciliation occurred and a feast was proposed using newborn lambs. Ironically, the lambs were eaten by coyotes during the night (Kohn 2009: 9).

The final show down of the Holy Wars occurred in the Dome at a three-day Annual Meeting in 1977. The stated purpose of the meeting was to report on the status of Lama in all of its departments and evaluate the future direction of the community. Nouradin and his cadre of twenty followers were dressed in black and white Muslim attire and lined one side of the Dome. They wanted to turn Lama into an Islamic Center

and stop the publication of “Be Here Now” because it was now seen by them as a heretical book. As a result, Ram Dass transferred the copyright and funding was subsequently split between the Hanuman Foundation and Lama. On the opposing side of the Dome sat his former spouse Barbara, now known as Asha, Ram Dass, and all those who wanted Lama to remain an ecumenical spiritual center. A final decision was made that all the original founders would leave and the community would remain as the By-Laws had set up as an egalitarian community based on eclectic religious paths (Kohn 2009:15). It was two months later that Steve left for a trip to Mecca. He desired for the ISC to remain under Islamic influence so he appointed a moderate replacement. When he returned to New Mexico, he built an Islamic center on three hundred acres at Abiqu with money donated by King Khaled of Saudi Arabia (Fox 1997:155).

The strength of the By-Laws and traditions of the community are credited with saving the community during this first crisis. As Steve Durkee envisioned at the beginning, “You’re talking about a community, you’re talking about an organism which, to some extent is greater than its components. It is not merely that there are 20 people here who have accidently come together, but that there is something here that’s evolving” (Fairfield 1972:122). It is ironic that the organism, the community, did continue without its original founders. The evolution in the next several decades without its charismatic leaders would reiterate old traditions and create new ones. As time passed, former Residents left the community but joined a growing outside circle of support. This circle became essential to survival of the next crises two decades later, the Hondo Fire.

III. The Hondo Fire and Beyond 1980s-2010

The loss of charismatic leadership in many communities is often the cause of disarray and eventual dissolution. While Nouradin's connection with the community was severed, the other two founders stepped away but continued their support in different ways. Jonathan Altman stepped down from his board position but continued over the years to tacitly support the foundation. He reported in a recent interview that "I continue to support Lama, even fund them. Which I feel an obligation, a responsibility." (Jonathan Altman Oral History Transcript 2005:33). The first generation of Lama was over and the impetus that brought it together had waned. Jonathan recalls that changes in the climate of the country affected a change in the mission of Lama:

Lama really existed from '67 to sometime around '72 or something. And then I feel the energy in this country changed...they're trying to end the war. And nobody is a hippie anymore. They want to be yuppies. Like if you're going to college, you want to graduate. You want to get your, you want to be well off or something. There isn't the, whatever the spirit was in the '1960s, it's become much more cynical, pessimistic...So whatever Lama was a part of, and was instrumental in, was no longer existing. So in a way, Lama becomes a certain kind of anachronism. (Jonathan Altman Oral History Transcript 2005:33).

Altman also recognized that the enthusiasm of the early stages had also declined. There was a pioneering spirit and "practice" behind the hard physical work in building structures and creating a new vision for life. When all the major structures were completed "the spirit somehow goes out of it, the spirit of the annunciation and working hard...the spirit which prevailed in the beginning, the excitement, then becomes institutionalized" (Jonathan Altman Oral History Transcript 2005: 34).

Asha physically left the community but she continued to return with more frequency to Lama as a spiritual teacher and an advisor to the community. After the Holy Wars were over, she and Ram Dass attended a feast for healing (Kohn 2009:17) Asha recognized that the initial vision of Lama as a monastic setting where members settle, raise families, and live out their lives was no longer viable. She helped the new generation shape and fit itself into a dynamic world. She has recognized this evolution:

Over time Lama has become a universal college for ongoing experiential classes in world religions. There is a strong spiritual hunger in our culture that is not being fed. Lama is a place where people can meditate, practice Tai-Chi and yoga, Sufi dance, fast for Ramadan, welcome Shabbat or praise the Lord any way they want. It is a community for people with non-traditional bent and a place where people can discover what community is about (Keltz 2000:133).

Asha's other important contributions were bringing the tea ceremony into the community along with several other important innovations including Heart Club and silent retreats.

The next group of Lama Residents carried forward former structures of governing and institutionalized practices. The next Resident Coordinators (nominated and elected leaders of the Resident circle) brought renewal and healing to the community by following already deeply implanted ideals while promoting an increase in equality for all members, several new rotating leadership positions, and mandates influencing a transient population. Decision making and planning was done by consensus process in group meetings, but without the heavy influence of the original founders. This form of government has suited the egalitarian ideals of the community but has lacked efficiency. One Resident remarked, "Lama is strong on ideas, but weak on implementation (Cobb 2008: 47) Leadership that changed with the new moon originally called the "Janitor,"

processed daily organizational meetings, led religious practices, and watched over the community. Eventually, a seven- year rule limiting residency at Lama was instituted after one entrenched member wanted to retain residency. This rule was a mandated sabbatical which allowed members to return at a later date. These rules and organizational mechanisms prevented the community from being dominated too strongly by any personality or religious persuasion.

With a cut in funds from *Be Here Now* the community was challenged to bring in new streams of income. As a result, the summer programs became more developed with a diverse flow of teachers and organizations that sponsored their own retreats. This brought in needed cash flow and new “streams of spiritual practice became established” (Cobb 2008:96). Meditation in the morning and evening, a time-honored institution at Lama, was enhanced by Zen sesshins and Vispanna retreats. In addition, according to Ahad Cobb:

Every Friday evening there was celebration of the Jewish Shabbat. The Native American Church held tepee meetings every summer. There were strong ties with the Hanuman Temple in Taos and, for a while, with the Benedictine Monastery in Snowmass. And Universalist Chisti Sufism wove everything together with the continuation of Hazrat Inayat Khan, the Dances of Universal Peace, and the practice of Zikr (remembrance) ceremonies. In Hindu terms the main streams of spiritual path at Lama were karma yoga and bhakti yoga, selfless service and joyful devotion as paths to God (Cobb 2008:96).

Ritual circling in meetings, before work, and before meals also continued to unify the community. Membership fluctuated between age and gender groups, often being dominated by one or the other. The younger set brought new values from the mainstream culture that the community slowly incorporated.

The community became more environmentally conscious in the 1980s and 1990s. It began to emphasize this in its daily practices and plans for the future. New members moved into Lama with permaculture experience, a holistic approach to land management that integrates physical structures and agricultural practices with the natural environment. A new Master Plan was drawn up in the mid 1990s just prior to the Hondo Fire. It incorporated a new community center which was needed to expand the kitchen and space for retreats. It addressed dysfunctional elements of Lama such as the road to Lama situated on such a steep grade it caused extensive erosion and A-frame buildings that were not ecologically sound (Kohn 2009:25) Some of these proposed changes were met with great resistance by older members who were attached to historicity. These objections became inconsequential, with the Hondo Fire of 1996 that burned most of the structures on Lama land. Clear-cutting for the new road was one of the major factors in saving the central buildings.

On May 6, 1996 Lama Residents evacuated without recovering their belongings in the face of a large wildfire. According to the Albuquerque Journal, the Carson National forest fire consumed 7,500 acres and was started in a trash barrel at a home site in neighboring San Cristobal. It consumed several homes and decimated the Lama community by destroying 32 buildings and severely damaging others. The paper reported that 100 Residents on Lama mountain were affected. They described the experience as they returned to their homes three days after the fire:

...as they made their way up the hill from the 29-year-old Lama Foundation, their feet sank softly into several inches of ash and they picked their way around burnt trunks and twigs...They said little as they looked around in shock at what

had been home sites, occasionally pointing to familiar spots—where friends had lived (Albuquerque Journal).

The trauma to Lama Residents was substantial. Fifty percent of the population lost all their worldly possessions, which for some were financial losses ranging from \$150.00-\$40,000.00 and for others invaluable items such as artwork, photographs, and address books (Kohn 2009:32).

Recovery from the psychological and physical trauma of the fire was facilitated by a resounding outpouring of donations and help from the surrounding community. The Taos News reported that the American Red Cross offered relief in the form of 26,000 meals to fire victims and emergency personnel, emergency supplies, and services from 200 workers. Several relief funds were established which included the Hondo Relief Fund, the Sangre de Cristo Mission, Emergency Disaster Relief Fund, and Lama's own relief fund (Taos News). Commune members were invited into homes in Taos and the New Buffalo commune in Arroyo Hondo. Donations of tents, futons, and other personal items came pouring into the community (Kohn 2009: 32). When the Residents returned and found that the Dome and old kitchen had survived they knew that they had to rebuild. But it wasn't until around 1998 that a final decision was made that Lama would continue (Kohn 2009: 42). Many looked at this natural disaster as a welcome cleansing that brought the prospects to rebuild with a clean slate. One Resident remarked that as a spiritual community they were better equipped to cope with the trauma of the fire. "There's more of an ability to accept what is...there's always a larger purpose to everything" (Albuquerque Journal).

Recovery from the fire was a formidable challenge. A field biologist from Los Alamos described the devastation, “Ninety-eight percent of the surface vegetation was gone, several inches of heavy ash, our footfalls would stir it up. You’d start coughing right away. It would get into every pore. Water had to be trucked in. It was tough” (Kohn 2009:34). This circle included former Residents and visitors, friends, former retreatants, the board of trustees, and a newly formed Lama Council. An off-site fundraising office was set up in Santa Fe and was an effective mechanism in raising all the funds necessary to build the community center and rebuild Lama.

Physical and psychological stress on the circle was immense and all but one current Resident stayed on the following winter. A much younger group of Residents moved in and were challenged by lack of experience in Lama traditions. There was also friction over values between this younger set and the circle off the mountain (Kohn 2009:40). One new Resident rebuked an old-timer, “Well, what makes you think ‘before’ even counts anymore. It’s gone. There is no ‘before.’ Look around. This is a blank slate, it’s starting over” (Kohn 2009:40).

Permaculture design after the fire became the major emphasis with the goal of transforming Lama into a sustainable village. After land restoration projects, the focus turned to building structures. It was decided that all new structures would contain natural building materials on “a level that permaculture became pretty embedded” (Micah Oral History Transcript 2006: 21). A successful workshop program was instituted called “Build Here Now” where attendees learned the techniques of straw bale building. The added benefit to this program was that new structures were erected including the

completion of the Community Center in 1997, the Eco-Nest in 1998, hermitages, and individual houses for the Residents. Improved housing facilitated a more comfortable experience for Residents in the winter, but despite these improvements the transitory nature of the Resident circle has continued unabated.

In the past decade, the temporary nature of residency at Lama has increased for several reasons. The purpose and mission of the Foundation has changed since its earlier days. The current mission statement states:

The purpose of the Lama Foundation is to be a sustainable spiritual community and educational center dedicated to the awakening of consciousness, spiritual practice with respect for all traditions, service, and Stewardship of the land (Lama Foundation Website 1/15/2010).

This mission indicates openness to itinerant students whereas in its formative period the mission statement accentuated the growth of individuals in a stable community with long-term commitments to each other. Permaculture and natural building has brought with it other changes. Attendees to building workshops come from very different backgrounds, are not typically interested in a spiritual path, and are more oriented to education in construction. The Lama website reiterates this educational purpose: “Permaculture and natural building are practices that complement Lama’s re-growth as a sustainable, service-oriented community school” (Lama Foundation Website 1/15/2010). In the past couple of decades, Lama has also brought in more technological innovations such as computers and phones which have enhanced its connectivity to the outside world. Residents and guests have more personal vehicles, and rules concerning coming and going from the land have been relaxed.

The future of Lama is uncertain. There has been concern in the last few years about dropping number of Stewards, summer volunteers, and year-round Residents. There is an increasing interest in expanding the mission of Lama to benefit the younger generation that can carry Lama forward. As a result, Lama has held retreats in the past couple of years designed just for young people. In the latest Lama Alive Newsletter it articulated this new vision:

A new learning is needed and with it a new school. Lama can be that school. A school that teaches us how to remove ourselves from and lesson our dependence on the systems that seek to exploit. A school that teaches the beauty of boundless creativity. A school that honors selfless service. A school that honors the inherit divinity in all beings, A school that honors selfless service...It is thus our intention to cultivate and nurture a deeper youth oriented programming and curriculum, to make conscious strides toward drawing youth to the mountain, to make Lama an Ivy League College dedicated to the exploration of the New Way, to invite and embrace all the changes that can more completely align ourselves, as well as Lama, with this intention. The viability of Lama has been its ability to overcome crisis and adapt in the face of new challenges. The future of Lama is secure only in the vision of its present membership and in the strength of its heritage.

I have talked to many Residents and Stewards about the future of Lama and they generally agree that Lama will continue into the future in some form.

The Lama Community has many ingredients in place that has allowed it to overcome extraordinary types of adversity. It is the purpose of the following chapter to examine the existing scholarship that has been conducted in the past several decades in regards to contributing factors to social solidarity and success in communal structures. The ensuing chapters will provide a review of the specific attributes that combine to strengthen the Lama Foundation in its various stages of development.

CHAPTER FOUR: LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several reasons why researchers are drawn to the study of intentional communities. Zablocki values this type of research because, “communes are decision making arenas within which human purposes, dreams, and desires interact and contend with structural necessities. Viewed in this way, communes have much they can teach us about the fundamental nature of the social bond” (Zablocki 1980:2). Shenker delineated several reasons why scholars should be attracted to the study of intentional communities and three of these are: 1) Communes are “self contained ‘total communities’” that can be studied as “micro-versions of large societies and as social groups with unique characteristics;” 2) They have a unique role as a historical phenomenon and exemplify the wider trends of the time period and are usually part of a wider social movement; and 3) The practices of communal societies can be applied to other contexts and much can be learned from them in regards to “family relationships, bureaucratic structures, child-rearing practices, and industrial management” (1986:4). Susan Love Brown felt that anthropologists are particularly well suited to consider intentional communities as they allow “an emphasis on the processes of culture—those understandings that are learned, shared, symbolic, and integrated into a pattern that is distinct by virtue of time, space, and the passage of events” (Brown 2002:8). In the same way, my research of the Lama

commune reveals important institutional designs and social processes that influence cohesion in a small community setting.

The research aims of my ethnographic field work and the purpose of my analysis is to bring to light social processes that have occurred in the Lama commune over several decades. I have depended on prior scholarship and theoretical models, already aligned with research of Utopian experiments, to assist in answering the key questions of this investigation. The central challenge is to determine why the Lama Commune survived while so many of the other communes formulated in the same era met with early failure. In order to come to an understanding of how it has perpetuated despite many challenges I ask the questions:

- What aspects or structures of the Lama community are contributive to its perpetuation?
- How does this community balance the demands for unity, maintain ideological integrity, and preserve the freedoms and needs of individuals?
- How does it maintain solidarity with a diversity of religious faiths?
- Are the factors or commitment mechanisms that contribute to longevity consistently strong over long periods of time, or do they change as the outside culture changes?

Unfortunately, there is a paucity of scholarship regarding communal experiments and research has diminished since the great interest in Counterculture communes of the 1960s and 1970s.

Scholarly research examining Utopian experiments in the last two centuries has been intermittent and in many time periods has been negligible. In the 19th Century, surveys were conducted by only a small handful of individuals who were not designated scholars. One of the earliest surveys conducted by A.J. Macdonald, a printer by trade, included first-hand reports of dozens of communal experiments gathered over two decades starting in the late 1820s. These records were never published but were later utilized by John Humphrey Noyes in his *History of American Socialism* published in 1870 (reprinted by Dover in 1966) and this work was followed in 1875 by Charles Nordhoff's *Societies of the United States* generated from Nordhoff's own personal visits to communes (Holloway 1966). Accounts of Utopian experiments of the last half of the 19th Century was included in Alfred Hind's *American Communities* (1908) and includes 600 pages of facts regarding these communities, but did not include any analysis (Holloway 1966:234). As communal surges wane, scholarly interest also abates and such was the case in the first half of the 20th Century. It wasn't until Counterculture communes became a numerical phenomenon and became highly publicized and exoticized by the media in the late 1960s to mid 1970s that scholars in large numbers began to pay attention to experimental communes. Since this time, very few scholarly examinations have been conducted even though intentional communities are thriving and increasing in number.

The approaches toward research on Utopian communities vary according to disciplines. Richter was one of many scholars who wrote about communal experiments during the 1970s. He recognized several different approaches to the study of intentional

communities: 1) The social reformer examines the implementation of social reforms in communal structures; 2) the historian studies certain phases or periods of Utopian experimentation in order to provide historical context; 3) sociologists examine social processes in communes such as cohesion, acculturation, and change; 4) political theorists appraise Utopian literature and apply political doctrines to the study of communal organizations; 5) anthropologists interpret communal structures in light of a cultural expression or as an example of a planned culture; and 6) economists evaluate the economic systems created in communal settings with the help of economic theories (1971:8). A majority of research conducted during the height of the Counterculture movement were from sociologists and a small number of anthropologists. Since then, the same disciplines have contributed important new analysis on communes in a modern setting.

Several sociologists and a small number of scholars from other disciplines conducted their research in the 1970s by touring the most open and commonly known Counterculture communes in America. While the data gathered from these tours is helpful to other scholars, the scope of these works is limited. Zablocki comments on the research tradition in this era as “over reporting” on only a few dozen communes that Kanter calls the “old standbys,” which are friendly and accessible, and they are written about under several different pseudonyms giving the false impression that hundreds of communes are represented (Zablocki 1980:4).

Richard Fairfield, with an educational background in religion, took a 12,000 mile tour across the U.S visiting approximately 34 communes to “investigate” anything

he could learn about them (1971:6). He recorded interviews with many founders and provides various observations about his visits. His book, *Communes USA: a Personal Tour* is written in a journalistic style without providing any substantive analytical perspectives. Journalist, William Hedgepeth and photographer, Dennis Stock produced a similar travel-log book with the stated purpose, “Our own function here has essentially been as recording instruments, attuned first, to take in all that can be felt, seen, sensed, experienced, perceived, put into words or inscribed on film, and then to lay it all out before you” (1970:4). These two works provide important data and interviews but do not offer any analysis.

Other scholars took similar tours but with a more scholarly approach. Keith Melville (1972) took a tour of several communes in New Mexico, Oregon, and California. He engaged in critical analysis by applying Counterculture themes to communal experimentation. Sociologist Ron Roberts (1971) conducted a similar tour of a diverse set of communes. His analysis establishes common themes among the groups he visited as well as distinguishing traits. He divided the communes into the following categories: hip communes, eastern mystic, Christian radical, erotic Utopias, radical collectives, women communes, Walden Two communes, sensitivity communes, and cooperative economics communes. Several other scholars have also devised categories and typologies that are helpful in comparative approaches to communal structures.

There are a few scholarly works produced at this same time that focus on specific aspects of communal life. Sociologist Gilbert Zicklin (1983) visited sixteen Counterculture communes around San Francisco in 1968 and 1970. He examines how

Counterculture communes adapt Counterculture themes into daily life, achieve solidarity, organize work, and manage their economic activities. Social scientists Elena and David French (1975) reveal how Counterculture communes organize labor based on rejection of mainstream values that relate to work. Sociologist John Hall (1978) visited 25 communal groups mostly on the East and West coasts. His comparative analysis centered on these main themes: time orientations, social enactment, want satisfaction, organization of work, and government. Timothy Miller's work, *The 1960s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (1999) came two decades later but used the same approach to communal research using oral history interviews and archival information. He focuses his examination on communal ideologies, economics, organization, and daily life. These works provide instructive perspectives on the many facets of communal life that contribute to solidarity and longevity.

There are limited ethnographic studies that offer in-depth accounts of single case studies. Sociologist Karol Borowski (1984) provides a unique ethnographic account of the Brotherhood of the Spirit commune that grew into a larger organization called the "Renaissance movement." Her longitudinal study spanned the years 1973 to 1982. She examined several aspects of this successful religious commune that grew into a wider movement and compared its success to the Kibbutz movement in Israel. She examines membership, ideology, and organizational structures as they transformed over time. Another monographic account comes from Benjamin Zablocki's ethnographic account of the Bruderhof which is now in its fourth generation. He was allowed to conduct participant observation and in-depth interviews at one of their locations, Woodcrest, in

1965 from August through December. He believes that this type of “ethnographic sociology” supplies the “flavor” of communal life in a way that is missed by comparative methods that are “excessively concerned with common denominators” (Zablocki 1971:331).

My ethnography of the Lama commune is also a monograph that supplies the “flavor” of everyday life. Yet, in order to understand how its social structures and other attributes facilitate longevity, a comparative analysis with other successful communes is instructive. The theoretical design and related comparative study conducted by Harvard Sociologist, Rosabeth Kanter provides the most useful framework for analyzing the success and longevity of my case study. I rely heavily on her theory of commitment mechanisms in successful communes. Her landmark study is broad in scope and empirical in nature. It has been utilized by other scholars and has become a remarkably accurate forecaster of communal success.

Kanter developed a theoretical model of processes involved in social cohesion in communal organizations. Commitment arises when the individual maintains his or her own personal being through behaviors that support the group. It requires “the attachment of self to the requirements of social relations that are seen as self expressive” (Kanter 1972:66). Individual commitment disappears when there is a conflict between personal and group needs. The challenge for Utopian communities is to create social structures that facilitate a strong work ethic so that the group can survive while still managing to satisfy the needs of individual members over long periods of time (Kanter 1972:64). Kanter applied her theory of commitment to 100 communes in the 1800s and correlated

the number of “commitment mechanisms” that appear in each community to longevity (Brown 2002:132). Several scholars have used Kanter’s research as a basis for studying successful communes with similar attributes in other eras.

Hugh Gardner’s use of Kanter as a model for his comparative study of 13 Counterculture communes in the Southwest of the United States in the early 1970s became an amazing predictor of success and failure of communes in his study. Lama was included in his study, and he gave it the highest score from his extensive survey for commitment mechanisms. My research is a follow-up, diachronic study that reexamines Lama for characteristics that Kanter considers essential for communal solidarity and perpetuation. My analysis demonstrates how the Lama commune has adapted to a changing outside culture in light of Kanter’s paradigm. I also examine how certain features once considered liabilities in Kanter’s model are now contributing to success.

In addition to these studies, Clifford Thies’s (2000) more recent empirical study evaluates 281 communes in America from 1683 to 1937. His results parallel Kanter’s findings with a few exceptions (Thies 2000:186). There are additional theories on ritual performances, sacralization of space and material culture, and ideological work that enhance the understanding of various commitment mechanisms and their contribution to solidarity. These theories can also be applied to an understanding of how the Lama commune achieves unity while celebrating a diversity of religious traditions. I will now present these studies and theoretical approaches as they apply to my research.

I. Kanter's Commitment and Community

There are many ingredients that contribute to communal longevity and group cohesion that are consistent in experimental Utopias regardless of which historical era it developed in. Kanter's model of commitment is as relevant to modern Utopias as 19th Century versions. Intentional communities, regardless of historical time period, require voluntary participation, therefore "members choose to join and choose to remain, conformity within the community is based on commitment—on individuals own desire to obey its rules rather than on force or coercion (Kanter 1972:2).

According to Kanter, there are three major aspects to a social system that involve commitment: retention of members, group cohesiveness, and social control. Retention involves an individual's willingness to remain in the group, cohesiveness refers to the ability of people to "stick together" and garner mutual attraction, and social control involves "the readiness of people to obey the demands of the system, to conform to its values and beliefs and take seriously its dictates (1972:67). Kanter identifies three orientations that influence an individual to remain committed to a social system and these are instrumental, affective, and moral. Instrumental commitment exists when an individual weighs the costs and benefits of belonging to a social system and if he or she remains in a system, the advantages of staying outweigh the benefits of leaving. Affective commitment involves a person's "cathetic orientations, ties of emotion bind members together...Solidarity should be high; infighting and jealousy low" (1972:69). Moral commitment occurs when an individual sanctions the norms and values of the group and

justifies obedience to authority because their values are synchronized with personal values.

A successful community will develop commitment building processes called commitment mechanisms to enhance these three types of individual orientations. The most successful 19th Century communes in Kanter's research maintained six commitment mechanisms simultaneously, while short-lived communes had fewer and weaker mechanisms. The six mechanisms delineated are Sacrifice, Investment, Renunciation, Communion, Mortification, and Transcendence. The proportion of mechanisms of successful communes (lasting more than 25 years) was compared to unsuccessful communes. Kanter used a sample of 91 Utopian communities founded between the years 1780-1860 and her findings reveal that all forms of commitment related positively to survival in numbers of years (1972:245).

Sacrifice refers to members giving up something of value to be part of the community. According to cognitive consistency theories: the higher the cost to an individual to do something, the more valuable it becomes (Kanter 1972:77). Sexual abstinence, hard work, and austerity are common sacrifice mechanisms in communal experiments. The second mechanism, Investment, allows an individual to have ownership in the destiny of the community. Profit is reinvested and makes it costly for an individual to leave. Time and resources such as goods and capital are streamlined into the economy of the community and the irreversibility of this investment strengthens commitment. Renunciation is the process of foregoing relationships outside of the community and avoiding exclusive relationships within the community as a means to foster group

cohesion. As part of renunciation, a community develops insulating boundaries from the outside world. These boundaries include geographical isolation; self-production of all commodities and needs for the community; separate dress, language, identity, and customs; controlled movements into and out of the community; and regulation of intimacy and family relationships (Kanter 1972:89).

The final three commitment mechanisms relate to internal processes fostering unity. Communion emphasizes an affectively satisfying community. Communion is achieved by group participation in work, homogeneity, equality in membership and economic arrangements, fellowship in regularized contact, ritual activity, and defensive posturing of the community against outside persecution (Kanter 1972:93).

Mortification processes relinquish the former identity of individuals and alter their former separate and private egos into a collective consciousness. Mortification allows an individual to openly share all of his or her inner weaknesses and intimate secrets to a group that is trusted for personal growth. Examples of mortification are mutual criticism, sanctions against deviance, and systems of spiritual stratification (Kanter 1972:103). The last mechanism is called Transcendence. Transcendence appears when an individual feels that there is a moral “rightness, certainty, and conviction” in belonging to the community and influences a submission to the supremacy of social institutions, shared ideology, or charismatic leadership (Kanter 1972:114). This “felt connection” of “institutional awe” reinforces individual commitment to a greater cause. Communes that had hierarchal governing structures, myths about past leadership or community traditions, ideological conversion and selective recruitment, supernatural

or mystical qualities to the community, and specific guidance to monitor behavior achieved greater transcendence and were subsequently more successful (Kanter 1972:111).

In examining Kanter's study, Gardner notes that "The effects were strongest for 'transcendence' and 'communion' ($p < .05$), somewhat less strong for 'sacrifice' and 'renunciation' ($p < .10$), and least strong for 'investment' and 'mortification' ($p < .15$)" (Gardener 1978:28). This varying affect is important to my discussion of the Lama commune because Gardner scores Lama high on communion and transcendence, while he gave it low scores for investment and sacrifice mechanisms. The foregoing analysis will examine why communion and transcendence mechanisms have been essential to its long-term survival. Despite differences, all mechanisms in Kanter's study influenced longevity. Every commune in Kanter's sample that is considered successful is highly structured, religious, regulated, and hierarchal. These results confirm already well-known principles that religious communes last longer than secular communes because of their rigid social structures (Gardener 1978:28). Kanter's theoretical scheme is "an excellent means by which to describe and analyze the structure of communal groups whether they are religious or not; nonreligious groups, after all can share many of the structural aspects of religious groups or functional equivalents of them" (Gardner 1978:28). The more recent empirical study of Clifford Theis confirms many of Kanter's findings.

II. Clifford Thies: Successful American Communes

Clifford Thies' recent empirical research expands on the work of Kanter by analyzing 281 communes from a longer time period from 1683 to 1937. He stipulates that success is not only determined by years of existence (15 years is a determinant of success) but also by growth and replication and achievement of self professed goals. Out of his sample two-thirds are "original" (i.e. that they are new), 28 percent are "spin-offs" meaning they are a relocation or reorganization of a prior commune, and five percent are "breakaways" that are new communes organized by dissatisfied members of a prior commune (Thies 2000:192).

The variables that are considered in this study are: 1) "belief" which had subcategories of sectarian, tolerant, and secular; 2) "government" refers to governance structure and includes democratic, authoritarian, and anarchic; 3) "property" refers to economic distribution and include egalitarian, private property (some private property allowed), and "corporate property" (reward system where some members earned more goods than others); 4) "sex" refers to family life and includes the categories of celibate, monogamous polygamous, and free love; 5) "prohibitions" refers to restrictions on free choice which include alcohol, tobacco, and meat; and 6) "how ended" refers to the cause of dissolution which were celibate communes that dwindled in population, those that reorganized or relocated, those that ended in violent attack, and those that failed on their own accord (Thies 200:193).

His findings from of one regression analysis determines that communes that are Pietist, have an index of commitment, private property, anarchic governance, and a "spin-

off” beginning have greater chance of success than “breakaway beginning” communes (Thies 2000:197). It should be explained that only six communes in this study were of anarchic origin and only one of six lasted longer than 20 years, “so the findings of them must be considered at least somewhat anecdotal” (Thies 2000:196). The results of all three regression analyses combined determine that “Pietist sects are found to have a substantially higher probability of success than communes having New Age, tolerant, and secular belief systems” (Thies 2000:197). Thies considers the most informative results of his research to be the propitious repercussions of allowing some private property, which contradicts a portion of the commitment theory. However, several of the Pietist sects have allowed a certain degree of private holdings in the form of household gardens, allowed marriage, and made other concessions to private individuals (Thies 2000:197). Allowing for some personal property is essential in balancing the mandate to satisfy both personal and community needs, and this factor will be important in analyzing the success of the Lama Foundation and other successful communes in a modern setting.

III. Hugh Gardner: Counterculture Communes

Hugh Gardner used a modified protocol of Kanter’s quantitative study to examine thirteen rural communes in four Southwestern States in 1970 and 1973. The limitations of this undertaking are the small sample size, overrepresentation of rural groups, and the short time frame of the study. Nonetheless, Gardner’s work is valuable because “in an age of chronic change, three years proved quite enough time for over half of these groups to fail” (1978:31). Gardner used the same six commitment mechanisms as Kanter but included different variables supporting those mechanisms that were applicable to modern

circumstances (See Appendix B). For instance, under the category of sacrifice and austerity, there are variables related to the harshness of the winters and the amount of food stamp usage. In the category of renunciation and insulation are factors relating to media such as the use of television and telephone. Data for this study was gathered at the beginning and end of a three-year period. The prosperity of each community was measured by a prosperity index using indicators such as new structures erected and population growth.

Gardner's repeat study establishes that economic conditions in the mainstream influence the results of success. In prosperous economic times early in the Counterculture movement "the most successful communes were the more open and unstructured ones, contrary to the theory of commitment" but as the economy soured in the 1970s "the more rigorously organized groups were more likely to survive in the long run" (Gardner 1978:219). This demonstrates Kanter's prediction that with time, pressures mount for change in the direction of more structure (Gardner 1978:246). Gardner's study also reveals that modern communal groups use fewer of all of the commitment mechanisms than their counterparts in the 19th Century. In his final analysis, Gardner recognized that "more conservatively structured communes still seem to have a better chance for long-term survival today" (Gardner 1978:219).

Gardner scored each community in his study on each type of commitment and totaled these values. The total scores range from 34 to 86 with a mean of 57.39. The seven communes that failed during the study had lower commitment scores with a mean score of 44.57 while the six successful communes had a mean of 62.33. The Lama

Foundation had the highest score of all with a total of 86. In regards to specific commitment mechanisms, Lama scored the highest in “mortification” and “communion” and the second highest in “transcendence.” In “sacrifice” they scored an 11 with a mean of 8.69 for all 13 communes, a four on “investment” with an overall mean of 3.69 and an 18 on renunciation with a mean of 12.77. It is also interesting to note that the second highest scoring community was Ananda which is another spiritually oriented commune that along with Lama has flourished until the present.

The contribution of all of these studies overwhelmingly confirms that highly structured communes with numerous commitment mechanisms foster longevity. I will use the concepts derived from these studies along with their findings to compare the attributes, commitment mechanisms, and social structures of the Lama Foundation as they influence communal perpetuation. The qualitative theories that will now be discussed enhance an understanding of the features that relate to commitment mechanisms of my case study. Lama’s daily schedule is punctuated with multiple and diverse ritual observances. Ritual activities and symbolic representations associated with ritual enhance the communion mechanism. Theories related to ritual activity assist in understanding this association. Lama has a strong set of values and overarching ideologies that strengthen the commitment of members. The concept of ideological work provided by Bennett Berger elucidates the processes involved in ideological adaptation that is found to be critical to communal survival in a changing environment. Ideological agreement for communal members is imperative in creating and maintaining the transcendence mechanism. Theories of charisma and charismatic leadership also promote

the commitment mechanism of transcendence. Lama was created under the auspices of charismatic leadership that was transferred to the community after their early departure. Theories of charisma bring apprehension of how charisma increases cohesion and perpetuation. I will relate how these theories have been utilized by other social scientists in examining communal structures and present how they are equally informative to my analysis of the Lama Foundation.

IV. Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality and Communitas

Victor Turner has generated a theoretical paradigm in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (1969) and *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage* (1964) and his concepts in these two works are particularly instructive in the interpretation of ritual activities that occur in communal structures. Ritual activities foster Kanter's communion mechanism and are an important aspect of Lama's integration of multiple faiths. Other modern anthropologists have utilized Turner's theoretical framework with frequency in studying communes. The concepts of "liminality" and "communitas" are particularly supportive in elucidating processes of identity loss and reconstruction that occurs during the transition from mainstream society to adoption in a communal order. These concepts are also valuable in analyzing community creation and dissolution as well as ritual observances.

Liminality is a concept first offered by Arnold Van Gennep to explain one of the three phases a neophyte goes through in a rite of passage ceremony. The three stages outlined by Van Gennep are "separation, margin (or limen, signifying 'threshold' in Latin), and aggregation (Turner 1969:94). In the first phase, an individual is separated

from the group physically and symbolically. The time period that exists between states is a liminal period where the “characteristics of the ritual subject (the ‘passenger’) are ambiguous” and identity is in a state of limbo (Turner 1969:94). The final stage is reincorporation into the community with a new identity. Turner expounds upon the unique state of liminality:

The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* (“threshold people”) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial (Turner 1969:95). In liminal phase, a person is nondescript, passive and humble, and “ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew” (Turner 1969:95). A “transitional being” has nothing. “They have no status, property, insignia, secular clothing, rank, kinship position, nothing to demarcate them structurally from their fellows” (Turner 1964:49). Several individuals going through a rite of passage at the same time develop close bonds and an equal footing with each other during the liminal stage.

A related concept of Turner’s is called “*communitas*.” *Communitas* appears in the liminal period where social relations are unstructured; there is communion of co-equals, and an abandonment of hierarchal order and status systems (Turner 1969:96). Turner notes that the Counterculture hippies fostered a state of *communitas* by opting out of the “status-bound social order” to “acquire the stigmata of the lowly, dressing like ‘bums,’ itinerant in their habits, ‘folk’ in their musical tastes, and menial in the casual

employment they undertake” (1969:112). As *communitas* is situated in opposition to structure, so the Counterculture sits in opposition to straight society. The hippie notion of immediacy, living in the moment, and spontaneity are all familiar elements of *communitas* that is “of the now” (Turner 1969:113).

Several authors in the book, *Intentional Community: an Anthropological Perspective*, edited by Susan Love Brown, rely on Turner’s model. According to Lucy Kamau (2002), intentional communities are consistently in a state of liminality or as Turner would say “outsiderhood” with conceptual, physical, economic, and social separation from normal society. The leveling process that occurs in intentional communities replicates *communitas* and facilitates close attachment of members and spontaneous relationships. *Comunitas* is a fleeting state and it is difficult for communes to maintain as routinization of charisma or the implementation of rules and regulations and social stratification occurs over time (Kamau 2002:25).

In the article “Liminality, *Communitas*, Charisma, and Community,” Kamau utilizes Turner’s concepts to demonstrate that varying levels of liminality and *communitas* maintained by two separate communes directly impacted their success and longevity. The Harmony Society, founded by charismatic leader George Rapp in the 1800s was strong liminally because of firm boundaries between their order and society at large. Rigid boundaries were created by isolation, differing language, and distinctive clothing. *Communitas* was vibrant in the beginning as they bonded around a millennial theology. The charismatic qualities of their leader remained in force due to their

economic stability. After Rapp's death routinization set in to the community, *communitas* waned, and membership dwindled (Kamau 2002:28).

The next community to occupy New Harmony was established by two leaders, Robert Owen and William Maclure, who were both wealthy idealists. Kamau points out that despite remoteness, this new order had weak liminality. Members could come and go from the community whenever they desired, creating porous boundaries. The dual leadership created schisms, and *communitas* was debilitated by the creation of two separate classes called the "higher orders" and the "lower orders" (Kamau 2002:32). This short-lived community, lasting only two years, lacked liminality and *communitas* and was abandoned.

Anthropologist Gretchen Siegler (2002) uses Turner's theoretical framework to examine how one community innovates new "symbols of liminality during secular and sacred ritual" to counteract the waning of *communitas* and routinization of charisma which occurs as the charismatic influence of a person or ideology dissipates or becomes institutionalized over time. Her study demonstrates how the temporary state of *communitas* can be extenuated through routine ritual practices. Siegler's case study, the In Search of Truth (ISOT) commune demonstrates a social order that integrates ritual and myth and work and play in a fashion that nourishes *communitas*. The commune exemplifies what Turner calls "ideological *communitas*" which maintains *communitas* even while becoming routinized and structured (Siegler 2002:43). The ISOT commune founded in the 1960s has survived for over 30 years by rallying around a central theology. Creating affective and ideological connections is essential to individual

commitment in a communal group. Turner's concepts of liminality and ideological *communitas* are helpful in analyzing how religious ritual implements and strengthens these connections. In an ecumenical setting, such as found at the Lama Foundation, ritual observances are even more important in creating bonds of fellowship. The sacralization of material culture and space in the process of religious ritual further enhances communal bonds and extenuates *communitas* in other aspects of communal life.

V. Material Culture, Ideology, and Sacralization of Space

Utopian societies such as Lama are unique settings to examine the relationship between material culture and ideology. Material culture are man-made physical constructions used in ritual activity and includes small implements and objects such as bowls and musical instruments as well as larger constructions such as furniture and buildings. Material culture can be situated to symbolically represent and reinforce communal values. Heather Van Wormer (2006) believes that "material culture can be seen as simultaneously constituted and constitutive as well as a central focus in maintaining social cohesion." Her archaeological study of the Oneida Perfectionist commune reveals that material culture on the site mirrored religious ideology and influenced the fostering and maintenance of *communitas* (Van Wormer 2006:37).

The Mansion House of the Oneida community provides physical evidence of the integration of architecture and the institution of complex marriage, while the surrounding landscape with gardens and groomed lawns promoted the visual perception of an idyllic Utopia. Her study also revealed the use of objects as a means of ideological subversion by distant branches of Oneida. The community believed in communal ownership of all

physical objects including wristwatches. Those that chose to subvert the rules marked their names on their watches and obtained other items for their own personal and private use (Van Wormer 2006:54). In addition, her examination demonstrates that the use of objects, as well as the construction of space intensified communitas. For example, the Oneidas believed in the perfectibility of human beings and their condition. This value not only related to improvement of personalities but also was materially expressed in improvements in their mansion house and in the products that the community produced. The Oneida Perfectionists “were continually striving for more efficient and improved material items for their existence in ‘heaven on earth’” (Van Wormer 2006:52). New innovations included the “Lazy Susan” for tables, a new version of the washing machine, and a new mop wringer. The Oneida Perfectionists inculcated their ideology in their everyday lives through their architecture and material objects.

The construction and organization of space on the landscape is another way that a community can reiterate their ideology. The way in which the physical landscape is organized with boundaries, building placement, and roads and paths reveals what is important to a particular culture. Henry Glassie’s (1982) classic ethnographic account of the people of Ballymenone of Ireland inextricably connects people, their history, and culture to its physical and constructed space. Glassie reminds us that:

Both histories surround people, echoing, screaming from the land they walk daily, demanding that they choose their path and find their way consciously. Inescapably inscribed in the land, history is intrinsic to the idea of place that forces people to be human” (1982:665).

Anthropologist Setha Low (2000) comments that “people are produced by history and places” and a “‘sense of place’ for a social group is “intentionally and completely constructed.” Keith Basso (1996) examines how place names and topographical locations such as boulders, ravines, and clumps of trees became rich narratives for the Western Apache. A social group is unified by the organization of space and especially in a religious setting where space is endowed with sacred characteristics.

Sociologist, Pnina Werbner, describes her ethnographic study of Sufi Muslims in an article, “Stamping the Earth with the Name of Allah: Zikr and the Sacralizing of Space among British Muslims” (1996). This examination explores how transplanted Sufi Muslims inscribe their new homeland with a “new moral and cultural surface” (Webner 1996:309). They sink roots into a new locality by religious procession which offers a “‘text’ conveying messages” of “collective identity” and they sacralize their new land by the presence of holy saints who “stamp the earth” with the Zikr, a sacred dance (Webner 1996). Each of these theories of socially constructed space and sacralization of space is applicable to the research of communal settlements.

Architectural features and Master planning of intentional communities constitutes another avenue for organizing Utopian social structures and reiterating Utopian ideology. Michael Chyutin and Bracha Chyutin (2007) provide an extensive historical look at city design and Utopian visions. They reveal that ancient city planners shaped their cities physically to promote its “own image: perfect, eternal, immutable, ordered.” There have been many ideal geometric city models that “project a geometrical order” and an ideal social order (Chyutin et al. 2007:236). With this historical background, these authors

examine three different models of modern Israeli Utopian experiments: the kibbutz, the cooperative settlement, and the worker's settlement. Each of these orders implants their social visions by varying agricultural and Residential settlement models. Each model is required to realize economic efficiency and conservation of communal social values. Master planning is important to communal experiments that are innovating in a conceptual way a new pattern of living.

A final aspect of material culture that contributes to the Lama Foundation is found in theoretical interpretation of manmade objects and images placed upon those objects. While ritual activity is a unifying event, each member of a group may interpret its meaning according to their own background or perspective. Anthropologist Richard Clemmer Smith (1998), identifies the multiple "communicative possibilities" available in design motifs on ceramic objects. The design or "sign" connects a single individual to a "multiplex enormity of geographical, experiential, and diachronic phenomena" which can be different and related to others at the same time (Clemmer 1998:219). The symbolic meaning of an art object not only reiterates those relationships that are known but explores unknown regions found in myth and religion. The interdependence of art and religion is noted by Annie Dillard (1983) who states that, "Art and religion probe the mysteries in those difficult areas where blurred and powerful symbols are the only possible speech and their arrangement into coherent religions and works of art the only possible grammar." Mircea Eliade also describes symbolic representation of objects as an important avenue for social groups to "break open" a creative interpretation of an "open world" which is rich in meaning (1991:178).

Communal organizations reinforce shared ideologies through all forms of material culture. Intentional communities organize the layout of their communities based on their value systems. Architecture also reflects community values while serving practical functions that facilitate the ease of communal operations such as the organization of labor. Abundant useful and art objects can also communicate powerful unifying messages. Many of these material objects are used in ritual performances that provide daily opportunities for communion.

VI. Performance Studies and Ritual Activity

Ritual activity has many performance components that enhance cohesion in a group. A minor subfield of the social sciences called Performance Studies is helpful in understanding the coalescing effects of these phenomena. Performance Studies contribute to anthropology since the world we live in “is a combination of movement and culmination, of breaks and reunion” and where life experiences are marked by an “aesthetic quality” (Turner 1986:39). Performance Studies examine how knowledge is attained in the “unlettered realm” of human experience and combines the “analytical and artistic ways of knowing” (Conquergood 2002).

The advantages of Performance Studies versus epistemologies centered on verbal and visual meanings are noted by Dwight Conquergood. He states, “The visual/verbal bias of Western regimes of knowledge blinds researchers to meanings that are expressed forcefully through intonation, silence, body tension, arched eyebrows, blank stares, and other protective arts of disguise and secrecy” (2002:146). The difficulty for performance studies as Turner notes is “all human act is impregnated with meaning, and meaning is

hard to measure, though it can often be grasped, even if only fleetingly and ambiguously” (Turner 1986:33). Despite this drawback, many researchers confirm the unifying aspects of social performance. The forms of performance that are meaningful to my case study include: music and chanting, dancing, ritual circling, and meditation.

Statistically, single-faith religious communes have outlived other types of communes. In a multi-faith setting such as the Lama commune, ritual observances must resonate with enough strength to unify members across theological divides. Sacred song is a powerful tool whereby Turnerian *communitas* is garnered. When sacred lyric, expressing mythic belief is comingled with song it contributes to a heightened emotional state. When singers join together, according to Victor Zuckerkandl, their harmonies “remove the barrier between person and thing, and clear the way for what might be called the singers inner participation in that of which he sings” and allows the singer to enter a realm of fused mythic identity (Marini 2003:5). Zukerkandl reveals the cohesion created by song “where distinction and separation give way to authentic togetherness” (Marini 2003:6). Musical chanting includes different elements that foster cohesion in a group. Andrew Welsh researched a vast array of ancient and modern lyrical texts and theorized that several qualities of chanting give additional power to words. He observes, “The goal of the chant is an ambitious one: through the dance, through the social action of the ritual, through the shared knowledge of communal origins, it attempts to create and maintain a rhythm uniting individuals into a community” (Marini 2003:6).

Victor Turner’s concepts of liminality and *communitas* are utilized by Stephen Marini to explicate the social dimensions of sacred song. When an individual enters into

a social arena there is a state of “tension” which Turner would describe as social separation or the “deadening effect of structure” the tension can be mitigated through song (Marini 2003:33). He states that to lessen tension, “Singing alone can relieve it. To overcome it is to enter into liminality. To transform it is to enjoy the anti-structural fruits of *communitas*” (Marini 2003:33). *Communitas* occurs in a realm where the visible world meets the invisible world wrapped around a shared ideology. This process is easily understood in a setting where belief systems are homogenous. The question arises: How does music and song unite individuals with varying belief systems as we find at the Lama commune?

Anthropologist Deborah Kapchan (2008) demonstrates that a process called “sonic translation” in musical performance produces experiences of the sacred for multi-faith audiences. Sonic translation premises that music “translates affect across cultural and linguistic divides” (Kapchan 2008:468). Her research took place in Morocco where the international music festival called the Fes Festival of World Sacred Music was being held. The eclectic mix of music performed ranged from Hasidic songs from Eastern Europe, Gregorian Chants from England, Qawwali music from Pakistan, and Sufi music from Morocco. In this ecumenical setting, a heterogeneous audience connects by the “ultimate translatability of aural (as opposed to textual) codes” which produces a “‘festive sacred,’ a configuration experience of the sacred through heightened attention to auditory and sense-based modes of devotion conceived as ‘universal’” (Kapchan 2008:467).

Communitas that is generated by sonic translation does not excise “particularities of discrete religious traditions” because the “meeting of these traditions is not found in orthodoxy but in aesthetic praxis of sacred sound” (Kapchan 2008:467). Audiences are encouraged to practice “deep listening” where the performers and audience become “co-performers” thereby creating a mutual transcendent experience (Kapchan 2008:475). The purpose of the festival is to create a “cultural memory of humanity” and a universal and fluid transnational notion of the sacred that is in direct opposition to specific and orthodox forms of religious practice (Kapchan 2008:480). Music, chanting, and dancing in my case study is present in almost all forms of ritual activity and these studies reveal the importance of these arts in unifying a heterogeneous membership.

Dance is yet another form of social action that has the intrinsic value of bonding individuals to one another. Drid Williams (2004) acknowledges that even though body movement is prevalent in human lived experience, an intense study of human movement receives little attention in anthropology. In his book, *Anthropology and the Dance*, Williams examines multiple theories of dance including what motivates humans to dance and what is communicated through dance. He proposes that dance does not reflect personal feelings but is “an expression of the choreographer’s and participants’ knowledge of human feelings, ideas, life, and the universe” (Williams 2004:22). Dances consist of groupings of individuals that are known as “society” while the act of dancing creates “human societies” (Williams 2004:99).

Liz Lerman (2008) studied dance in religious settings for over 15 years. She realized that “the rigor of the dance...could deepen the quality of the religious

experience” and that the act of dancing became a two-way blessing for the audience and the participants. Religious dance synthesizes personal narrative with a larger narrative that fuses movement with prayer. Spiritual experience occurs for participants when they discover that “the gesture for their own story supports the telling of some oft-spoken prayer or oft spoken passage” (Lerman 2008:42). Ultimately, ritual performance including: singing, dancing, and chanting provide a bridge “between thought, action, and spirit” and offer a connection between people and ideas (Lerman 2008:43). Dance and movement of all kinds are associated with religious celebration and have the potential to unify members of intentional communities around religious messages.

Utopian communities organize their membership around a central belief system. In order to overcome routinization, maintain *communitas*, and perpetuate over long periods of time, communes must recapitulate their values through several avenues. Community beliefs can be reflected through construction of space, architecture, symbols, and material objects. In addition, ritual performances rehearse community myths and reinstate community beliefs. Long lasting communes must also have an ideological system that can be effectively implemented into social institutions and regularized activities and malleable enough to deal with changing circumstances.

VII. Bennet Berger’s Theory of Ideological Work

Ideology is a central organizing principle in communal organizations. The founding members of any commune establish core values prior to formulation or at the outset of initial establishment. Even anarchic communes have some guiding principles and ideals which are held in common. As members engage in the rigors of daily life,

compromises and adjustments are made on ideology to accommodate circumstances.

Bennet Berger articulates this process as “ideological work.” Ideological work supports cohesion around a shared belief system that is pliable enough to withstand internal and external pressures. According to Berger, there is often a false assumption that doctrine and daily practice will perfectly coincide (Berger 1979:20). There are many pressures that threaten ideology for intentional communities and some of these include: outside pressures, internal disagreement over ideals, crisis situations, and prior socialization of members. When a group’s identity is fused with its ideology, threats to its values endanger the group itself. In order to survive, a group must engage in ideological work, which involves the intellectual exercise of persuasion that ameliorates the discrepancy between philosophy and actual practice (Berger 1979:181). Convictions of a group are relative to circumstances, and as circumstances change pressures mount to alter ideals.

In the ethnographic study of decision making at the Twin Oaks Commune, Julliette Brown uses Bennett’s ideological work to demonstrate how community members realign their ideals of participatory decision-making to parallel actual practice and changing circumstances (1987:34-35). The Lama commune has been faced with natural disaster and the loss of charismatic leadership, both very traumatic events for a small community. One of the research goals of this thesis is to examine how ideological work has ameliorated crisis and adjusted beliefs to coincide with changes in the mainstream culture. Another goal is to examine how ritual observances and the use of material culture reinforce and integrate ideological transformations. The final theoretical framework that will aid my research will be those centered on charisma and alienation.

VIII. Theories of Charisma and Alienation

Theories of charisma have focused on charismatic leadership embodied in an individual, in governing structures, in overarching ideologies, in a combined willingness to be led, or in the ability to influence interpersonal relations (Zablocki 1980). All these forms of charisma are found in communal structures. Max Weber describes charisma in the following manner:

The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities... Charismatic authority is thus specifically outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere. In this respect, it is sharply opposed both to rational, and particularly bureaucratic, authority, and to traditional authority, whether it is patriarchal, patrimonial or any other form (1947:361).

Weber admits that charisma can be transferred from a single individual to another or to another form of bureaucracy (1947:366). Benjamin Zablocki believes that charisma can be found not only in the leadership but within the collective membership as a whole. This type of charisma is found in communal organizations and is defined as: "a collective state resulting from an objective pattern of relationship in a specific collectivity that allows the selves of the participants to be fully or partially absorbed into a collective self" (Zablocki 1980:10). This form of charisma is particularly applicable to Lama in its later stages.

Max Weber delineated very specific qualities of a charismatic leader and the conditions whereby charismatic leadership arises. Charismatic leadership requires "inner determination" and an ability to seize a task and prove worthiness to accomplish a mission (1922:81). A charismatic figure stands outside the obligations of the world and

does not require employment or economic ties to the dominant culture and does not receive authority from the governing structures in place (Weber 1922:82). Charismatic authority arises in times of “distress” or “enthusiasm” and is limited to a specific circle of individuals impacted by these elements and who rally around the leader who they expect will bring relief or a new vision of a new social order (Weber 1922:81). A charismatic leader is in an unstable role and is no longer needed when crisis abates and conditions stabilize. A charismatic leader can also be replaced by the “mechanism of rules” and this occurrence is considered a stage of “routinization of charisma” (Weber 1922:83). With the loss of charisma embodied in a particular leader a community may thrive on the charisma of institutions, ideologies, or as Zablocki purports the “collectivity itself (or some portion of it) is the charismatic factor” (1980:11).

Charisma in Zablocki’s definition is directly connected to the concept of “alienation.” He states, “Charisma overcomes alienation by allowing people to identify their own interest with those of the collectivity to a sufficient degree that consensus can be reached on important collective decisions” (1980:11). Zablocki relies on Melvin Seeman’s characteristics of alienation which include: an individual’s sense of powerlessness, a sense of meaninglessness, a value of isolation, a sense of self-estrangement, and a sense of isolation (1980:8). When an alienated individual joins a commune they enjoy charisma and “feel connected, powerful, and cared for” (Zablocki 1980:194).

The paradox that occurs in communal organizations is achieving balance between individual autonomy and group consensus. An individual can become alienated from the

group when they perceive themselves “outside of the prevailing consensus or if objectively that consensus itself has been lost” (Zablocki 1980:258). When alienation becomes widespread within a community, charisma needs to be renewed or dissolution becomes imminent. Long lived communes require a “reliable and replenishable source of charismatic authority” and without “periodic charismatic renewal” a commune faces instability (Zablocki 1980:354).

The goal of the remaining chapters of this thesis is to integrate the theoretical models that have just been summarized into an effective analysis of all the attributes that contribute to Kanter’s commitment mechanisms as they relate to solidarity and longevity of the Lama commune. This is a diachronic study that compares the strength of commitment mechanisms in Gardner’s study in the early 1970s to the same mechanisms in subsequent decades. Gardner reveals that Counterculture communes have weaker and less prevalent commitment mechanisms than 19th Century communes (1978:228). Lama was unique to a majority of communes of its era with strong commitment mechanisms. I propose that over time the most significant commitment mechanisms, transcendence, mortification, and communion have increased in strength at Lama. The mechanisms of investment and sacrifice have only slightly diminished in strength, while the renunciation mechanism has realized the most significant change.

The renunciation mechanism has been enervated as boundaries at Lama have become porous and the population has become increasingly transient. Lama is following a modern trend of communes more integrated with the mainstream culture. I posit that despite the weakening of this mechanism, there are several positive implications which

buttress Lama in different ways not explained by Kanter. These additional benefits compensate for any implicated weakness.

Additionally, I will use data gathered by my methods to determine if ideological work has constantly been at play since Lama's inception and how it has contributed to its survival. I will examine how charisma has vacillated in strength and form and how it perpetuates "institutional awe" required by the transcendence mechanism. I will reveal how Lama's social structures impact organization of work, economic vitality, and the balance of community and individual needs. Communes with rigid social structures such as Lama are associated with success by Kanter and Gardner.

I further propose that ritual observances at Lama have increased over time to counteract the negative effects of a fluid population and a membership with diverse belief systems. This increased activity intensifies *communitas* and the communion mechanism. I will also examine what role sacralization of architecture, landscape, and objects plays in ritual activities and group solidarity. Finally, I will elucidate how relations with the outside community have remained amicable and have improved over time increasing probability for continued success. In the next chapter I will outline the methods that I have used to pursue this analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODS

Gaining access to intentional communities for research purposes has been problematic for social scientists for many reasons. Many Counterculture communes did not allow researchers access to their communities. For many of these communes, academia was part of the “establishment” from which they were revolting and was antithetical to their belief systems. For instance, in their study of English communes the sociologists and authors of the book *Communes, Sociology, and Society* explained that those members of Counterculture communes “refuse to be defined in terms of the familiar classifications of sociology but they pronounce those classifications useless artifacts of a self-estranged world—positive obstacles to an understanding of the human qualities of the social (Abrams et al. 1976:7). Thus, researchers realized early on that they “were compelled to abandon the use of a great deal of conventional research apparatus—tape recorders, interview schedules, note-taking and certain kind of questioning...in order to maintain the naturalness of our presence” (Abrams et al. 1976:17). In light of these precautions, Abrams and his group of sociologists gained access to 67 communes with a very low key approach and an understanding of these opposing worldviews.

Another sociologist, Karol Borowski, was also met with suspicion when she conducted her fieldwork of the Renaissance Communal Movement in Massachusetts.

She introduced herself to the Movement at first as an individual interested in learning more about alternative ways of life and joined the movement as a participant observer. Later in Borowski's investigation, her informants reached a comfort level where she could use more formal tools of investigation. She records:

After my initial week-long visit (February 15-23, 1973) and several consecutive day-long visits it became obvious that conducting a formal sociological study would be impossible...At the end of March 1974, when leaving Warwick I felt most of the previous objections against formal investigations became less rigid (Borowski 1984:9).

Even after receiving approval to conduct formal interviews, Borowski recognized that members remained suspicious because "many popular publications of sensational character" had "presented a biased and falsified picture of life in communes" (1984:11). For researchers of Counterculture communes, obtaining access is the first goal and then obtaining rapport and trust is required before formal tools of investigation can be used.

I used a staged approach to gain entrance into the Lama community. I was pleasantly surprised at their openness and welcoming attitude. I received permission to visit the commune in the summer of 2008 in the capacity of a summer "Steward" or volunteer. In my first email I informed the person in charge of the volunteer program that I would be conducting research for my Master's Thesis in conjunction with my service and permission was granted by the Steward Coordinator.

Before I arrived in the community I reviewed background, methodological, and theoretical literature. Upon my arrival, participant observation became my central focus and I was aware that building rapport was essential before I could use formal tools of investigation. The Lama commune is not a closed community and is open to visitors on

certain days as well as sponsors retreats in the summer for various groups, so it is adept at orienting new members to their culture and routine. One unpleasant surprise I encountered after my arrival was that the volunteer Coordinator did not inform all the members of the Residents circle (year-round members and leaders of the community) of my research. To rectify this miscommunication, I wrote each of the Residents a letter outlining my purpose and received a consensual decision accepting my research from the entire body two weeks after my arrival.

I was very circumspect on this first trip about note taking and all field notes were recorded during breaks or at the end of the day. Toward the end of the three week period the community was more relaxed about my presence, and I was able to take a notepad with me to some events. There were a couple of individuals that did not warm up to my dual role as an ethnographer and summer Steward, and they avoided conversations with me, but generally the community was very accepting, cooperative, and interested in my research.

During the first visit in the summer of 2008 I was present for the annual meeting for the community. This is a meeting where board members, Residents, and certain levels of membership are invited for a three-day meeting to discuss the status and future of Lama and to vote on new board members. This was very auspicious for my research. Even though I was excluded from most of the business meetings, I was able to meet many Residents and friends of Lama from its very early days. I met Asha Greer (formerly Barbara Durkee), one of the original founders of Lama and her brother, Siddiq (Hans Von Briesen) who were two informants who proved to be extremely valuable in

my research. I had conversations with many of the attendees and gained diverse perspectives from them.

The most serendipitous occurrence at the annual meeting was an introduction to Ammi Kohn, a trained oral historian who had spent the past five years recording oral histories of Lama's leadership and membership from various periods of its history. Our encounter was brief but after several contacts via phone and email, we both realized that we could benefit by collaborating with each other. Kohn recognized that my research could contribute to a future book on the history of Lama, and I would benefit from having access to the oral histories and other rich historical resources in his possession. This mutual association has greatly contributed to accessing the history of Lama and benefits a diachronic approach to my research.

During the winter months there is limited access to Lama, so my next opportunity for field research came in the summer and fall of 2009. In the summer, I was able to conduct informal interviews and continued participant observation. The difficulty with the summer visits was the limited amount of time available for interviews. As a result, I scheduled a fall visit to conduct twelve formal, audio-taped interviews.

I selected a broad spectrum of individuals for in-depth interviews. They had diverse interactions with Lama and this eclectic group contributes to an expansive perspective of the community. My first interview was with Ammi Kohn, who gave me an overall picture of the community from a historical perspective. I interviewed two current volunteer Stewards, one of which was volunteering for a second straight summer and the other was an apprentice in Lama's permaculture program. I gained an outsider's

perspective from a woman who currently lives in Taos and visits Lama for Shabbat and Zikr services and volunteers at Lama for special occasions. Another outsider I interviewed is a neighbor and Resident of the town of Lama in close proximity to the Lama Foundation who frequently visits and volunteers at Lama and was a former resident of the defunct Magic Tortoise Commune also adjacent to Lama. Another interviewee was an older Steward who was interested in becoming a Resident in the upcoming winter months. I interviewed another Steward who was vying for residency in the winter with her male partner. I was especially honored to speak with Iris Keltz, author of the book, *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie*, who frequently visited Lama in the early 1970s as a Resident of the nearby New Buffalo commune and still has ties to the Lama Commune. Steve Fox, Resident professor of a Taos satellite location of the University of New Mexico and author of several articles on alternative spiritual and healing communities in northern New Mexico, covered a wide range of topics related to Lama's placement within a wider context of the Counterculture in New Mexico. I also interviewed two Residents that served the community over the past year, one that was leaving and one that was staying. Finally, I interviewed one board member, Lama's bookkeeper, and two inhabitants of Santa Fe that have ongoing connections with Lama. This diverse set of individuals offers perspectives from many vantage points that present a more holistic discussion of the community. I have utilized 49 transcriptions from oral histories from the Lama Foundation Oral History Library (I will use pseudonyms for all the oral histories except for the founders, early teachers, and consultants whose identities are well

publicized and known in relation to the Lama community). In addition, I have obtained historical data provided in a script for an oral history reading written by Ammi Kohn.

Since community scheduling did not allow for as many interviews as I had hoped, I asked for permission to offer a survey for attendees at the 2009 summer's annual meeting. The slow process of consensual decision making delayed their answer until two days before the meeting. I did not receive permission to pass the surveys out and was only able to put the surveys in a box on a table for members to voluntarily retrieve. I was hoping to get out at least 150 surveys but this didn't happen and the resulting number of respondents was only 21. The survey is included as Appendix A of this thesis.

The Lama Foundation has a library on its premises that also offers additional resources for my analysis. There are several guest books that have entries from members and visitors of Lama who stayed for various lengths of time in their hermitages. There are also records of By-Laws, Master plans, yearly newsletters, and retreat information that contribute to a historical approach of my analysis. Other resources include an ethnographic study conducted in the very early stages of Lama's history and are recorded as an Anthropology Paper written by Sylvia Rodriguez (1969) while she was attending Barnard College. In addition, there have been many other researchers that have recorded their impressions of their visits to the Lama Foundation during different time periods. One of the former Residents of Lama, Ahad Cobb, published a book in 2008 called *Early Lama Foundation* containing photographs and an abbreviated history of Lama in its early days. The combination of participant observation, informal and formal interviews, the benefit of key informants, a vast array of historical data, and other scholarly works

examining Lama in its early days supplies a wealth of data from which to analyze the community's successful perpetuation over several decades.

I. Methodological Concerns

There are limitations to the usefulness of some the methods used in this study. The survey I conducted asked mostly open-ended questions, which contributes to a qualitative understanding, while only a few of the questions are quantifiable. The methodological problem with the survey is the limited scope of membership it reached. Even though the survey was anonymous, I became aware of most of the individuals that responded who tended to be individuals that were highly involved in the work of the community and more committed to its success than those that did not take the survey. As a result, the survey results are skewed in favor of those who are more committed and it omits the sector of the community that might be dissatisfied or less committed. Nonetheless, the survey offers additional perspectives on the community and supplies additional demographic data.

I created a history of Lama based on the memories of individuals who are recollecting events long after they have occurred. There have been several instances where accounts given to me contradict each other. In these cases, I have used multiple sources to corroborate what really happened. Jerome Bruner notes the limitations of narrative construction:

...we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative—stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing and so on. Narrative is a conventional form, transmitted culturally and constrained by each individual's level of Mastery and by his conglomerate of prosthetic devices, colleagues, and mentors. Unlike the constructions generated

by logical and scientific procedures that can be weeded out by falsification, narrative constructions can only achieve “verisimilitude.” Narratives then are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and “narrative necessity” rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness... (Bruner 1991:4).

Despite its shortcomings, historical narrative is useful in providing meaning to events. For White, “historical narrative” tests “the capacity of a culture’s fictions to endow real events with the kinds of meaning that literature displays” (Joyce 2002:14). Narrative becomes a process of knowing and allows people the opportunity to shape their beliefs based on their prior knowledge base and experience. In addition, “Narratives may expand or add to a stock of knowledge, or they may interpret new information for incorporation into a body of knowledge by showing how and where it fits” (McGuire 1990). One form of narrative that I used came in the form of oral histories gathered by another researcher. Even though the line of questioning from the original interviewer was different than my own, the resulting transcripts provide particularly useful data that supplement my own interviews.

Alexander Freund (2009) discusses the deficiencies as well as the contribution oral histories offer to researchers in an article entitled “Oral History as Process Generated Data.” He explains how social scientists can use data from oral histories systematically and effectively while at the same time taking into account the problematic aspects of using oral history as evidence. To make the best use of oral histories he suggests that oral histories should not be used as “sources to be mined for facts (data), but rather as complex social constructs that are inherently subjective and thus offer multiple layer of meaning” (Freund 2009:23). The oral histories I used gave voice to many participants I

was never able to meet. I realize that the data retrieved in oral histories can be influenced by the interview itself.

The inherent problem in the interview process is that interviewers cannot possibly be “detached, objective, and uninvolved and thus without influence on the interview” and as a result an interviewee will unavoidably answer questions in some degree to please the interviewer (Freund 2009:31). Ammi Kohn relayed to me that his methodological concern in the interviews he conducted for Lama was the reticence of many interviewees to reveal anything that might denigrate their beloved community or other members. In avoiding difficult issues or possible problems, the oral histories paint an incomplete picture. To overcome this deficit, it is imperative to cross-check other sources to corroborate evidence. Despite their liabilities, oral histories are a rich resource for researchers.

The final methodological concern is that there is a paucity of current research on communal organizations. There was a period of intense interest in studying Counterculture communes in the 1970s when there was a plethora of news coverage and media attention spotlighting communes. In the past two decades, research on communes has been sparse, thus limiting my comparative approach to present day communal experiments. My research will hopefully contribute to a greater understanding of the evolution of communal structures in the present context.

Part Two

Factors Contributing to Solidarity and Longevity

All communal experiments face adversity and challenges as they translate Utopian ideals into every day practice. In a social order that is voluntarily created and self- chosen as an alternative to the dominant social order, Utopia is held together by commitment rather than coercion (Kanter 1972:1). Intentional communities are bound

together by individuals that have congruent interests and a willingness to conform to community regulations. Commitment is greatly enhanced when there is a strong set of beliefs that individuals can coalesce around. In addition, a well-defined ideological system provides meaning and direction for a communal organization. Counterculture communes typically had weak commitment from individual members because they had undefined social structures, limited behavioral boundaries, and generally lacked a central value system. In contrast, the Lama Foundation was formulated with well-defined regulations and strong social structures. These structures facilitate the organization of work and provide daily opportunities for communion. The Lama commune has a distinct ideological system and organizes communal ritual practices to reinforce these values. These attributes are all related to Kanter's commitment mechanisms which ultimately contribute to the success of Lama as a modern Utopian experiment.

The chapters in Part Two allow for a closer examination of how many specific features of the Lama Commune have generated social solidarity and long-term survival. Lama is similar to successful communes of prior generations that have built strong commitment through the investment and sacrifice of members who join the community; through renunciation, which severs ties to outside relationships, thus building a strong family feeling within the community; through mortification providing new identities for the latest members; through communion which makes available ritual activities and multiple opportunities to gather as one united body; and through transcendence which gives the community a higher sense of purpose (Kanter 1972:126). All of these attributes

reinforce individual commitment and support the entire community even in adverse circumstances.

There are specific features at the Lama Foundation that contribute to each commitment mechanism and some of these features have been improved or strengthened over the course of its existence. Charismatic leadership, ideological work and governing structures at Lama contribute to transcendence and communion. Strong social structures favor a viable economic system and are also an important component to Lama's success. Ritual activities and sacralization of objects, buildings, and land at Lama also contribute to the communion mechanism. In addition, these activities enable the community to coalesce around overarching ideologies thus overcoming possible breaches in a setting of religious diversity. Ritual activity has increased in frequency and has become more important in modern times as the population of Lama has become more transient. Conflict resolution is important in mitigating interpersonal conflicts in the close quarters of communes. Lama has created several conflict management techniques that have become more sophisticated and these prosper the mortification mechanism. Positive relations with the neighboring community are another factor that has improved with successive years.

In its history, Lama has experienced a weakening of only one aspect of the commitment mechanisms. This change has come as a result of softening boundaries which debilitates the renunciation mechanism. According to Kanter, cross border control is important in maintaining the renunciation mechanism and maintaining individual commitment. But Lama has slowly transformed itself and its purpose as a community

solely created as a monastic center for members only into a spiritual university that is open to the outside. Instead of becoming a drawback, porous borders has become a boon for the community in several propitious ways that will be discussed in detail later in the chapter on Outside Relations and Boundary Maintenance.

Lama is not alone in its success, and attributes of success are shared by many other intentional communities. As each attribute at Lama is discussed, I will draw upon other examples of successful communes that contain similar features. In the ensuing discussion, I will also draw on other case studies of communes that met an early failure and relate their demise to the components that were weak or missing. I now turn to Kanter to discuss how her important theoretical framework relates to the Lama Foundation.

CHAPTER SIX: COMMITMENT MECHANISMS

Scholars suggest that communal experiments with a prevalence of commitment mechanisms are more successful than those communities that have fewer or weaker commitment mechanisms. It is my argument that the appearance of commitment mechanisms at Lama over the course of its history has had a positive influence on its longevity. I propose that all of these mechanisms have strengthened over time except for some aspects of sacrifice, investment, and renunciation. There are several positive implications to these changes. A quick review of the characteristics of these mechanisms will be given before I embark on an analysis of commitment mechanisms in the community since Gardner's study of Lama in the 1970s.

Kanter outlined three major aspects of a social system that involves commitment: retention of members, group cohesiveness, and social control. Communes that achieve longevity develop commitment building processes called commitment mechanisms. Hugh Gardner visited the Lama Foundation in 1970 and in 1973 as well as 12 other rural communes in the Western United States. He examined each community for evidence of the six commitment mechanisms outlined by Kanter. He found that Lama had the highest number of commitment mechanisms on both visits with the Ananda and Maharaj Ashram communes as "runners-up" because they were also "highly disciplined, religious communities" (Gardner 1978:79). Gardner recognized that while "Lama was easily the

most structurally organized community in this study, it was still far from being a rigid monolith across the board, as the selectivity in its use of commitment mechanisms indicates” (Gardner 1978:79).

I. Sacrifice Commitment Mechanism

Sacrifice as a mechanism of commitment refers to individual members giving up something of value to be part of a community. Gardner lists several categories that contribute to this mechanism and these include austerity and sexual and oral abstinence. Under the category of austerity he identifies: building your own buildings, types of utilities available, harshness of winters, and the need for food stamps. Under oral abstinence he includes the presence or absence of alcohol, tobacco, coffee, meat, and drug use. He found that Lama had the highest incidence of sexual abstinence. Lama also prohibited drugs, tobacco, and drugs. While the Maharaj and Ananda completely prohibited coffee and meat, Lama frowned upon its use. Lama was also “more liberal in placing no unusual value on sexual continence apart from individual choice” (Gardner 1978:80). In the category of austerity Lama was average in comparison to the other communes. Winters were difficult at close to 9,000 feet elevation, but the physical facilities and utilities were far better than other communes in his study. Gardner notes that austerity was practiced from time to time as when Ram Dass had the community observe intensive practices in the experimental ashram. Sacrifice is an important aspect in individual commitment at Lama, but compared to the other two religious communes of Gardner’s study was not as austere.

Commitment mechanisms at Lama such as sacrifice have changed over time. I will use the policy on drugs and alcohol use as an example of this alteration in the sacrifice mechanism. The policy was relaxed and tightened up again several times over the course of its existence. Early on, Lama strictly regulated drug and alcohol use. For Hakim, Lama influenced him to quit his drug use and he recognized that “One of the gifts of Lama to me is that I don’t smoke” (Oral History Transcript 2006:10). Later on the “no drug policy” was relaxed. Author, Robert Greenfield (1975) visited Lama and wrote about his experience in a 1975 edition of *Saturday Review Press*. He portrayed the changes in the community in the absence of the personalities of the original founding members. He writes:

Trungpa Rinpoche’s visit during the winter of 1973 and a week-long sashin (intensive day-long meditations) conducted by Zen Master Suzaki-roshi during that fall materially changed Lama’s focus. Rules that had been followed for years were relaxed. A cup of coffee became possible after a meal, as did a cigarette. A bottle of wine stuck away in one’s A-frame for marking special occasions was no sin. Although no one walked around smoking grass, dope was no longer the great taboo it had once been. An all night peyote meeting of the local Native American Church was held on the land. (Greenfield 1975:255).

One member, Trace recalls that even though the community had a “No Drugs” sign posted on the entrance of the commune there was still limited use of drugs. He admits that “drugs were never a big scene there” (Trace Oral History Transcript 2007:11). The pendulum has swung back and forth regarding the enforcement of this policy, but the policy itself has never been abandoned.

My observations of Lama in 2008 were that the community has returned to a stricter enforcement of its no drug and alcohol policy. A handout was mailed to me

before my arrival entitled “Lama Foundation: Guidelines and Community Life” which clearly delineated their drug and alcohol policy, “Possession and use of any illegal substance is prohibited. Public consumption and /or intoxication of any kind on Lama land are also prohibited” (2008:6). The only time I witnessed any evidence of alcohol was after a wedding celebration in 2009. If there was any use of any kinds of drugs, it was not done openly. The sacrifice mechanism in regards to alcohol and drugs use is now as stringent as it was in its earliest years.

Sacrifice is also currently experienced by other forms of austerity such as a vegetarian diet, primitive facilities such as outhouses, and limited use of electricity. The winters are still very harsh and the current Coordinator told me on my last visit that it took her and her husband almost an hour to trudge through the snow to arrive at the community center from their private residence. Even though the community has many improved residences, I ascertain that the sacrifice mechanism still remains strong with little change overall compared to the early 1970s.

II. Investment Commitment Mechanism

The second commitment mechanism of investment proposes that an individual will be more committed to their commune if they have ownership and an irreversible stake in the future of the community. Gardner includes the subcategories of physical participation, financial investment, and irreversibility of investment in his study of Counterculture communes. Physical participation includes building your own shelter. Financial investment includes the contribution of a fee for admission, property signed over at admission or as a member, and turning over income while a member.

Irreversibility of investment includes no records of contribution and defectors not reimbursed for monetary or property contributions. He concludes from his study that Lama scored only average on the investment mechanism compared to the other communes of his study. At first, new members at Lama were required to build and pay for their own structure when they came into the community but that requirement was dropped and at the time of his study “The only strict financial requirement was payment of a monthly share of Lama’s expenses...which were closely budgeted and in the summer of 1970 assessed at the rate of \$60.00 per member” (Gardner 1978:80). He also observed that there was no difficulty in entering or exiting the community from a financial perspective. The greatest investment at Lama during Gardner’s study was the investment of time and work involved in obtaining membership. A prospective member had to work in the community for a minimum of six months before he or she could be considered for permanent residency, and when admitted, the new member had to offer another year of service to the community before considered as a “caretaker’...In sum, the requirements totaled the equivalent of a two-year probation period” (Gardner 1978:81).

The mechanism of investment has changed but not significantly over its history. Currently requirements for prospective full-time Residents are less demanding. The Lama Foundation Summer Stewardship Fact Sheet outlines the requirements for those considering full-time residency:

Full-time residency at Lama Foundation is a one-year commitment from October through the end of the next year’s summer program. Individuals who are considering year-round residence are encouraged to come on Opening Day, or as close to that as possible, and to stay for the duration of the summer. If that is not possible, we ask that you arrive no later than August 1. Winter housing order is

determined by the date of arrival. In addition to two regular days off per week, you receive six days of vacation (If you arrive on Opening Day, or a pro-rated amount determined by your arrival date) to be taken before Closing Day/September (2007:3).

The requirements for hours of work are considerably less than during the formative years.

The same fact sheet states that “Every member of the community contributes 30 hours of service (seva) per week and participates in regular community meetings” (2007:2).

Tuition has been consistently required and is currently \$15-\$25 per day or \$325-\$650 a month on a sliding scale based on ability to pay. Tuition is not refundable to any person when they leave. Year-round Resident are currently offered more benefits for their service to the community. The Lama website states that “Room and board, a living stipend, medical stipend, and special winter curriculum are offered to each Resident” (Lama Website 2/27/2008). Irretrievable investment of personal property or income has never been required of members. The added benefits offered to Residents and relaxed requirements for work and time commitment has slightly vitiated the strength of the investment mechanism since Gardner’s research. The impact of this change is negligible because the investment mechanism is not as highly associated with success in Kanter’s study as other commitment mechanisms such as communion and transcendence.

III. Renunciation Commitment Mechanism

Lama has experienced changes in the renunciation mechanism with beneficial ramifications. Renunciation is the process where individuals forego relationships outside the community and avoid exclusive relationships within the community to foster group cohesion. Lama had the second highest score in the renunciation mechanism behind the

religious community of Ananda in Gardner's study. Gardner included the following categories in scoring communities for renunciation: insulation from neighbors and the media, cross-boundary control including visitation rules, and the screening of new members. Lama scored high because of their intensive screening process of new members which began with a written application, participation in the community, and invitation to remain only by unanimous approval. Gardner observed that Lama was the most rigorous in their screening of new members, and Lama benefited from high quality members because of its desirability. He noted that:

requirements of Lama's detailed screening process included evidence of practical skills, a spiritual orientation of demonstrable sincerity (though not of any particular ideology or faith), reading a list of books covering Lama's various ecumenical bases, and taking ceremonial oaths of acceptance and responsibility (Gardner 1978:81).

Boundaries were well maintained for several reasons. Lama had rigid regulations monitoring cross-boundary control. They usually only allowed visitors on Sundays and members did not travel outside of the community with much frequency (an average of one trip outside per week). The physical distance of Lama to other communities was also conducive to strong boundaries. The nearest neighbor to Lama is approximately a mile and the nearest major town is over 20 miles away (Gardner 1978:82). The community at this time was cut off from television, radio, newspapers, and telephones.

Over the decades, the strength of the renunciation mechanism has weakened more than any other mechanism. The community is still physically isolated, but it is now much more connected to the outside world. Lama members and guests are allowed to use the Internet and phones. Cell phones are not used in Lama Central but can be used in private

areas. The community has an on-site office with telephones, fax machines, and computers. These technological innovations have been necessary adaptations for the community in a world that is much more connected. The boundaries have also become more porous because most members have their own personal vehicles and trips in and out of the community are more frequent. While I was visiting the community, family members of current Stewards and Residents came for long visits, which strengthened bonds with others outside the community. A detailed discussion of the benefits of porous borders will come later on in the chapter on outside relations and boundary maintenance. Overall, renunciation has waned over time because of increased transiency and connections with the outside world.

IV. Communion Commitment Mechanism

Lama has strengthened the communion mechanism over time and this has benefited its perpetuation. This improvement strengthened Lama because the communion and transcendence mechanisms are the most related with success of all of Kanter's commitment mechanisms. Gardner already scored Lama higher than any other group for the communion mechanism and this has only improved over the decades. Kanter's communion emphasizes affective relationships in the community which are enhanced by cooperative work, homogeneity, equality in membership and economic relationships, fellowship, ritual activity, and defensive posturing of the community against outside persecution. Gardner's variables under communion included homogeneity, communal sharing, communal labor, communal dwellings and dining, inviolable private places, percentage of day spent with others, fixed daily routine, group

meetings, ritual activities, community persecution experiences, and perceived economic persecution.

Lama was the “most tightly organized community to be found in the Counterculture” (Gardner 1978:83). It scored high on communal sharing and even higher on communal labor. Lama organized its labor by having a rotating manager called the “Hawk” that oversaw and managed all work related tasks. Each person was committed to volunteer on a sign-up sheet for services to the community. Another job was that of “Janitor” that rotated on a daily basis and this person kept the community on schedule by ringing the gongs for specified activities. There were also other caretakers called Masters that supervised other departments as well.

Lama scored high on regularized group contact with a rigid daily schedule, regular meetings, and scheduled ritual activities. Dining was communally observed three times a day and group meetings were two times a week. Group meditation was always held in the morning and sometimes in the evenings as well. Gardner reports that the community spent 75% of their day in contact with each other. The community counterbalanced the need for privacy by offering silent retreats and required times of silence. Communion was internally generated and did not receive a high score for external persecution.

The community continues to benefit from a strong presence of communion, and it has been an essential component to its survival in a modern setting where there is increased contact with the outside world. Lama still has a rigid schedule and a labor system that is very detailed and structured. The names of the positions have changed but

the work is essentially the same. Group contact is still a very high percentage of the time spent at Lama and Residents have even more meetings to attend than in former times. There are more ritual activities and events to attend than in the first few years and these include weekly trips to the Hanuman Temple in Taos for Hindu worship and new ceremonies such as African drumming and the Tea Ceremony. The relations with the outside community are still friendly and there is more outside support than in former times. In the past two decades, the population at Lama fluctuates to such a degree that it presents difficulties in achieving group solidarity. Lama has answered this challenge by strengthening the communion mechanism with more frequent ritual activities, circling opportunities, and other events that allow members to connect on intimate levels.

V. Mortification Commitment Mechanism

The Lama Commune has consistently benefited from the mortification mechanism and over time it has increased in strength with the introduction of conflict management techniques. Mortification is a mechanism that allows the former identity of an individual to be relinquished and alters the former separate private egos so that they can be fused into a collective consciousness. The variables delineated by Gardner for this mechanism are mutual criticism, encounter groups, informal encounters, spiritual differentiation, formal instruction, and formal probationary period for new members. Gardner observed that mutual criticism was utilized as a tool in the early days of Lama and later abandoned as “needlessly debilitating and fruitless” (1978:86). The responsibility of self improvement and self-criticism was thereafter transferred to the individual. The screening process at Lama increased the likelihood that new members

inherently agreed with communal values. Individuals sought an experience at Lama that raised self-awareness in relation to the community which fostered an abandonment of self in favor of the group.

Mortification was not as strong as other religious communities in spiritual instruction, but there were certain protocols that were taught to new members. Differentiation between members was apparent between novice members and more seasoned participants and between those who zealously attained a higher spiritual plane than those who were not as attuned. Spiritual hierarchies at Lama “were reinforced by practices like lengthy probation periods, formal instruction in community doctrines, and initiation into the highly important ceremonial aspects of community life” (Gardner 1978:87). The stratification of members was not as prevalent in other community structures. Leaders were not addressed with any honorific terms and all members had an equal opportunity to speak in community meetings. Gardner gave the highest score of mortification to the Lama commune out of the 13 communes in his research.

I observed no substantial change in the commitment mechanism of mortification except for improvements in processes for conflict resolution. The screening process to come to Lama is still rigorous. I noted that there was a differentiation between newcomers and old timers. When Asha Greer was present in the community, there was special deference paid to her and her wisdom and counsel was heeded even by seasoned members. I observed the same respect and honor attributed to outside teachers as Hugh Gardner did three decades earlier. He recognized that the visiting spiritual teachers “rested atop a moral hierarchy of selfless service and spiritual purification” (Gardner

1978:87). New innovations such as the “Heart Club,” “Gender Lodges,” and daily “Tuning” offer members a chance to express their individual heartfelt emotions and concerns and have increased the community’s ability to handle interpersonal conflicts. The purpose of the Heart Club is to transcend from purely egotistic energy to communal energy. One of the most central goals of Lama still revolves around losing oneself in the primacy of the group.

VI. Transcendence Commitment Mechanism

The commitment mechanism of “transcendence” was strong at Lama, but not as strong as the other two religious communes in Gardner’s analysis. Transcendence is generated when an individual feels that there is a moral “rightness, certainty, and conviction” in belonging to the community and a “felt connection” of “institutional awe” that influences a submission to the supremacy of social institutions, shared ideology, or charismatic leadership (Kanter 1972:114). The variables Gardner uses for this mechanism are institutional awe, programming, and ideological conversion. The subcategories under institutional awe are ideology explained ideology and a complete and elaborate system with magical powers imputed to certain members or to the community. Also, ideology related to great teachers or figures in the past, hierarchy, and special leadership privileges and prerogatives. Programming relates to a fixed daily routine and a detailed specification of that routine. Ideological conversion has the subcategories of commitment to ideology as a requirement, recruits expected to take vows, procedures for choosing new members, and traditions.

Gardner found that the religious communities in his study had a significantly higher degree of institutional development that strengthened membership loyalties than their anarchic or secular counterparts. He records that Lama “had elaborate and precise ideologies governing daily life, a reputation for magical people and events, and a powerful mystique about them to awe the newcomer” (Gardner 1978:87). He also noted that Lama was different than other religious communities in that they did not recognize any particular person as a religious authority and they allowed for individual ideological pursuit with no single theology representing the community. His observations were similar to my own that there were overarching ideologies that tied the community together. He refers to a quote offered by Barbara Durkee in an interview with Houriet where she states, “We have a basic core belief in God—Christ, Meher Baba, the Buddha, Mohammed—and in the transitory, illusive nature of life: the fact that you can work only on yourself, no one can do it for you; and that there is no meaningful goal other than enlightenment” (Gardner 1978:87).

The governing structures of Lama at the time of Gardner’s study did not allow for authority to rest in any single individual. The Resident body made up of what they called at the time “The Caretakers” and currently “Guardians” were the ultimate decision makers but they attempted to include the voice of the entire community. Gardner records that at that time the Caretakers had to take yearly vows to be renewed in their position and these positions were often rotated. He also scored Lama high on other transcendence factors such as “programming” and “ideological conversion.” The secular communes in his study scored poorly in these categories because “programming, power, and authority

were obnoxious to them” (Gardner 1978:88). Lama was an anomaly in that it had a spiritual hierarchy but also was as egalitarian as anarchic communes and had much more equality than religious communes. Gardner proposes that even though all decisions at Lama were made in open business meetings by consensual voting, there was still an influential minority that influenced important long-term decisions and their authority was tacitly recognized as legitimate. He found that Lama was completely “unique in its combination of rigorous religious discipline, elite management, democratic participation, and rational-legal administration” (Gardner 1978:89).

I have found that the same social structures currently in place at Lama have varied only slightly since the 1970s. Transcendence mechanism overall has increased over time due to a longer tradition, myth creation, early spiritual leaders and founders placed on a higher spiritual pedestal, sacralization of land and buildings, and a more elaborate schedule for ritual activities. I noticed a stratification of membership with long time members, “lama beans,” holding more clout than new members. Stewards, as temporary volunteers, were on the low end of the stratum and the Coordinator was the most prominent position. I concur with Gardner that transcendence is still a very strong commitment mechanisms at Lama.

The Lama Foundation has endured longer than any of the other communes in Gardner’s study with the exception of Ananda, another spiritual community. By using the same criteria as Gardner and my own observations along with historical records and oral history interviews, I observe that mortification, communion, and transcendence mechanisms are more vigorous than in the 1970s. Lama did not score particularly high

on investment and sacrifice in the earlier study and these mechanisms have been weakened in some areas. The most dramatic changes have occurred in the renunciation mechanism. This mechanism has been weakened due to porous borders transient membership, and increased connections with the outside world. Weakened boundaries have facilitated other positive attributes that will be discussed in the section on boundary maintenance.

The remaining chapters will offer more insight into how these mechanisms have benefited Lama's perpetuation. Other theoretical frameworks discussed previously in my Literature Review chapter will also be woven into the foregoing analysis. The following sections on "charisma," "governance and social structures," and "conflict management" provide a more detailed orientation on how these institutions benefit longevity and are associated with commitment mechanisms of communion, transcendence, and mortification. The discussions on "ritual activity" and "sacralization of space" expresses how ritual activity reinforces the communion mechanism and at the same time Turner's concepts of liminality and *communitas*. The effects of ritual activity extend beyond ritual celebrations and into more mundane activities, thus strengthening unity at all times. Ritual activity also reinforces community ideology and a shared belief system is an essential characteristic in successful communes. Ideological work as presented by Bennet Berger has allowed Lama to adapt its representations of ideology to new circumstances which has been critical to its survival of crisis and has allowed it to adapt to a changing outside environment. Other characteristics that have been contributive to Lama's perpetuation have been innovated in the recent past and include mandated

transiency, a growing outside circle of support, and a closer alignment and connection with the mainstream. Lama has survived because it has honored traditions that have made it successful in the past while adapting to modern exigencies.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CHARISMA

Charisma is an important aspect of communal success. Members of a commune voluntarily commit to a newly formed communal organization because they recognize the legitimacy of the charismatic leader, the social institutions, or the ideological framework which binds the communal organization together. Starting an intentional community is fraught with challenges and is one of the most difficult phases in the life of a community. Strong, charismatic leadership communicates a new world vision and adherents become committed when they are following an individual or individuals they believe can bring to fruition this new vision. Max Weber demonstrated that charismatic leaders are “endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (1947: 358). Often charismatic leadership is found in a core group of founders or even “latecomers who have proved exceptionally devoted to the spirit of the commune” (Abrams et al. 1976:38). Charisma can be transferred to other individuals through, heredity, appointment, revelation, ritual performances, or through other means as long as this process is legitimized by the membership (Weber 1947:364).

Once a community becomes established and routinization settles in, charisma can be diminished leading to eventual or rapid dissolution. A loss of individual charismatic leaders can mark the end of a commune unless provisions are in place for transferring charisma to another leader, institution, or shared ideology. A commune has a life-cycle

where charisma and communal bonds can vacillate in strength. Long-lived communes tend to have more consistent levels of solidarity that are strengthened by a “mission or a strong system of belief that orders and gives meaning to communal life and permits the establishment of the kinds of social arrangements that build commitment” (Kanter 1973:493). This form of charisma comes from a “sense of group identity” where the members want to function together in a world where all social interactions take place within the group (Abrams et al. 1976:38). This corresponds with Zablocki’s definition of charisma that allows “people to identify their own interest with those of the collectivity to a sufficient degree that consensus can be reached on important collective decisions” (Zablocki 1980:11). This type of charisma is strengthened by social institutions and ritual activity that individuals freely adopt.

There are several 19th Century communes that were all formed by individual charismatic leaders with varying success that can be compared with the charismatic leaders that started the Lama Foundation. The first example was the Harmony Society where a single charismatic leader did not have a good succession plan and the next generation of leadership lost legitimacy. The Harmony Society started as a separatist religious sect that escaped persecution in Germany and immigrated to America. George Rapp was their charismatic leader that rejected the rituals of the Lutheran church (Oved 1988:70).

George Rapp was preceded in death by his son Frederick who had been in charge of economic relations with the outside. George took over these responsibilities and formulated a council of twelve elders to advise and help with these responsibilities. After

Rapp's passing in 1847 the structure of leadership was altered providing for most of the power to rest in the hands of two trustees. Economic strategies were altered allowing economic activity to be relocated outside the community and hired labor was used in these new enterprises. The leadership altered its values and allowed non-religious members to join. The community slowly disintegrated in the 1890s due to secession and new leadership that mismanaged communal funds (Oved 1988:80).

This communal experiment affirms that charismatic leadership held by one individual ceases in that person's absence unless the community identity can effectively be transmitted to the ensuing power structures or to the community itself. Even though the commune had an original charter, these values were obviated for different values important to new leadership which centered on economic success. There were no regulations in place to prevent new leadership from altering the purpose of the commune. Yaacov Oved's relates that "Those members that had not established any rules for utilizing their property for communal or religious purposes caused their property to fall into the unscrupulous hands of one who spent it on aims far removed from those of Rapp and his followers" (1988:80). Oved is referring to the last leader that spent communal funds to advance his own musical career.

Charismatic influence can also deteriorate when the charismatic leader loses legitimacy. Etienne Cabet was one such leader that lost the confidence of the membership of the Icarian commune. The Icarians were immigrants from France that traveled to America in the late 1840's. They built a community based on socialist economic principles in Nauvoo, Illinois. When the community was first formulated all

members agreed to community principles and Cabet set up a democratic system to manage community affairs; but when he realized democracy allowed for deviancy from certain principles, he changed the affairs of the leadership and became more authoritarian (Oved 1988:199). Cabet proposed constitutional changes that favored his rule and engaged in an ideological campaign that promoted these moves. The result of an ensuing internal struggle was that Cabet was forced to leave in 1956 with 180 followers (Oved 1988:201). This historical example demonstrates that when a charismatic leader makes mistakes and sabotages principles he or she has established, followers break ranks and charisma falters.

One of the most successful communal experiments on the American Continent was that of the Shaker communities. The transfer of charisma from leader to leader was fairly seamless because the membership approved of each new leader and the communal ideologies were quickly institutionalized creating stability. Ann Lee was a charismatic leader who received acclaim for her miraculous spiritual manifestations and was regarded as a Messiah. The doctrines the Shaker's espoused were celibacy, modesty, purity, and rejection of materialism and these values were practiced in communal settings (Oved 1988:42). When Ann Lee died in 1784, the community rallied around the next leader James Whittaker who organized the group into a more formalized religious sect. Each subsequent leader received their authority as a "divine gift" and there was a spiritual hierarchy established with different levels or orders of membership (Oved 1988:45). Charisma was not diminished in this transfer. The Shaker's did decline in the twentieth century due to receding membership and loss of ideological legitimacy in a changing

outside world. The Lama Foundation was also started by charismatic leadership as in all three of the examples mentioned here.

The Lama Foundation was started by three founders, two of which have been especially noted for charismatic qualities. Because these leaders took separate ideological paths later in the life of the community, a schism was created that almost destroyed the community. The majority of the membership rescued the community during this crisis by coalescing around the founding principles and By-Laws that were created by the founders. These unifying principles allowed the community to continue even after the departure of the founders. Two of the founders have remained in contact with the community and frequently visit the community providing continued charismatic influence. Another source of charismatic influence has come from charismatic teachers and gurus who stayed at Lama to conduct retreats in the summer months. Their visits began early in Lama's history and their influence has remained even in their absence.

Steve and Barbara Durkee, were two of the three founders of Lama. They were creative pioneers in the art scene in New York City and developed a vision for a new society, "a spiritual dude ranch" where higher awareness of consciousness could be developed (Keltz 2000:128). They recognized the failures of the current dominant culture and persuaded many friends and acquaintances (up to 250 people) to join them in the pursuit to create a better world (Keltz 2000:129). They were perfect models for Max Weber's description of charismatic leaders. They both had "inner determination" and an ability to seize the task at hand and both proved their worthiness to accomplish a mission (Weber 1922:81). They wanted to develop a new community in New Mexico that would

be “like a great ship that would take us to peace and happiness forever” (Keltz 2000:128). They not only had the vision, but took all the practical steps of consulting with experts, finding and purchasing the land, and inviting new members to join them to build the first structures. They both did not require employment or economic ties to the dominant culture and they did not receive authority from the governing structures in place. Their authority arose during the Counterculture movement, a time of cultural “distress” and a time of “enthusiasm.” This was a time of searching for better alternatives to the Vietnam War and the stifling institutions found in America. Steve and Barbara had an alternative society that brought relief from the problems of the mainstream and had a specific vision of a new social order (Weber 1922:81).

Members of the community record the qualities they saw in the two founders in oral history interviews. One member, Hakim recalls that Barbara (Asha) was an “overpowering being” and also referred to her as a “queen bee” who always had an entourage following her around; and even though he became friends with her, he always kept his distance because she was too “spiritually overpowering” (Hakim Oral History Transcription 2006:6). Katira mentioned that Steve Durkee (Nouridin) was like a “minor prophet” and that what she saw was “a brilliant mind, visionary, burning on fire with a drive to not only be awake but to affect consciousness on a large scale” (Katira Oral History Transcription 2007:13). Another woman, Abigail, recalls that Asha and Steve were “mythic entities” and everything surrounding them was on a “grand archetypal level.” Supernatural events surrounded them and she remembers that “one time, Steve went off to do a forty day fast in the wilderness and rainbows stretched across when he

left” (Abigail Oral History Transcript 2005:9). Steve was also revered for having had the vision of how to design and layout the community. Hans Von Briesen noted that Steve knew “the way the buildings should be laid out and the way they should work” (Hans Von Briesen Oral History Transcript 2005:7).

The founders themselves recognized their own power in relation to what was supposed to be an egalitarian community where decisions were supposed to be made by unanimous consent. Asha admits:

“...we knew how to work the consensus process well enough. I mean I was politically pretty sophisticated and so was he. So this wasn’t conscious, like we were doing evil or anything. But we would make, you know, we would decide we wanted something to happen and then, basically, he would talk to people he could talk to and I would talk to people I could talk to. And by the time we came to the meeting, there was consensus, and nobody thought of, you know, nobody even had any questions, because we already thought stuff out (Barbara Durkee Oral History Transcript 2005:34).

Charismatic authority was sanctioned by the community until changes occurred in Steve Durkee that called into question his authenticity. Steve Durkee and his wife, Barbara founded the community as “center to accommodate different lifestyles” and a multi-faith community and these purposes were defined in the communities original By-Laws and founding charter (Keltz 2000:128). Steve (Nouradin) lost his legitimacy when he later converted to Islam and attempted to transform Lama into a Muslim community.

The community had built a separate complex called the Intensive Studies Center (ISC) which was designed to be a place of retreat for specific teachers to work with a select group of students from within or without the community. After Steve Durkee, converted to Islam he used the ISC as a place to intensively practice and teach the

Muslim religion to a cadre of followers. At first he and his group co-existed with the rest of the community that remained ecumenical and followed its original design. But over time, much like Etienne Cabet, Steve Durkee's authority diminished as he tried to force the rest of the community to convert to Islam and abandon their Universalist approach. Several members recall how Steve Durkee's charisma was altered by his actions. Marina states that Nouradin was a "brilliant man" who had a gift of speaking and using language and "was charming and had a lot of personal power. And I did not trust him" (Marina Oral History Transcript 2005: 15). Whitman describes Steve at the time of the Holy Wars "He was trying to convert everybody, 'You're all wrong 'Islam's the only way' ... Yeah, he was quite vociferous. And, he was a little crazy too. He'd gotten in a car wreck and had a steel plate in his head... I never trusted him" (Whitman Oral History Transcript 2006:13). Barbara Durkee continued to lead "Lama Central," the majority that remained ecumenical in opposition to her former husband, and as a result retained her legitimacy and charismatic influence.

Even though, the result of the Holy Wars was the departure of all of the original founders, Barbara Durkee (Asha) continued to strengthen the community through repeated visits. After the Hondo Fire the community needed to rally around a strong leader as they attempted to rebuild the community and Renaldo remembers her visits as a vital part of their healing. He states:

Asha would come up, especially during the summer. She'd sit in the back of the van, the white van, and visit with people. That was always so nice to see her because, it was someone with age, someone who has the maturity and also had a strong connection to everyone. It was such a wild group. Each of those summers, I would say from about 1998 to 2002 there were all kinds of characters in terms of

human experience, all kinds of characters. She did a good job of breaking that whenever she could” (Renaldo Oral History Transcript 2007:28).

Another member, Mikala mentions that even after the departure of the founders the community remained connected with them to varying degrees. She reports, “Well, the community started as really in a lot of ways, a dictatorship of Steve and Barbara. It was their community and no one really questioned that. Even after Steven left, in a lot of ways, it was still his community and it was Asha’s community” (Mikala Oral History Transcript 2006:10).

Their departure did mark an end to their dominating physical presence and it provided an opportunity for the community to coalesce around already institutionalized ideologies. Additionally, the on-going influence of charismatic gurus and teachers that became identified with the community alleviated the negative impact of the Holy Wars.

There were several charismatic teachers that taught retreats at Lama that had charismatic influence on the membership. Many members believe that Lama has entertained enlightened beings and their influence is present, even though their physical forms are absent. One member, Ruby believes that Lama has existed partly because of charismatic teachers who have been present here. She states that longevity relates to a few “wonderful angels... Neem Karoli Baba (Ram Dass’ teacher) who has always had a huge following of people here because of the temple, and we have Murshid Sam Lewis and who knows what other greats...” (Ruby Oral History Transcript 2006:22). Ozzie recognized how the teachers that came to Lama in its early days were “enlightened beings” and “these saints have even more power and even more presence once they’ve

left their physical body. I believe that those beings were called into that community (Lama) at the inception of the community and that they're the ones that have continued to keep that community alive" (Ozzie Oral History Transcript 2008:14).

The most revered teachers in the community have been Ram Dass and Sufi Saint, Murshid Sam Lewis. Ram Dass had a personal friendship with the founders and was invited to offer retreats to the community after his life-altering trip to India. He was converted to the teachings of his Hindu Guru, Neem Karoli Baba and it was these teachings that influenced the writing of *Be Here Now*. As mentioned earlier many new members were drawn into the community by the presence of Ram Dass. Murshid Sam Lewis only came to the community as a visiting teacher for two successive summers, but his impact was poignant because of his charismatic qualities and his position as one of the greatest leaders in American Sufism. One of his devoted followers and member of the Lama community, Mansur Johnson wrote a book about his teacher entitled *Murshid: A Personal Memoir of Life with American Sufi Samuel L. Lewis*. In this memoir he explains that Sam Lewis operated on a higher level because of visionary experiences and mergence with a living Sufi spiritual leader. He chronicles his spiritual advancement and acceptance as a spiritual leader in all religious faiths:

In June of 1923, he has a vision of the arrival of Hazrat Inayat Khan and his mystical mergence with him" and later "all the Prophets of God appear in vision; Elijah presents him with a robe, and Mohammed appears to him as the Seal of the Prophets...in 1956, Samuel makes his first trip to Asia and is accepted everywhere. He is recognized by spiritual teachers of all schools" (2006:10).

In 1966 Murshid Sam Lewis became a "Spiritual Leader of the Hippies" in the San Francisco area. It was not long thereafter that this charismatic teacher come to Lama in

1969 and taught the community the “Dances of Universal Peace” which includes sacred phrases from all the world’s religions. Both Ram Dass and Murshid Sam Lewis had followings at Lama and on a grander, international level as well. The community coalesced around their teachings and even after their eventual departures, their presence was still felt.

There were other teachers that had a charismatic influence on the community. Jack Cornfield brought up many followers to his retreats at Lama and Pir Vilayat (leader in a Sufi Order), Rabbi Zalman Schachter (taught Kabbalism), Samuel Avital (taught Mime and Kabala), and Baba Hari Das (the silent yogi) are often mentioned as highly influential teachers that impacted individual members as well as the community. There has also been a deeply felt reverence for the Native Americans that were instrumental in getting the community off the ground. There were several elders from the Taos Pueblo that were spiritual leaders as well as hands-on instructors in building adobe structures. Henry Gomez taught many of the values important to Native Americans including gratitude (Paul Oral History Transcript 2006:3). Charisma has continued in the community in many forms. As the influence of the founders has waned, the influence of shared ideological values and spiritual teacher’s remains strong.

The founding charismatic leaders met with different fates and had different impacts on community cohesion. After the departure of the Founders, Asha still had charismatic influence because she remained in harmony with community values. Charismatic teachers and Gurus also remained in alignment with community values and their presence strengthened community ideology and collective charisma. Unlike,

George Rapp's Harmony, the successors at Lama, in the form of the new Coordinator and Residents circle, did not drastically alter the affairs of the community or recreate its basic ideological framework. The general principles and goals of the commune remained intact and offered the community an opportunity to heal from the drama of the Holy Wars.

Zablocki posits that the "collectivity itself (or some portion of it)" can be the "charismatic factor" (1980:11). I will refer to his concept as "collective charisma." He also proposes that the collectivity must attain a level of charisma where consensus can be reached on important decisions. It should be noted that this collective charisma is similar to Turner's "communitas" and contributes to Kanter's transcendence mechanism. In order to attain collective charisma, a community must reach a level of ideological homogeneity. Zablocki defines ideology as:

A system of ideas held in common by members of a collectivity, with the following properties: it is an integrated pattern of beliefs and concepts including but not limited to attitudinal beliefs, core values, social goals, and behavioral norms...it serves to focus and simplify action choices facing members of the collectivity; it stands in opposition to alternative ideological perspectives within the same society" (1980:190).

A commune is more successful when it limits or excludes members that are not aligned with shared ideology and when it allows for expulsion of members not in sync with community values and goals. Hence, Lama's restricted membership and regulations to homogenize ideology has been conducive to its collective charisma. Collective charisma is further reinforced in communes that allow for consensual decision making because "an individual will be alienated from a collectivity if and only if he perceives himself to

be outside of the prevailing consensus or if objectively that consensus itself has been lost” (Zablocki 1980:258). The Lama Foundation was formulated by charismatic founders who were succeeded by an egalitarian form of governance that maintained community charisma.

After the founders departed Lama, the group that remained resorted to a form of governance stipulated in the By-Laws allowing for rotating leadership and consensual decision making. The members institutionalized the values of ecumenical worship, seva (service to others and work in the community), awakening consciousness, individual practice, egalitarianism, permaculture, and natural building. These values were institutionalized through various means including governance and decision making processes. Decisions were made by the Resident body by consensus. Consensual decision making was instituted at the very beginning of the community as a valued process. It is utilized in admitting new members, censuring members through expulsion, and rewarding members for excellent performance. It has mitigated feelings of alienation by allowing all long-term members an opportunity to vote on important community matters.

All forms of charisma have contributed to Lama’s success. Each form has increased Kanter’s commitment mechanism of transcendence. Kanter proposes that each commitment mechanism “needs to set in motion processes that reduce the value of other possible commitments and increase the value of commitment to the communal group” (Kanter 1972:70). Transcendence is obligated to offer meaning and great power to those residing in communities. Kanter acknowledges that this experience could be transmitted

through Max Weber's notion of "charisma" which enables a community to have "a felt connection with a central and meaningful feature of existence, which is generally connected with the presence of charismatic leaders" (Kanter 1972:113). Commitment over long periods of time cannot reside in one person and therefore charisma can become "institutional awe" as it becomes "an extension of charisma from its original source into the organization of authority and the operations of the group" (Kanter 1972:113). This idea replicates Zablocki's description of processes involved in developing community charisma. Institutional awe is empowered by shared beliefs and successful communities tend to invest power in individuals that exhibit "awe-inspiring qualities, such as wisdom, experience, spiritualness, inspiration, creativity, or age" (Kanter 1972:114). The Lama commune benefited from all forms of charisma including charismatic founders, awe-inspiring teachers and gurus, and from institutionalized community charisma. These forms of charisma allowed the community to pervade with magic and mystery which also contributes to a sense of transcendence. Charisma in its many forms has increased over time as a sense of grand purpose has become incarnated in myth and tradition. The next section will reveal how ideological work has allowed for ideological malleability and how that operational device impacts transcendence in an equally positive manner.

CHAPTER EIGHT: IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Intentional communities thrive around a shared ideology and individual participants are more committed when they believe the community serves their ideological needs. Kanter reveals that “Successful communities need shared beliefs. A sense of order and meaning was provided by 19th Century groups by particular kinds of ideology, which also served to legitimate the individual’s surrender to the system” (1972:114). Theodore Caplow is in agreement and states, “A Utopian organization needs an overwhelming incentive” and participants “subordinate themselves to the organization for the sake of a goal that takes precedence over any other” (1973:122).

The problem for many communities is that ideology does not always synchronize perfectly with daily, real-life operations and material conditions. Sociologist Bennett Berger believes that it is “juvenile” for scholars to “assume that a perfect or nearly perfect correspondence between doctrine and practice is normal or to be expected,” and he further argues that “it is clear that day-to-day behavior is obviously and routinely affected by a variety of circumstances other than professed belief” (Berger 1981:20). Some of these circumstances include: crisis, outside pressures, fear, and prior socialization. In some instances, circumstances provide support for current behaviors that align with belief systems and at other times these circumstances are at odds or even obstruct such behavior. When the latter occurs, ideology is threatened and a group tightly

bound by its ideology is also threatened. In these cases, Berger believes that a significant amount of remedial “ideological work” will need to be conducted to save the community. He defines ideological work as an intellectual exercise that ameliorates the discrepancy between philosophy and practice (Berger 1981:180).

Intentional communities are perfect locations to study the processes of ideological work. When difficulties confront these groups they have several options in regards to their ideology: they can “sell out,” “struggle,” or “accommodate.” (Berger 1981:21). In the first instance, outside pressures are so intense that the community gives up its beliefs in order to survive. Ideological work comes into play to rationalize the action of “selling-out” or “redefining their behavior as something other than selling out” (Berger 1981:21). An alternative strategy for a community may be to struggle against whatever oppressive forces there are to maintain ideological integrity. Ideological work in this instance is found in “the attempt to mobilize the energies of believers in behalf of the struggle” (Berger 1981:21). Finally, the most common occurrence is to engage in ideological work that accommodates beliefs to circumstances that cannot be altered “while manipulating those it can to achieve the best bargain it can get” (Berger 1981:21). Communards are particularly reluctant to let go of their ideals and so when they accommodate their beliefs to “recalcitrant circumstances,” they try to “maintain some semblance of consistency, coherence and continuity in what they believe they believe they believe” (Berger 1981:22). When ideologies are ambiguous, there is a lot of room to accommodate varying interpretations of events to serve the interests of the

current group. The process of making and communicating these interpretations is also considered to be part of ideological work.

Berger gives examples of ideological work in a Counterculture commune in California that at the time of his analysis had survived for over 12 years. One of the basic tenets of this community was a concept Berger identified as age-grading. This concept was in opposition to the mainstream that allocated roles to individuals which resulted in social stratification. This commune believed that children were not differentiated from adults and were really “small persons” that were equal in status to that of adults. The community Berger called “The Ranch” allowed children to be autonomous and free to do as they wanted. This belief was challenged several times and it attenuated over time due to circumstances and remedial ideological work. Allowing children to partake in drug use was allowed at first, but internal disagreements about this practice caused a reduction in its use (Berger 1981:65). When it came to interference in quarreling amongst children, communards accommodated their belief system and allowed for intervention when apparent physical harm was likely to occur.

Opposition to age-grading came from external as well as internal forces at The Ranch. Compulsory education of school-aged children was the most intense circumstantial pressure on the community as well as its beliefs about their children. To assuage this threat, the community formed its own community school which they opened up to other rural neighbors for financial support. As a result of opening up their school to the community, The Ranch had to retreat from allowing “dope smoking among children and childhood sexual activity” and this extended into the community’s abandonment of

exploration of Eastern Religions to more traditional religions (Berger 1981:87).

Communes that open themselves up to interaction with the outside world often face external threats to their ideology. The Lama commune has experienced these types of threats as they have increased their interactions with the mainstream.

The Lama Foundation is similar to The Ranch of Berger's study in that they have been confronted with internal and external pressures on their ideological system. Lama has utilized two of Berger's strategies: accommodation and struggle, to deal with these pressures. Struggle was necessary to deal with crisis events such as the Holy Wars. Accommodation has been used in many instances, but the most readily observable occurrences have been ideological alterations made when the community opened up retreats to the outside and necessary changes needed to survive the devastation of the Hondo Fire.

Accommodation has been conducted with ease since its core values at the outset were ambiguous in nature. Any slight variations that were made appeared to remain consistent. In the founding years, these values were described in terms vague enough to allow for a variety of interpretations. These values are stated as: the awakening of consciousness on an individual and collective basis; living harmoniously in community; individual growth on the physical, mental, and spiritual plane; and becoming a community that is a focal point of spiritual energy (Rodriguez 1969:24). After years of ideological work, the most recent description of these core values comes from the mission statement which states, "The purpose of the Lama Foundation is to be a sustainable spiritual community and educational center dedicated to the awakening of

consciousness, spiritual practice in all traditions, service, and Stewardship of the land” (Cobb 2008:1). The principles in both of these statements remain consistent yet the latest version provides more specific focus on Lama as a spiritual school and more detail is offered on not just “physical growth on the physical plane” but actual “Stewardship of the land.”

Changes in the latest version demonstrate an expanded emphasis on spiritual growth that is made available to outside guests, the ecumenical nature of Lama, and care for the natural environment. A new interpretation of “spiritual growth” became necessary when the community lost funding from publications and needed income from outside retreats. A new focus on “sustainability” and the “Stewardship of the land” reflected changes in values of the mainstream culture and was easily installed as a core value after the Hondo Fire. Another prominent change in articulating their values was stipulating that they had “spiritual practice in all traditions” instead of the earlier vague notion of being a “focal point of spiritual energy.” The outcome of the Holy Wars which reiterated the community’s desire to remain ecumenical was most likely the reason for the change. Despite these alternative interpretations, the membership is very comfortable that they have remained true to the founding principles of the community. One of the original founders, Hans Von Briesen (now known as Siddiq) uses a metaphor of the properties of water as a comparison to the traditions of Lama. He mentions that water is a substance that can change form: “it’s changed from vapor to liquid to ice” but is always the same “substance underlying it,” and the traditions of Lama are the same in that the leadership

and approach might change but the “substantial tradition” underlying it remains the same (Oral History Transcript 2008:34).

During the first decade, the approach to community values was very different than in later times for many practical reasons. In the beginning, building structures was a high priority and so spiritual practice became inextricably connected to labor associated with building. Johnathan Altman, one of the three original founders, recognized that they were “so focused on the physical plane” that there was “an approaching crisis at some point when everything had been built” (Oral History Transcript 2005:34). Another early approach to the core value of “spiritual awakening” was to create an insular, monastic type community. Retreats were not income generators but only benefited members. Barbara Durkee recalls that “At the beginning of Lama, you know, the retreats were part of Lama...the community of Lama Foundation and its retreats were the same thing” (Oral History Transcript 2005:29). To enhance this environment, there were strict regulations about leaving the community and technology was restricted to enhance isolation. There were no telephones on the land and they had no televisions. These approaches changed significantly after the Holy Wars. Ideological work came into play to help the community to survive the trauma of the split in the community and subsequent loss of charismatic leadership.

Lama members used Bennett Berger’s concept of “struggle” to combat the threats to their core values during the conflict. When the community came to the realization that Steve and his followers intended to take over the entire community and turn it into an Islamic monastery, they retaliated. One member, Rebecca, reported that Nouradin

“looked down on us very much. So, we began to fight back.” She further states, “Well we fought for the place. We weren’t going to let him—It was kind of like we wouldn’t let him take over the real estate of the Lama Foundation” (Oral History Transcript 2006:11). The war was waged with words, tactical moves, and the physical presence of a majority of Lama supporters at the Annual Meeting that became known as the final “show-down.” Paul recollects that many people came to support Lama Central (the portion of the community that wanted to remain ecumenical). He records that “It was a touch and go situation. Why would all these people show up to a general meeting unless it was serious. I mean, I wasn’t even a member... Why would I show up, right? We showed up because we thought Lama was in danger” (Oral History Transcript 2006:19). The end result of the struggle was that Lama Central prevailed and all of the original founders decided to leave in order for the next generation to lead the community with the same values that the founders had originally envisioned

After the war ended, the community was, in the words of one member, “shell-shocked.” In order to psychologically recover, changes were made to create a more relaxed atmosphere in the community. As an antithetical response to the threats of former fanaticism and rigidity, the new circle relaxed the rules. Sabura relates that spiritual practices were modified:

I think we got a lot more gentle about the discipline of doing practices because I remember, the sits were mandatory for the most part. Everybody did come to meditation in the morning. It was a basic reason for being here, the sit practice. Then, after that it was kind of just a sense of being gentle with people. I think it became a little more free form (Oral History Transcript 2007:23).

In addition, other community rules were modified. A more recent member, Rocky mentions “that there’s been a sense that in the past Lama has raised this really stern set of rules and there’s been a real push to shift that” (Oral History Transcript 2009:3). Mikala also reveals that after the founders left, the community became a lot more democratic and after the Holy Wars was able to continue with its original “invocation” and “energy” (Oral History Transcript 2006:21).

Another material circumstance placed tremendous pressure on community values after the Holy Wars. The community lost a substantial source of funding from the sales of *Be Here Now* and had to come up with an alternative source of income. Prior to the Holy Wars, Lama was receiving all of the income from *Be Here Now*, but because of Steve Durkee’s changed attitude toward the book, Ram Dass diverted a large portion to the Hanuman Foundation. The idea to sponsor spiritual retreats that included outsiders was a natural solution. Lama had conducted retreats in the past that brought in new members, but now they considered bringing in self-contained retreats with a teacher and his or her own students from the outside as a new source of income. The presence of outside groups with different ideological orientations was sometimes abrasive to Lama’s values. One change was noted by Mikala, “Yeah we had groups coming in. It went from being basically a private place where you would go to be supported to a place that did care about profits...we had to build more facilities, tents, and tent platforms and buy tents. It was a huge change of focus” (Oral History Transcript 2006:19). Trace reiterates the original intention of the community as being insular and inwardly focused. He remarks, “You were at Lama to be at Lama. It was the belief at the time. If you were

there and you gave all your energy to it, you didn't commute" (Oral History Transcript 2007:20). The values of simplicity, non-materialism, and spiritual practice focused on the individual were attenuated with the retreat business. The changes were justified by an explanation that Lama was now an educational center open to hosting groups with other ideological belief systems. This was a circumstance identified by Berger where a community "accommodate their beliefs to recalcitrant circumstances, while at the same time attempt to maintain some semblance of consistency, coherence, and continuity" (1981:22).

Inviting outside organizations to sponsor their own retreats at Lama introduced new challenges to the core values at Lama. For instance, several members of a Gay and Lesbian group that attended retreats at Lama recognized certain ideological clashes with Lama Residents. Marietta mentions in a group interview that "...in the beginning, there was a sense of shame from Lama from having us here because we didn't appear on the bulletins. It's just been very recently that we appeared in the bulletins" (Oral History Transcript 2006:6). Donovan related that in the 1990s they were exploring new meanings of spirituality with the "Tantric Tradition" and this "piece was creating not only friction with the Lama community, but also friction within ourselves, within each person" (Oral History Transcript 2006:7). Lama resolved these discrepancies by creating physical boundaries on the land called "zones" where certain behaviors could or could not occur. Marietta describes this "I was just reflecting on how Lama established zones...They had this big chart and they divided it off where people could be and could not be in certain ways in these zones...it was always very tenuous whether we'd be accepted back the next

year by Lama because we were a wild bunch” (Oral History Transcript 2006: 13). These strains on the Lama way of being continued after the Hondo Fire with the introduction of “Build Here Now” workshops that brought people into the community that had no spiritual orientation. The necessity to bring in badly needed revenues has allowed the community to make ideological compromises in circumstances such as these. Another instance of ideological accommodation in the community occurred after the devastation of the Hondo Fire in 1996.

The Hondo Fire was a natural catastrophe that would have decimated most communities. A tremendous amount of ideological work came into play after the fire in order to reconstruct the community and make its belief systems viable to the new set of members that came in to rebuild it. Many members believed that the fire was a purifying event with mystical meaning behind it. It destroyed the Intensive Studies Center yet spared the Dome and adjoining prayer room. It seemed that divine intervention was purging the community of its old baggage and giving it a fresh start, while preserving the buildings that were most central to Lama traditions. Renaldo was a longtime friend to the community and crisis management expert that assisted after the fire. He believed that the fire offered an “amazing carte blanche or Tabula Rosa where you now can be present to creation and it’s clean. It’s a magnificent shift” (Oral History Transcript 2007:12). He also recognized that the younger group that moved into Lama after the fire pushed the boundaries of the old belief system and questioned authority. He recalls that “They really wanted Lama to be so expansive and without any boundaries” and their justification came in the form of comments such as “Well, what makes you think ‘before even counts

anymore. It's gone. There is no before. Look around. This is a blank slate and it's starting over" (Oral History Transcript 2007:13). But Renaldo also recognized that this youthful energy was counterbalanced by the outside circle of older members who reminded the membership of important ideological traditions. Another pressure that was exerted on Lama's belief system at this time was a necessary interaction and involvement with the surrounding community.

The fire brought Lama into the limelight with a great deal of media attention. As a result of relief efforts and humanitarian aid from the outside community, Lama was forced to interact with the outside and open its doors to survive the crisis. There were many members involved in fundraising efforts to rebuild the community that were caught in an ideological quandary. Mikala was involved in these efforts and she reveals the pressures placed on Lama ideals:

It really tested the boundaries for the Residents at Lama. How public does Lama want to commit to being? A lot of what I came up against in writing grants and talking with funding organizations about Lama was, "Well, isn't it basically a private club?" How do you decide who can live there? Is it public? Is it semi private? Is it private? Foundations want to fund public things. So I kind of had one foot in the world of professional fund raising, one foot in Lama, which was like, "What are we committing to by taking this money?" and trying to translate what these funders need to see and somehow make that work in the world of Lama (Oral History Transcript 2006:25).

Lama's ideology was challenged by many aspects of the rebuilding effort. A generational shift occurred in the community that introduced a new focus on sustainability and permaculture that was a growing movement in the dominant culture as well.

Richard recalls that this was a time when many older members dug in their heels and resisted any changes while younger members did not. This

created internal conflicts and the belief systems of the community were in constant negotiation. One example of this negotiation was the relocation of Murshid Sam's garden. Older members were emotionally and spiritually connected to the garden, while permaculture proponents came from a "very objective, scientific, and appropriate technology point of view" and suggested that the garden was located in a depression that traps colder air, offering a shortened growing season (Oral History Transcript 2006:23). Eventually, permaculture ideals replaced older traditions and the garden was moved to a higher location. Richard notes that prior to the fire the major focus of the community was involved in spiritual practice with limited focus on preserving natural resources and after the fire, there was more emphasis on environmental consciousness. This ideological shift legitimized other aspects of the dominant culture to creep in and challenge traditional beliefs. Richard comments on this process:

The new people that were coming in were the ones who were bringing more of Permaculture technology, computer technology, other things I'm sure that I'm not thinking of right now, but there was really a generational shift at that point, which also I think included a relationship to practice, spiritual practice, formal spiritual practice, which the longer-term Residents were very much in favor of and the newer Residents were not so sure. Some were, some weren't, and some were ambivalent (Oral History Transcript 2006:24).

The community has had to come to grips with these changes and ameliorate the discrepancies between the old and new belief systems. This was managed by merging the two orientations into a cohesive philosophy. Lorelei is a member who articulated how this occurred "all the Residents were oriented toward the spiritual plane" while

others were able to integrate the spiritual and physical planes and saw “permaculture” as a very “spiritual thing” (Oral History Transcript 2006:16).

The physical and spiritual are viewed as inextricably connected in the Lama Master Plan that was adopted at the 1990 annual meeting. This Master Plan demonstrates that the community was shifting its focus before the fire in 1996, but the fire created an impetus for its total implementation. The Master Plan stated that its long-term vision as follows:

Lama foundation should continue to establish and maintain a center for human growth, education and awakening and development of spiritual consciousness for all its member, retreatants, summer program participants and visitors. To further this vision, future planning should reflect a non-polluting, sustainable and restorative alignment with the natural environment and a use of the land and structures which reflects a clear continuous community intention for future preservation and enjoyment (Lama Master Plan 1990).

After the fire, an article in the fall 1997 issue of *Communities* examined how Lama broadened its ideology and this is reflected in the purpose of the new community center.

The author, Scott Shuker, writes:

Instead of this building being the completion of our retreat facilities, it became a new beginning....Our long-time friend Vishu Magee had designed the passive solar building to facilitate an organic and integrated flow of food, supplies, and human energy. A greenhouse on the south side of the dining room to provide solar gain and a space to grow food. The solar attic to serve as the kitchen’s heat source in the winter, backed up by conventional base-board heating (Shuker 1997:18).

The community integrated this new philosophy in every dimension of their lives including sponsoring women’s retreats by a former resident of Lama, author Shay Solomon, who wrote the acclaimed book, *Little House on a Small Planet*. She believed that the mainstream society was out of control in their building massive homes when

small dwellings were sufficient and ecologically appropriate. She and her fellow retreatants built small, cozy cottages out of natural building materials for Lama's future use. Natural building workshops had the practical application of rebuilding the community while instilling ecological principles into the community.

The Lama commune has used two of the methods Berger describes in ideological work. In the case of the community rift during the "Holy Wars" the Lama community mobilized its membership and solicited its energies to "struggle" against "oppressive circumstances" In most other instances, Lama has engaged in the process of accommodating their beliefs to circumstances. I have seen no evidence of wholesale "selling out" of core values. On the contrary, most of the circumstances at Lama have tended to encourage or strengthen their belief system allowing the community with little need for ideological work. According to scholar, William Hinds, "the particular faith is not what promotes the success of a Utopia, but rather the fact that all members believe in it" (quoted in Kanter 1972:122). Ideological work has assisted Lama in achieving consensus in their values over a long period of time as circumstances have changed. Ideological work strengthens Kanter's transcendence mechanism. Kanter believes that "Agreement, shared belief, and common purpose are indispensable to the creation of transcendence" (Kanter 1972:122). Governing structures and social institutions can also be designed to enhance transcendence, and to this topic I will now turn to as another contributing source to Lama's longevity.

CHAPTER NINE: GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Researchers agree that intentional communities that develop strong social structures, rigid schedules, organize work, and balance the needs of the community with the needs of the individual are more successful in terms of longevity than communities with loose structures and organization. A majority of Counterculture communes reacted strongly against formal institutions in the mainstream and were therefore reluctant to make formal rules in their newly formed communes. Kanter explains that those communities that do not “organize their work and their decision-making procedures tend to find that work stays undone, some decisions never get made, and group feeling develops only with difficulty” (1973:406). Communes have historically experimented with varying forms of government that have ranged from anarchic to complete authoritarianism with varying degrees of success.

Religious communities tend to be authoritarian, have rigid social structures, and as a result are also longer lived. The most successful Utopian communities in America have been the “authoritarian religious Utopias—the Shakers, the Harmonists, the Inspirationists, and the Hutterites” and in these communes “almost every aspect of an individual’s life was under strict and continuous control of one person or of one group” (Richter 1971). On the contrary, many other efforts, religious or not, valued individual freedoms over social control and developed a community experience with very little or

no governing structures. As Richter and many other scholars have noted these communes are “usually short lived” (1971:22). Zablocki evaluated the problems of anarchic communes and he relates that “Neither anarchism nor antinomianism alone provide a sufficient basis for the communitarian life style. Anarchism does not prepare one for the strong feelings and unconscious energy released by the collective behavior experience” (1973:176). Zablocki also records from his evaluation of several anarchic communes that there is a tendency over-time for these communes to introduce more regulations and opt for some form of interpretive structure in order to survive. He identified some that even flipped from anarchy to authoritarianism to salvage their existence (Zablocki 1973:176).

Two of the neighboring communes of the Lama foundation that were formulated at the same time were New Buffalo and Morning Star East. They both had anarchic philosophies to varying degrees. At Morning Star East, work was only self-initiated and there was no “significant degree of institutional development” and their only injunction was “Do Thy own thing and leave others alone,” which retarded any socially organizing principles (Gardner 1978:115). Morning Star East was one of the most short-lived communes in Gardner’s study and only lasted from 1969 to 1972.

New Buffalo lasted much longer and one of the main reasons for this longevity was they implemented more social structure over time. Arthur Kopecky published his journal entries he wrote while living at New Buffalo. He chronicles his frustrations experienced as a dedicated, hard working member who did not see other participants pulling their own weight. He was annoyed by the many people who showed up to benefit from the labors of those who were working hard. On one summer day in 1972, he writes

“About 40 here for dinner last night. That does bring me down a bit when so many show up right when we are going to eat. And it does affect me a bit, too, to be in such a lay-about scene” (Kopecky 2004:68). Kopecky relates that later in the commune’s history, a new set of By-Laws was written with more restrictions on newcomers, increased institutionalization, and regulations regarding work. These new regulations established an equitable distribution of labor and as a result economic stability, greater satisfaction for members, and increased stability for the community.

The Lama commune has tried to strike a balance between authoritarianism and anarchy. It has attempted to allow for individual autonomy and privacy without interfering with community goals and needs. As the community has progressed, the rigidness of the first decade has been relaxed, but autonomy has never superseded organizing principles and structures. Hugh Gardner demonstrated that in the 1970s, Lama “was the most tightly organized community in the Counterculture” and as such “set the upper limits, so to speak, of the degree of communalization normally found in groups of its era” (1978:83). By Gardner’s measure, Lama scored the highest in the commitment mechanism of communion and also scored high on transcendence. Lama’s regular daily schedule and organization of work was the most structured of any of the communities of his study and greatly enhanced the communion mechanism. In the category of transcendence, he did not score Lama as high as other spiritual communities because it was more egalitarian than the other groups, and power and authority did not reside in a single individual but in a central committee. But transcendence was prevalent in Lama’s “programming” (fixed daily schedule and specification of routine) and

“ideological conversion” (commitment to ideology and a definitive procedure for choosing new members).

Gardner marveled at the Lama model of governance that avoided the internal conflicts prevalent in other communes and related this success to the fact that “the Lama Foundation, did indeed enjoy miracles of leadership, or at a minimum an ingenious organizational strategy” (1978:230). I will now relate how Lama’s governing structure has remained consistent enough over the years to invigorate its health, and how these structures have strengthened transcendence, mortification, and communion mechanisms. The community has modified its regulations and schedules in favor of individual autonomy and equality while not sacrificing strong social structures needed to maintain tradition and long-term success.

I. Lama Foundation By-Laws

From the outset, the governing structures at Lama followed a pattern laid out in the original By-Laws formulated by the founders. These By-Laws have not been significantly altered over time which has given the community consistency. The By-Laws of the Lama Foundation (2007 included in Appendix C) clearly outline the organizing principles of the Lama Foundation and demonstrate a social structure that was and is useful and egalitarian. Siddiq, brother of Barbara Durkee, believed that the By-Laws became a revered document that served the community in a time of schism and preserved its integrity. In an interview with Ammi Kohn, he was asked how the community survived after the division of the community and departure of founders, and he replied “I think that the By-Laws-I think that the democratic spirit that was embodied

in the By-Laws by Nouradin contributed a lot. In spite of his own drive, his own compulsion, he really did have a kind of ideology...in ten short years a tradition had been developed” (Hans Von Briesen Oral History Transcript 2008:25).

The first section of the By-Laws stipulates the qualifications, classes of membership, and membership procedures. Each member agrees to uphold the statement of purpose set forth in the first article of the By-Laws, which has the same wording as the mission statement already discussed in the previous section. There are three classes of voting membership: “participating members” are voted into membership at any regular meeting by all other members after one month of continuous residency, “caretaking members” or “Residents” must engage in service and work for the community and must have resided in the community for at least 6 months with a commitment to stay for at least one more year, and “continuing members” must have resided in the community for at least twelve months and plan on engaging in future service to the community beyond their residency.

All members are elected by other members at special or annual meetings by consensus voting. The By-Laws mandate that there will be weekly and seasonal meetings to transact Lama business and vote in new members. An annual meeting is held each year to elect an advisory board of trustees and for the presentation of annual reports on the affairs of Lama in all its departments for the preceding year. The officers of the Lama Foundation are nominated by the caretaking members and elected by consensual vote of the Board of Trustee and these offices include: Coordinator, treasurer, and secretary. The Coordinator is the chief executive officer of the foundation but the

position's powers are limited by the caretaking members who can overrule any decision. In addition, the board of trustees must authorize the actions of the Coordinator. The position of Coordinator is up for renewal and approval each year.

Even though the community is theoretically committed to equalitarian principles, the classes of membership based on tenure and devoted service creates a system of stratification. The Coordinator is often in a position of power over other caretaking members otherwise called Residents of the "Residents circle." Stewards are the worker bees that volunteer their services to the community, are given orders by the Residents, have no voting rights, and are excluded from business meetings. Lily is a Steward that recognized this "power differential" and remarked, "I know that Stewards feel like they have no idea what's going on, have no part in decision making, yet they just work so hard and feel like they work more than the Residents" (Oral History Transcript 2009:6). There is a practical side to a hierarchal arrangement that it profits the community with more experienced leadership. There were occasions early in its history where all members were allowed to vote on important decisions. Ruby comments that "I found that wasn't so healthy, because then the person who's been here two months or four months is making decisions for years forward... You need a level of experience of what's going on here to make many of the decisions" (Oral History Transcript 2006:15).

Kanter demonstrates in her study that the commitment mechanism of mortification is aided by stratification and spiritual differentiation. Lower status members were motivated to move up through the ranks because those that "lived up to group standards" and took on community identity were highly regarded and received

“greater deference” (1972:109). This same process has been operational at Lama. Lorelei remembers that when she first came to Lama she was young and impressionable and looked up to several of the leaders. She states, “So, I was so enamored by a lot of people there, male and female, because they all seemed so centered and so happy and really wise. A lot of them were wise beyond their years, to me at that time. I was in my mid-twenties, very impressionable” (Oral History Transcript 2006:8).

The changes to the governing structures since Gardner’s study have added extra measures that limit the power of one leader, the Coordinator. The rotating position of “Watch” has counterbalanced the Coordinator’s power by giving all of the other Residents a turn at guiding the community in the spiritual and physical realm. The Lama website describes the purpose and responsibilities of this position:

For Lama Residents, the “Watch” is one of the most demanding spiritual practices, but is also one of the most important features in the day to day operations of Lama Foundation. Each Watch is from the new moon to the full moon or full moon the new moon. The responsibilities are in 3 categories: (1) managing visitors, (2) community schedule keeper and ‘leader’, and (3) watching the spiritual and emotional temperament of the community...the most important Watch responsibility is holding the “heart” of the community...they literally “watch the community’s emotional and spiritual levels (Lama Website February 2, 2008).

One member Richard recalls that at some point the watch took over the responsibility for daily “Tuning” meetings. He also recalls that the flavor of these meetings changed with the passage of time. The first couple of years they were places of encounter and later became a time of spiritual communion. The Watch is in an important position to influence the spiritual side of the community (Oral History Transcript 2006:15).

The balance of power has also changed with the addition of the Lama Council. After the Hondo Fire, there were considerable tensions between the Residents living in harsh conditions on the land and the Board of Trustees living off-site who were trying to manage fundraising for the community. In order to enhance a connection between these two bodies and provide for more frequent meetings, the Lama Council was formed.

Ruby remarks;

...we started a new form of government at Lama, which is called the Lama Council; it became a Board for the most part that is very deeply connected with the Resident circle. Before, the board used to only meet with the Coordinator...there would be a balance of decision-makers. Three Resident Caretaker Members, two members of what we call the Continuing Members and two Trustees and that would be governance of bigger items and decision-making...big projects (Oral History Transcript 2006:16).

These new additions actually gave relief to an often overworked Coordinator and Resident circle without eliminating any important traditions or enervating any former structure.

The egalitarian form of governance has its benefits and liabilities. Allowing for rotating leadership enhances equality, but also invites inexperience in leadership and inconsistency that can be confusing to the membership. In addition, “institutional awe” which is attributed to “transcendence” is not as strong when leadership is embodied within a group than when embodied within a single individual. Consensual decision making is egalitarian but inefficient in managing affairs that need to be addressed quickly. On the other hand, consensus is an important tool in screening new members who are admitted into the community and provides for homogeneity. Screening of new members is important in renunciation, and homogeneity is critical to communion.

Consensual decision making also reinforces the ideology of the community that emphasizes that “all are one” and no one person is above another. Siddiq noticed that consensual decision making sent positive reverberations throughout the community:

I think that our experiences with consensus and the experience that there could be a consensus, I think permeated the community...Part of it was the conservatism that consensus required. It's a very conservative process. You know, you can't have radicals I mean radicals are shut out. People did come and they were frustrated because they said, “this needs to be done and this needs to be done.” And they couldn't find a hearing because the consensus process made it so conservative (Oral History Transcript 2008:25).

The Lama website lauds the collaborative nature of consensus:

... each person holds some part of the truth, and so each different point of view needs to be offered to the group in order for the entire truth to come forth...Consensus is a demanding group practice. Each member's full and authentic participation together with each member's willingness to “let go” or “look at the bigger picture” is essential...Ideally, one's ego centered perspective is set aside so that “truth can come forward for the greatest good of the group (Lama Website February 27, 2008).

While consensus enhances community values, it did not initially operate efficiently. In the early days of Lama, all voting had to be completely unanimous. Mikala complained, “There were weekly business meetings that went on forever. We really had no kind of overall organization. It was complete consensus at that time, which made for really long meetings. The veto of one person!” (Oral History Transcript 2006:8). The process has been streamlined since then with the current allowance that one person may step aside and not vote at all. As a result, meetings are now shorter and progress is made on projects that need approval.

II. Scheduling and Organization of Labor

The daily schedule and organization of labor at Lama have remained remarkably consistent throughout its existence. These features have strengthened Lama and have given it high marks on the commitment mechanisms of communion and transcendence. Gardner was impressed with the detailed daily schedule that was outlined for members which “illustrates with a great wealth of detail the extent to which Lama was a comprehensively planned community” (1978:84). In comparison, the current schedule of Lama is still a relevant organizational tool; but it is not as detailed as before, is less austere and rigorous, and there is now more room for individual choice. For instance, in 1970 the schedule began at 5:00 am with optional meditation and at 6:30 there was a mandatory meeting that included meditation. At 7:00 there was Sufi dancing, breakfast, milking animals, or other personal activities and at 8:15 the bell rang announcing that work starts in 15 minutes for a work day that ended at 5:30. Every week night there was scheduled meetings except Thursday nights were reserved for singing in the prayer room (Gardner 1978:84).

In 2008, the schedule, as stated on the website, started at 6:00 am with wake up bells. At 6:30 AM there was individual morning practice: meditation in prayer room and other choices. At 8:00 there was group spiritual practice and daily Tuning with work or “seva” starting at 9:00 AM. At 4:30 seva ended with optional personal practice. Every week night was scheduled, but they had a greater variety of activities: Monday afternoon was reserved for a Resident circle meeting; Tuesday afternoon a Steward circle meeting; Tuesday evening a visit to Neem Karoli Baba Ashram in Taos; Wednesday evening was

for “Heart Club;” Thursday afternoon were Gender Lodges; Thursday evening the Zikr (Sufi Ceremony of Divine Remembrance); Friday afternoon Japanese Tea Ceremony; and Friday evening Jewish Shabbat service and dinner (open to the public). There is an added note on the schedule that “all summer community members expected to attend these events” (Lama Website February 16, 2008). The flexibility in the current schedule has reflected ideological work that favors individual needs and choices.

The daily schedule at Lama continues to facilitate community organization of work and reiterates community beliefs through regularized ritual activity. The schedule also optimizes communal interaction, which Gardner proposes took up 75% of an individual’s day in the 1970s, and this percentage has not diminished. Steve Durkee recognized that his new community would be successful if it had a form of discipline. In his interview with Fairfield, he states that the Counterculture drop outs:

...are still very undisciplined people, out of tune with ourselves and one another. By applying from the outside a form of discipline, so that everybody gets used to it...Why do we get up every morning at six-thirty? Why do we chant? It’s not just to get up early. It’s not just to chant. It’s to begin to accustom ourselves to a new rhythm...The instrument is still being tuned, both in terms of the individual and the larger organism. You’re talking about a community; you’re talking about an organism which, to some extent, is greater than its components (Fairfield 1972:122).

For Lama, work has always been considered a sacred, spiritual practice. Ahad Cobb recalls at the start “There was emphasis on silent meditation, self-remembering, and conscious work as a vehicle of awakening” (2008:14). The meaning of work has expanded to include the spiritual concepts of selfless service. The current Lama website explains their ideology in this regards:

Service has two terms we use at Lama Foundation: “Seva” is commonly defined as “selfless service,” or work that is done as an offering to God and performed without attachment; and ‘karma yoga’ of work or action, the path of God realization through dedicating the fruits of one’s action to the divine (Lama Website February 16, 2008).

Work at Lama has contributed to a community feeling or “communitas” and reinforces community ideology. Work has always been a mandated service at Lama. Instead of contributing personal wealth to the community, a new member commits to unpaid labor in exchange for food, clothing, and a place to stay. When I came to Lama, I was required to commit 30 hours per week to the community in order to stay and conduct my research.

Work was highly organized, yet allowed individuals to choose what form of labor they wanted to perform. From the very beginning, work was organized by individuals and voluntary signup sheets. The Watch, called the “Janitor” in early days, enlisted volunteers every day for special projects in the early morning “Tuning” meeting, and he or she enlisted volunteers to fill in vacant spots on the signup sheet or “work wheel.” The work wheel was divided into different categories which included: maintenance, flag mountain cottage industry work, the “Lamissary” shop, cleaning outhouses, kitchen duties, natural building, gardening, laundry, office work, servicing hermitage guests, etc... Each of these departments had a Resident supervisor called a “Guardian” in earlier days called the “Master,” who organized labor. Because work was voluntary, there could be too many workers in one department and not enough in another. One member, Trace commented that he hated long drawn out meetings that were held on Wednesdays. So he “opted to do the laundry as one of my jobs, so on Wednesdays, I’d miss the meetings” (Oral History Transcript 2007:14).

The Lama Foundation has achieved longevity by creating a community that has structure and order, yet at the same time does not threaten the autonomy of the individual. Work is highly organized and mandatory yet is considered voluntary, selfless service. Engaging in work is a spiritual practice that develops ego loss and higher awareness of a commitment to the community. The downside to volunteerism in the area of work is that some projects do not get completed and some departments are severely understaffed. The governing structures of Lama reinforce egalitarian values by rotating leadership and consensual decision making. Few communities have been able to create such an effective equalitarian form of government that has been able to endure and persevere through challenging circumstances such as the Hondo Fire. The social structures that were developed in Lama's formative period have remained consistently strong throughout its history. Lama as a highly structured commune has been able to organize labor and as a result has created a resilient economic system which has been imperative to its survival.

CHAPTER TEN: ECONOMIC BASE

A common assessment of successful communes is they incorporate a sound economic system synchronized with their ideology and is harmonious with the outside economic system. Communes fail when participants do not deal effectively with “their own social and material situations” and when they do not take into consideration the “constraints of the encompassing society from which they hope to withdraw” (Hall 1978:34). In addition, among Counterculture groups economic systems should provide a holistic ideology that avoids recreating the “same perceived defects” found in the mainstream economy (Stein 1973:265). The Lama Foundation was able to set up an economic system that accomplished both of these goals. They had a viable economic plan that interacted with the mainstream economy, and at the same time perpetuated their ideology within the community and proselytized their values to the outside world.

A few scholars have examined the difficulty many Counterculture communes experienced in aligning their economic system with prevalent Counterculture values. Scholar, John Hall explains the Counterculture typically rejected the “work-consumption equation” of capitalism where money is earned through a wage, goods are produced on a mass scale, and the household is the unit of consumption (1978:123). Keith Melville observed that the Counterculture movement generally rejects technology, synthetic products, and mass consumption for more primitive forms of production, natural

products, and simple subsistence (Mellville 1972: 15). These values restrict Counterculture communal experiments to business enterprises and cottage industries that are attractive to a “market based on ‘hippie’ aesthetics or from gardening and animal husbandry” (Hall 1978:122). Taking a job in the dominant system to bring needed income is regarded by Counterculture communes as a last resort alternative (Hall 1978:122). Despite convictions to certain ideals, most communal experiments are forced to make ideological compromises of some kind in order to materially survive.

Economist, Barry Shenker, studied the patterns and conditions which enhance communal success and he discovered a give and take relationship between ideology and the economic system in an intentional community. He found that communities that started out with a vague, open-ended ideology were more adept at responding to environmental demands and “responses to internal and economic needs” (Shenker 1986:242). The lack of specificity allowed a new commune to formalize its ideology through trial and error and “ideological planning” that responded to economic constraints. As the community shapes its social structures, there is a dialectical interplay between “ideology and the actual institutions...each shaping and vindicating the other” (Shenker 1986:242). Even in long-lived communes that have formalized institutions, ideology is still open to varying interpretations to accommodate new “economic, social, personal, organizational and environmental demands” (Shenker 1986:243). The same interplay of ideology and economic necessity has existed from the first days of the Lama Foundation.

I. Lama Foundation: Economics and Ideology

The Lama Foundation held many of the same values of the Counterculture movement. They opted for a simple lifestyle, rustic amenities, buildings made from natural materials, and they situated their community in natural surroundings. Former Lama Resident, Katira remarked that “Voluntary simplicity was very ‘in’ culturally, which it’s not now. It was in, in the whole hippie movement, give up materialism” (Oral History Transcript 2007:39). Prior to the establishment of the community in New Mexico, the founders had specific notions such as developing a community connected to the natural environment and an economy that meets basic needs. In his interview with Fairfield, Steve Durkee expressed that their new community would include a “new grouping, a conglomeration of people who came out of a lot of different scenes” (mostly spiritual scenes) that would come together to learn “basic studies” which taught them the “relationship between needs and desires” and the “relationship to the earth, to the sky, and with each other” (Fairfield 1972:118). These values paralleled a well thought out and previously planned economic strategy. Gardner observed that the founders of Lama “had organizational goals far clearer than those of most new communities” (Gardner 1978:72).

Durkee had a five-year plan for the Foundation to become economically solvent and he foresaw that future income would be generated from “three different approaches: a school; the establishing of workshops, since a lot of us are artisans or artists; and publishing, because we’re obliged to publish under our federal tax exemption” (Fairfield 1972:119). He hoped that each year the Foundation would publish a technical and

spiritual book. His plan was implemented as designed and publications became the greatest source of income in the first decade. The idea of a spiritual school did not initially generate income and serviced only its residences, but in later time periods the income potential of spiritual retreats and workshops was tapped into. Finally, the idea of workshops materialized in “Flag Mountain Cottage Industries” which manufactured silk screened products including prayer flags and a variety of other products.

These three approaches to income production were aligned with Counterculture and new religion values espoused by the founders. Spiritual retreats and publications based on various faiths were produced in concert with the value of individual spiritual growth and “cosmic liberty.” The cottage industries were based on simple forms of manufacturing and the use of natural products. The prayer flags are symbols of interfaith exploration and cohesion and connect Residents within and without the community. Natural building and permaculture workshops instituted after the Hondo Fire brought in new sources of income while reinforcing new ecologically conscious values. But there was also ideological compromise that occurred in the process of achieving economic goals.

Ideological compromise occurs when communes interact with the dominant economy to market and sell products. Becoming entirely self sufficient without any interaction with the outside is rare. Counterculture ideology is challenged when communes become interdependent and reliant on income “outside the communal nexus” but it is usually necessary (Hall 1978:35). Scholar, Barry Stein explains that self-reliance is not generally sought after in communal groups “at the level of bare subsistence”

because a certain “degree of comfort and convenience is desired, at least after some reasonable time” (1973:270). He reports that there are a large number of present groups that operate enterprises, often on a small scale to external markets (Stein 1973:270). Ideology, in these cases, is modified to provide for material exigencies.

Ideology is not only infused into a community by the quality of products and type of income generated but also by how material goods are distributed. The institutions that are set up to control the “internal distribution and allocation of available goods and resources...clearly indicates a community’s value system” and “provides the most direct evidence of communal aims and purposes” (Stein 1973:265). It is therefore imperative for collectives to have consistency between the systems of distribution and ideology (Stein 1973:265). The Lama Foundation, like other Counterculture communes repudiated class systems based on accumulation. Also, the community values simplicity and getting by on the bare essentials. Barbara Durkee reflected that they were:

...really interested in finding out what was frosting and what was cake and what was bread. What did we really need? For example, I had children and I really felt I needed hot water, running hot water. But we didn’t want to have toilets. And I mean we found that we didn’t really need toilets...And we didn’t want a phone and we didn’t want to be on the grid... (Oral History Transcript 2005:30).

Lama also eschewed stratification and opted for a system based on egalitarianism. The theoretical concepts of equality and asceticism are difficult to implement and achieve, yet the Lama commune has attempted to remain as simple and as egalitarian as possible and this is reflected in its economic system.

II. Redistribution of Material Goods

The economic arrangements at Lama have varied only slightly over its entire existence and these arrangements reflect their ideology. Lama does not require its membership to contribute any of their own financial resources to the community. Each member retains his or her own possessions and pays for the opportunity to stay at Lama. Exceptions have always been made for indigent members and scholarships are made available as well as “karmic debts” which allow for future repayment (Cobb 2008:46). Sharing of personal items and resources is not required but is a common occurrence. There has always been a place (currently called the “gypsy”) where used clothes and other donated items are available for anyone’s use.

At the beginning, there was no economic reward for labor performed other than vegetarian meals and a place to set up a tent or location to build your own house. As Ahad Cobb recalls, “The rewards were purely immaterial. It was refreshing and liberating to live in a society where money did not change hands with every transaction, where the motivation for every action was voluntary generosity, selfless service, or at the least social obligation” (Cobb 2008:46). Katira commented that living without monetary gain “was extremely transformative for me to give my life in work and service which I did every day, all day long, happily and it had nothing to do with making money” (Oral History Transcript 2007:38). Later on, year-round Residents received a small monthly stipend (currently \$200.00 a month) the use of a dwelling, and upon leaving the community they received a small sum of money based upon the length of their stay to help them transition into their new life elsewhere. These benefits are offered in exchange

for labor performed. These arrangements honor individual service while at the same time reinforce core value of “selfless service” and non-attachment to material gain.

Decisions regarding resource allocation for community needs and projects are determined by the Resident body in a fashion that reinforces egalitarian values. The first set of By-Laws stipulated that all decisions were to be made by 100 percent agreement by all Residents. Hans Von Briesen noted, “financial decisions were being made by consensus” (Oral History Transcript 2005:18). He also recognized that in the early days, they lacked experience in money matters. He recalls that there was no budgeting process and recalls that “There wasn’t anybody to say; no we can’t do this because this money is needed for something else. We want to do something better with the money that’s available...” (Hans Von Briesen Oral History Transcript 2007:38).

In the early days, a rotating leadership position called the Manager was created with the dual role of organizer and treasurer. In the beginning, income flow was inconsistent and cut backs on expenditures were frequently mandated. Katira recalls that she never was concerned about money while living at Lama. Her memory was that “Everything was taken care of and there was a treasurer...Lama had enough money. It was slim at times, but you didn’t deal with it” (Oral History Transcript 2007:18). The community has benefited from several lucrative sources of income, which has influenced its prosperity over the decades.

III. Sources of Income

The income stream of the community has come from various sources and these sources have changed with the passage of time. Initially, the community was funded by the founders who had substantial resources. Gardner notes that “Lama’s members were of the elect even before they began. They came from the upper-middle-class backgrounds and to varying degrees were independently wealthy. They held degrees from the nation’s best universities” and were “equipped with sophisticated skills for handling worldly realities” (1978:78). Jonathan Altman produced the \$20,000 necessary for the purchase of the land (Oral History Transcript 2005:6). Barbara Durkee mentions that at one time the community was living off of her “paltry income (\$150 per month) and whatever anyone would donate” (Oral History Transcript 2005:17). An early Resident named Shadow acknowledged that the community was running out of money one summer and they depended “a lot on Nouradin (Steve Durkee) to go and get money for Lama Foundation with his incredible charisma, which he would do” (Oral History 2005:13). She also mentions another wealthy benefactor who often contributed to the community.

The production and sale of the book, *Be Here Now* (written in 1969) produced three meaningful results for the Lama community. The first result was a reliable stream of income. The book “became financially successful, so successful, in fact, that it would underwrite Lama’s future growth” (Gardner 1978:78). The book came to fruition as a collaborative effort between Steve Durkee and Richard Alpert, known as Baba Ram Dass. The \$25,000 needed to publish the book was provided by Ram Dass and he

assigned all the royalties to Lama (Gardner 1978:78). The book became a national bestseller and went through 12 printings under the auspices of the Lama Foundation (Hans Von Briesen Oral History Transcript 2005:16). By 1991, there had been 770,400 copies sold in 32 printings (Fox 1997:154). Cobb noted that the “fresh flow of income from *Be Here Now* allowed the pinch of financial necessity to relax as well, and more time was available for the devotional and communal aspects of spiritual practice” (Cobb 2008:40). A second result was a crystallization and dissemination of Lama values. The goals of Lama and Ram Dass “meshed perfectly” with a desire to produce a “spiritual guidebook” that explored “eastern mysticism” and a variety of “spiritual paths and practical religious exercises” (Gardner 1978:78). The third impact of *Be Here Now* was that it brought notoriety to the community as Lama became “the center of the map of the spiritual renaissance” (Katira Oral History Transcript 2007:16). The community became a well-known location for future spiritual teachers and as a result, attendance in the summer months burgeoned significantly.

The Foundation also published other books under the auspices of the Bountiful Lord’s Delivery Service, which had a contract with Harper and Row to produce five publications a year (Mikala Oral History Transcript 2006:9). These publications were not as financially profitable. They published the *Yellow Book* which included the teachings from the chalkboard of the silent yogi, Baba Hari Dass as remembered by members from Lama from his week-long stay in the summer of 1970. This book of quotes and instructions was centered on Ashanta Yoga and the purpose of the book was to offer “some guidance or inspiration” (Introduction of the Yellow Book 1974). This book also

promotes Lama values of self exploration and practices that promote individual spiritual growth. One quote from the book exemplifies one of these ideals, “..One who doesn’t want to possess anything possesses everything” (One page from unbound and un-numbered Yellow Book 1974). They also printed a humorous fiction entitled *Mostly Mules* and Zalman Schachter translated Nachman’s *Seven Beggars* which was made into a booklet and sent out for distribution (Schachter Oral History Transcript 2006:12). Each one of these publications reinforced community values that honored all spiritual traditions.

The Holy Wars in the late 1970s disrupted many aspects of the Lama community, including its economic situation. Steve Durkee’s conversion to fundamentalist Islam changed his feelings toward the publication of *Be Here Now*, and he became to view it as a work of the devil and wanted to stop its publication (HansVon Briesen Oral History Transcript 2005:21). As a result, the copyright was transferred and proceeds to the Lama Foundation were greatly reduced. Richard, a Coordinator at this time, indicated that this transfer came to the community as “tough love” and it came across “with the clear intention for the community that it was time that we stood on our own two feet” (Oral History Transcript 2006:20). The community now had to create new income streams to survive.

Throughout the 1980s, Lama developed a summer retreat program that brought in well-known spiritual teachers familiar to the New Age and hippie movement. These programs became so successful that they funded the expenses of the year-round Residents through the winter months and according to Ammi Kohn they did not have to worry

about money throughout most of this decade (Oral History Transcript 2008:26). Another Coordinator, Rose mentioned that:

We'd run on a full-on summer program in those days. So it was the days when the summer program could support financially 20 people through the winter. And there we were 8 of us, with enough money to support 20. So we hired people to do things where we needed things. I was paying teenagers in town to rip muslin for me. I was flag person... (Rose Oral History Transcript 2006:7).

In the following decades, the retreat business declined due to competing centers that have better accommodations and the disruption caused by the Hondo Fire in 1996. Ben Haggard, a consultant for the Master Planning and permaculture design of the community, believes that “the retreat center market has evolved beyond Lama. Lama is seeing its retreat income drop steadily” (Oral History Transcript 2006:37). He suggests that this trend will continue unless Lama offers better housing and a “facility that could actually evolve into the future in relationship to the whole retreat center market...” (Haggard Oral History Transcript 2006:37).

Another source of growing income and financial support for Lama in the past two decades has come from a growing outside circle of members and other supporters who donate money to Lama. This outside circle was especially significant in fundraising efforts after the Hondo Fire and the expertise of those involved helped raise enough money to rebuild the community as well as finish the Community Center (Hans Von Briesen Oral History Transcript 2008:8). A long time friend of the community, Esther reported that “There have been thousands of people that have been there and loved and many come back and send donations” (Oral History Transcript 2009:7). Further data on the economic picture of Lama is unavailable until its most recent years. All financial

information prior to the Hondo Fire was destroyed in the natural disaster and so all the above information is anecdotal.

In 2008, a professional bookkeeper, Tracy was hired to handle fundraising and bookkeeping for the Lama Foundation, and she conducts this work from her home in Arroyo Hondo, a nearby community. Tracy reports that there are currently 14,000 individuals in a data base of former members and potential donors. The last annual newsletter was sent out to 4,007 people and this was the largest mailing on record. She explained in a two-hour interview that Lama has developed better systems to monitor spending, which has helped the balance sheet. There are also rules in place that constrain over spending. Lama has several departments that are governed by an individual called a “Guardian” (in earlier days called a Master). Each department can use funds under \$500.00 without any approval. Anything from \$500.00 to \$5,000.00 must be approved through the consensus process of the Resident circle, and anything above \$5,000.00 must be approved by the Lama Council.

In the past four years, Lama as a non-profit organization has demonstrated a positive cash flow except for 2006, which had an \$8,000.00 loss. There is a savings account with cash reserves that gives the community a generous cushion for years with negative cash flow. The income stream of the Foundation has not varied greatly over the past four years and so I will use the data presented for 2009 as an example of the percentage of income coming from various sources. The retreat business generates approximately 53% of the income, cash donations 14% including *Be here Now* royalties, miscellaneous income 15%, institute income 8%, special event income 4%, flag mountain

cottage industries 4%, and the remaining 12% divided between project income and grants and bequests.

Tracy believes that the balance sheet could be improved by training the Residents on fiscal matters such as budgeting and careful spending. She and other members are concerned about a decline in retreat income which dropped by \$25,000.00 from the summer of 2008 to 2009. The down economy in the mainstream could be blamed for this decrease, but the concern is still relevant. One of the main reasons the Lama Foundation has survived successfully for over 42 years is because their ideology has been malleable enough to accommodate for changing economic and material conditions. The future economic outlook for the community will be determined by their ability to examine “their own social and material situations” and as they consider the “constraints of the encompassing society from which they hope to withdraw” (Hall 1978:34).

IV. Communes That Were Economic Failures

The Lama Foundation was one of at least 35 communes established in New Mexico in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Keltz 2000:122). A majority of these communes quickly folded and for several of them, economic failure was a significant cause of dissolution. Economic failure resulted from lack of economic planning, poor site locations, lack of social structures to implement sound economic organization, and incongruent relations between economic practices and ideology.

Drop City is one of the most well-known Counterculture communes. In fact, it was considered the “grandfather of communes in the Southwest” (Rudnick 1996:220). It was founded in 1964 in Trinidad, Colorado as a community of artists. Their ideology

included the themes of “anarchy, pacifism, sexual freedom, rural isolation, interest in drugs and art” (Miller 1999:31). After Peter Rabbit arrived in the community in 1966, he and artists Dean and Linda Fleming went on a lecture tour across the country to speak at colleges and universities promoting their “new civilization.” Subsequent to this tour, Drop City became inundated in 1967 with an overwhelming number of guests and new members that Rudnick termed “teenage runaways and deserters from Vietnam” (1996:220).

The founders held firm to the philosophy that all newcomers should be welcomed. This idea arose from the general Counterculture principle that a real community is a “Community of Everyone” (French et al. 1975:30). The result was a numerous membership that could not be materially provided for. Scholar, Timothy Miller reported that “Drop City was always an economic disaster area” and to visitors the “place often seemed engulfed in poverty” (1999:34). Instead of altering their ideology to rectify their material conditions, they justified their ideology by stating that poverty was only a state of mind. One of the members of the commune mentioned “I felt freer at Drop City than at any other time in my life, and I just can’t see that as poverty” (Miller 1999:34). Their notion of equality was that they all shared equally in their poverty.

Toward the last two years of the commune’s existence, there was high turnover and all the original founders had already left. By 1969, the Open Door Policy of the community was finally abandoned but conditions continued to deteriorate. Upon Hugh Gardner’s visit he reported:

The entire commune of forty (give or take a few) people and its constant stream of visitors somehow got by on food stamps and a sporadic income that seldom exceeded \$100.00 a month. If one was simply marking time and interested in having fun, Drop City in 1970 was a very economical way to do it. But fun came at a certain price. The kitchen was filthy, and there was no soap because money was short. Hepatitis had recently swept through the commune, and still no one was motivated enough to see that soap was made available. Sleeping quarters were seriously overcrowded. The outhouse was filled to overflowing, and there was no lime to sterilize it (Gardner 1978: 39).

Drop City was dissolved in 1973 and one of the original founders Gene Bernofsky believed that their “wonderful dream of a new civilization turned out disastrously” (Miller 1999:40). There were several other communes that failed because their open door policies did not encourage sound economic principles.

The Morning Star East was started in 1967 when Michael Duncan bought 720 acres on top of a mesa in close proximity to the Lama Foundation for \$250,000, and he “issued an open invitation for anyone to come” (Rudnick 1996:224). Refugees from Morning Star and Wheeler’s Ranch in California arrived in 1969 to set up a new open-land community. They had the same basic tenets as Morning Star which was “Open Heart, Open Land” that espoused the notion that “the land selects the people” (Gardner 1978:107). This community suffered from poor site location, loose social structures, and an ideology that did not correlate with sound economic principles. They valued anarchic governance and as a result there was no established leadership to organize labor or monitor behavior. The community chose to derive its income from agriculture, which was difficult in this location. Northern New Mexico is known for its harsh, long winters and poor soil. To add to its difficulties, their Open Door Policy allowed for its population to rise over 100 members, which was not sustainable for its location (Miller1999:80). The

community had high turnover and was disbanded when Duncan evicted them in 1972. The values of this community were never adjusted to accommodate a better economic system.

The Family was a group marriage commune that moved to Taos, New Mexico in 1968 and then moved again to Detroit in 1970. It had trouble in aligning ideology with economic practice. The Family did not actually seek self-sufficiency as did most other groups, and they believed that their social experiment should be funded by benefactors in the dominant culture. When this hope of funding did not materialize, they sought alternative strategies to extort money out of the mainstream economy. Even though the community espoused the values of “service and world salvation,” they believed that “manipulation of the system for group ends was appropriate” and this included “Hustling, gambling, and proceeding on overextended credit” (Hollenbach 1973:437).

There was also another contradiction between The Family’s ideals and their actual economic arrangements. They believed in non-attachment to material possessions and simplicity, yet the community would cycle between feast and famine. Traveling members would “spend collective money freely” while other members back at the commune had barely enough to eat, and in other instances new members would donate material things and these goods were immediately consumed by older members (Hollenbach 1973:437). The end result was that the community did not prosper economically while situated in Taos. In each of these three cases discussed above, ideology took precedence over sound economic strategies.

Shenker believes that successful communes allow for economic viability to take precedence over ideological principles. These communes engage in shrewd pragmatism while “sustaining determined idealism” (Shenker 1986:245). He offers the Hutterite communes and the Israeli Kibbutzim as examples of successful communes that avoid being “over-primitive” and offer their members a decent standard of living and a successful economic system in which to participate. Their ideology allows them to translate technological efficiency into economic success. This success allows the communities to accomplish other goals, and for the Hutterites this involves land acquisition and for the Kibbutzim it allows the members of the commune to work on personally satisfying work or time to engage in political activity (Shenker 1986: 244). Economic success can become a complicating factor when the “we feeling” of the community is decreased by a lack of dependence and sharing. For the Hutterites, economic success places pressures on the ideals that are antagonistic to commercialization and for the Kibbutzim, aversion to hired labor. But Shenker notes that despite these conflicts that do arise “the communities have generally not seen a conflict between economic success (which is based on their technological advancement) and their ideological purity” (Shenker 1986:243). The Lama commune has been equally successful in unifying economic success and ideological principles.

The Lama commune was started by benevolent benefactors as did the Morning Star East and Drop City Communes, but it outlasted both of these communes because the founders had a practical vision of how their economic system would capitalize on their strongly held values. Their vision was implemented into social structures and an

economic system that worked. They planned from the very beginning that their community would be small in number (Steve Durkee envisioned 30 people at a maximum), and they restricted membership by a strict application process. As a result, they were never overwhelmed with a populace they could not feed or care for. They also had an economic plan at the outset that they followed. Lama was relatively unique in this regard. Zicklin observed that most Counterculture communes gave little attention to economic planning. They generally felt “that once they got themselves together in communes, they would find a way to make it economically. Some communal settlements began in areas that were highly unpromising from the viewpoint of economic viability” (Zicklin 1983:148). Drop City and Morning Star East planted their communes in locations that were not suitable to economic prosperity.

Lama on the other hand, recognized that farming in a harsh climate and the selling of small crafts would not be sufficient to sustain the community. The gardens on the property allowed the community to connect with the land and supplement their food supply, and the selling of prayer flags brought in additional income while disseminating and reiterating community ideology. But the community was economically savvy, and they realized that offering spiritual retreats and selling publications to the mainstream would help them to survive. The ideological conflict that arose from selling products to the dominant, rejected culture was compensated for by the proselytizing messages that were sent out into the world about Lama’s Universalist vision of individual growth and spirituality. The remarkable success of *Be Here Now* may have been nothing more than a stroke of luck, but even when a majority of these funds were diverted, the community

still found economic solutions by supplementing this lost income with workshop and retreat income.

Not only did the economic system parallel ideology, but ideology was flexible enough to accommodate change. In the 1980s, there was an increased interest in the mainstream in environmental awareness and new information abounded on sustainable practices. Lama latched onto this new movement as it resonated with its own principles. After the Hondo Fire, there was a practical and economic need to rebuild structures. The community intertwined this need with ideological principles associated with permaculture and natural building. The workshops at Lama shifted focus and capitalized on this movement with “Build Here Now” workshops and permaculture workshops.

The merging of economic and ideological values has also contributed to community cohesion and a sense of purpose in communal work. Zicklin suggests that economic success improves group solidarity and “economic cooperation serves to reflect the members’ closeness to one another and thereby may even work to augment the feeling of communal solidarity within the group. The type of products sold at Lama and the forms of economic distribution within the community also reiterate communal values.

The social structures, regulations, and values set up at the Lama Foundation at times constrain economic success. Consensual decision making often slows down or even stalls projects from moving forward. Lama’s ideological values of simplicity and asceticism have limited its use of technological advancements and the development of facilities necessary to compete in the spiritual retreat market. Lama is grappling with how to move forward in the present economic climate without sacrificing important traditions.

Despite its weaknesses, Lama's economic system and concomitant ideological planning has significantly contributed to its perpetuation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS

A common cause of communal failure is internal schism and conflict. Kanter lists a host of 19th Century communes that collapsed due to internal conflicts and a few of these are: Communia, Skaneateles, Fruitlands, Jasper, Nashoba, Bishop Hill, and New Harmony (1972:140). According to Roberts, one of the four major reasons for dissolution of Counterculture communes is internal conflict (1971:116). To mitigate the festering of interpersonal conflict, communal structures need to have various mechanisms that diffuse volatile situations. These mechanisms come in the form of group meetings, mutual criticism, ritual activities, a system of rewards and sanctions, and a process to expel undesirable members. Long-lived communes have some form of conflict resolution techniques, and these techniques benefit Kanter's mortification mechanism that replaces individual identities with a group identity.

Solidarity in a commune is precipitated by individuals feeling "openness," "trust," and a melding of one's identity with the norms and beliefs of the group (Kanter 1972:105). This process of unification is an important aspect of Kanter's mortification mechanism. Mortification as described by Kanter engenders a new identity for an individual where there is "self effacement" and ego loss replaced by the "meaningfulness of group membership" (1972:103). Mortification reassures an individual that the group is looking out for their needs and is considerate of their emotions and thoughts. According

to Kanter, “Mortification thus facilitates a moral commitment on the part of the person to accept the control of the group, binding his inner feelings and evaluations to the group’s norms and beliefs: it operates through the community’s invasion of phenomenological privacy” (1972:105). Shenker observed that successful communities sustained solidarity by “ideological consistency” that enhanced an individual’s “feeling of well-being” (1986:254).

Nineteenth Century groups often used tools such as confession and mutual criticism to facilitate mortification in their communities. The Lama commune used this type of “encounter” in its first few years in business meetings. This process brought to light the weaknesses of certain individuals in the presence of all other group members. The result of these encounters was often more hurt feelings and increased tensions (Keltz 2000:130). One member recalled that daily meetings often became “explosive” and “sometimes used as a format to call somebody on presumed misbehaviors” but as the community developed they implemented “good boundaries, boundaries that were needed” (Rose Oral History Transcript 2006:5). At the time of Gardner’s research Lama had abandoned group criticism and shifted “the onus of criticism and confession to the self through meditation and attempted to keep it an abstract or impersonal level when it had to be discussed socially” (1978:86). Over the past several decades, Lama has developed several sophisticated tools to mitigate interpersonal conflict and as a result has increased the strength of the mortification commitment mechanism. These tools include, Tuning, Heart Club, gender lodges, spiritual training in “curriculum,” training in

consensus and conflict management, and the hiring of professional outside consultants that specialize in conflict resolution.

One of the most important tools that the Lama Foundation has developed is the “Heart Club,” introduced 20 years ago, designed to facilitate feelings of openness and trust. The current Lama website explains the purpose of the circle:

Wednesday evening is “Heart Club.” This is a community wide practice that invites each of us into our deeper heart spaces, and is potentially one of the most powerful community building spiritual practices...Saying something in front of witnesses is quite different than saying it inside one’s head, and many people have found that “sticky” problems have moved through after giving voice to them during “Sacred Council.” Also, people get a chance to see the vulnerable side of others, behind social masks, and this can invoke feelings of compassion and acceptance, softening places of tension. As people engage in weekly Sacred Council over an extended period of time, trust between people in the community develops, and the whole community grows closer... (Lama Website February 16, 2008).

The Heart Club has several “ground rules” that allow for individual sharing to be protected and controls the dynamics of the discussion. These ground rules are that only one person can speak at a time when holding a “talking stick” which is passed from one person to the next in a circle. There cannot be any feedback offered to the speaker. There is no discussion outside of Heart Club on anything that is shared. If a member is impressed to talk to someone about something they shared, they must wait 24 hours before talking to them.

According to many individuals that I interviewed and from oral histories, Heart Club is a safe place to air out difficulties and is seen as a vehicle to increase unity. In my interview with Sheila, she comments that there is a “level of transparency” achieved at Heart Club and “Those are always very personal and most people participate. There’s no

requirement, no one's on the spot. People get very close very fast and are aware that everybody's struggling with their own issues" (Oral History Transcript 2009:4). Another member commented, "Lama Foundation has wonderful ways to communicate... Heart Club sharing is a way to work out problems between people so that things don't slide. In the heart circle, the whole circle will be supporting the person who has a problem or issues, so things don't get buried" (Esther Oral History Transcript 2009). Josh remarked in his oral history interview that Heart club was also a place of "accountability" where a person who was struggling could be gently encouraged to improve (Oral History Transcript 2005:19).

I attended several Heart Club meetings during my research and my perceptions were that they almost always ended with a greater sense of understanding and unity amongst the members. I never saw any violation of the rules, which was important to the process. For example, after attending my first Heart Club my field notes record:

After dinner was Heart Club... The same procedures occurred as in the Steward Meeting (sitting in a circle and passing the Buddha statuette). We were asked to share what we were experiencing right now at Lama. It was interesting that many came here to get help and get away from troubled times or to deal with fears and insecurities. Many just expressed gratitude. There was less tension in this meeting. One person who was a racial minority expressed feelings of exclusion and a lack of humor and boisterousness... (Field Notes June 11, 2008).

Sometimes other practices accompany Heart Club to accentuate group closeness. On one occasion, we were asked to lie on the floor with four other people with our heads in close proximity with our bodies shaped into a cross (symbolizing the four directions). In this position we silently meditated for five minutes feeling the energy of the people next

to us. This practice was a concluding experience that reinforced group cohesiveness (Field Notes June 17, 2008).

Women's and Men's lodges and other group meetings such as Steward circles and Resident circle meetings offered similar opportunities for specialized groups within the community to work out difficulties or share more intimately with one another. One woman reflected, "I worked a lot at my other job and it was really hard and challenging and I'm surprised at how hard and challenging this is in some ways, but we never had a space like heart clubs or women's lodge where we could talk from the heart" (Lily Oral History Transcript 2009:4). An abbreviated description of a women's lodge from my own experience is included here:

At 4:00 was a women's retreat or meeting in the women's yurt. There was a men's meeting at the same time in another location. There were about eight women. We sat in a circle on mattresses. There were chocolates and a large bottle in the center. We all introduced ourselves and named our female ancestors into the circle. We passed a small ceramic bowl from person to person as we spoke...Each woman shared what was in her heart. There were some very tender emotional things shared: regrets, painful pasts, tears, apologies. We passed around a cup of water we mutually drank from. After the session we did a group hug and sang an African song that women sang for solidarity. Was there bonding here? Yes. (Field Notes June 12, 2008)

On a daily basis, the entire community has an opportunity to briefly "check in" with others to express how they are feeling that particular day in a hour long meeting called "Tuning." This meeting is led by the current Watch. The first half hour consists of a spiritual practice offered by the Watch. This spiritual practice reifies community beliefs in all spiritual paths and sets a tone of cooperation. The practices I observed ranged from Yoga, Sufi dancing, poetry writing, non-competitive games, beating on

drums, chanting from different languages and religions, etc... After the spiritual practice the members do a “heart tuning” where each person offers a brief word or sentence about their emotional state or anything they want to share. This is followed by “practical Tuning” that covers useful matters. The Watch then discusses the work wheel and other community needs. All of these meetings balance individual needs with the needs of the community and offer unifying experiences.

Another more subtle conflict management mechanism is “curriculum training.” Lama is known as a “mystery school” where individuals can progress on their own particular spiritual path improving the self and the by-product is improved interpersonal relations on the community level. Residents are exposed in the winter time to “intensives” which offers in-depth training in meditation and other spiritual practices. Even though “each person’s experience is unique to that person, a long-term ‘curriculum’ of things to study or experience has evolved” and a “curriculum committee” has “overseen the creation of the curriculum list and its implementation into the community” (Lama Website February 16, 2008). This list includes training in personal spiritual practice, learning to cook for the community, lead spiritual practices, personal hermitages, and delving into different spiritual paths. One leader believed that their own “internal work” made them a better mentor by being “neutral and allowing things to be guided and allowing my decisions to be guided through listening to the whole circle on the three dimensional plane” (Denny Oral History Transcript 2008:9). This curriculum promotes spiritual elevation designed to improve social interaction and social harmony.

In addition, the By-Laws stipulate that all Residents must be trained in conflict management techniques and receive consensus training which mitigates conflict.

After the Hondo Fire, pressures of the crisis created conflicts because major decisions had to be made about reconstructing the community. At this time, the community relied heavily on professional outside help. One of the conflict management experts, Renaldo, recalled that there was a “tug of war” going on between the outer circle of past members who wanted Lama to remain the same and the new inner circle of Residents who wanted a new direction for Lama. Since the fire, Renaldo has returned to Lama on a regular basis to continue training Lama’s Residents. He mentions in his interview, “It was important to start to build in a consistent set of conflict management skills... I would come and just work with people. I’d work with couples, with individuals, with a small group, then with the whole circle” (Oral History Transcript 2007:30).

The community is better equipped than in its early years to resolve personal and group conflicts and has multiple tools to facilitate resolution. The Heart Club and other group gatherings such as Tunings and Men’s and Women’s Lodges provides Lama with daily and weekly opportunities to come together in an environment of personal sharing that creates positive bonds, openness and trust, and an environment to diffuse tensions. Curriculum training is a teaching tool that instills in its membership a desire to elevate personal awareness and improved interpersonal relations, perpetuating social harmony. In recent times conflict management professionals have played a key role in resolving difficult issues in times of crisis. The commitment mechanism of mortification has been

strengthened rather than weakened over time as these tools have been implemented.

Conflicts are also obviated by communal ritual that strengthens bonds between members.

Ritual activity has increased in the community since its early days for several reasons that will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWELVE: RITUAL ACTIVITY AND COMMUNITAS

Ritual activity serves several important functions that strengthen Utopian experiments. It reinforces community values, mitigates conflict, and most importantly revitalizes “communitas” or “collective charisma” while diminishing routinization. Ritual and shared symbols “express and reinforce jointly held values” and “for this reason group rituals are often the most significant and important aspect of community life, for it is here that the higher, transcendent meaning of living in Utopia is affirmed” (Kanter 1972:47). Social Scientist, Hans Mol proposes that, “Ritual maximizes order... Through repetitive, emotion-evoking action, social cohesion and personality integration are reinforced—at the same time that aggressive or socially destructive actions are articulated, dramatized, and curbed” (1976:13). Ritual provides “regularized group contact that strengthens the commitment mechanism of communion. Kanter establishes this relationship, “Group ritual, involving collective participation in recurring events of symbolic importance, also enhances communion” (1972:99).

There are many examples of single faith communes that utilize all the salutary effects of ritual to increase longevity. Max Weber explains that as time passes, an organization becomes institutionalized and the “routinization of charisma” takes over diminishing communal feelings, but religious groups can counteract this declining impulse to ensure success (Siegler 2002:42). Victor Turner describes the process of

routinization as a shift from “spontaneous communitas” to structure. In time, communal groups move from spontaneity toward social structures that by necessity are concerned with production and distribution of resources. As a result, the balance between structure and communitas favors institutionalization, and the community is threatened with fractionalization (Siegler 2002:43). Turner provides another type of communitas called “ideological communitas” that religious groups utilize to maintain communitas while becoming structured. Turner describes that during ideological communitas, “the ultimate desideratum is to act in terms of communitas values even while playing structural roles, where what one does culturally is conceived as merely instrumental to the aim of attaining and maintaining communitas” (Siegler 2002:43). This is done when the community creates an ideology that pervades the social processes while allowing the liminal to persist (Siegler 2002:43).

An example of how this process works is offered by Anthropologist Gretchen Siegler. She maintains that the religious community, *In Search of Truth*, which lasted for over 30 years, was able to invigorate communitas on a continual basis by innovating new symbols of liminality during routine ritual practices. The commune created an ideology that integrated all aspects of communal life. The central purpose of the community is to transform their membership individually and collectively in preparation for an important role they will all play at the end of the world. They are considered to be “postmillennialists” whose “primary goal is to progress spiritually” in a way those social relations are heightened “so that religion becomes a part of everyday life” (Siegler 2002:45). Religious beliefs and symbols used in religious ritual are introduced and

reintroduced into everyday life. They do this by continually reminding each other to “transcend mundane affairs and remember their lifelong commitment to an ultimate objective provided by a higher authority” (Siegler 2002:64).

Another successful religious commune, The Bruderhof, was researched by sociologist, Benjamin Zablocki. The Bruderhof, founded as a community in North America in 1954, is a well-known successful Utopian experiment that is still in existence, not only for its economic acumen but for its group solidarity perpetuated by shared beliefs and ritual performances. Zablocki analyzed how daily ritual activity created euphoric experiences that could be extenuated into other more mundane aspects of daily life through manipulation of ideology. Ritual activity such as communal singing of hymns creates an intense positive experience referred to as “joy.” In order for the Bruderhof to “harness the collective behavior experience” and transform it into commitment to the group it must appear with a “high degree of regularity and intensity” and it must be “transformed into a useful form of energy” (Zablocki 1971:164). The community transforms this energy by “surrounding the experience with an interpretive framework” (Zablocki 1971:182). The interpretive framework comes in the form of a community “myth” of an imminent battle between good and evil that all the members are engaged in. In addition, the members are instructed that the euphoric, spiritual experience of communal ritual can be translated into a continued experience with the “spirit” on an individual level at all times. Zablocki interprets this teaching:

The real euphoria of community living comes from the continual fulfillment you feel, that you’re at peace with yourself and you’re at peace with your neighbors, and you’re doing what you really think you should be doing, you’re doing it

sincerely, and you're doing it enthusiastically. And that carries itself over into the work, especially the concrete work (Zablocki 1971:160).

The Bruderhof and the In Search of Truth communes have both used their central belief systems to inculcate their ideologies in mundane affairs as a way to extenuate *communitas*.

It is interesting that the Lama Foundation, a multi-faith commune uses ritual activity in the same way as single-faith communes. I propose that even though rituals at Lama celebrate a diverse set of religious traditions, cohesion develops around several overarching philosophies that bridge otherwise divisive religious traditions. The overarching ideologies include four central beliefs. The first belief is that all religious paths lead to the same source in a journey toward the "One" or also described as the "meeting of the ways" (Lama Website February 26:2008). The second belief is that all humanity is encompassed in one great whole. The third belief is that being in the present moment is more important than the past or the future. The fourth belief is that Lama is a spiritual school or "mystery school" where each individual can learn to awaken consciousness by engaging in spiritual practice which occurs in every aspect of daily life including service, work, and Stewardship of the land.

All of these beliefs reinforce *communitas* into the mundane routines of the community. *Communitas* is perpetuated beyond the euphoric communion achieved after community meditation, dance, or any other ritual activity and becomes infused in individuals as they perform their daily tasks. *Communitas* is reinvigorated on a frequent basis through multiple ritual activities and "circling" in small and large groupings

throughout the day. Lama uses ritual performance as a vehicle to create cohesion around the central beliefs mentioned above, and these activities have increased in frequency to strengthen the communion mechanism. Feelings of *communitas* are reiterated by symbols placed in every building and in certain places upon the land that replicate similar symbols and meanings used in ritual performances. Written and oral messages encourage community members to elevate themselves individually and communally to achieve harmony and enlightenment, further enhancing *communitas* in mundane activities. Finally, community members are motivated to maintain *communitas* by the core beliefs that maintain that daily work is selfless service and all human activity can be a form of “practice” or meditation.

In the first years of Lama, the main form of ritual activity was morning and evening meditation, done in silence or with chanting. According to Eller, stillness and silence conducted as a group is a form of ritual behavior (2007:109). Meditation has continued to be a consistent practice in the community and a central piece in awakening consciousness. Each person is invited to meditate in their own form or fashion and according to their own religious convictions, which emphasizes the belief that all spiritual paths are one. Meditation in the community is called “the sit” and it is conducted in the prayer room attached to the Dome. Writer Robert Greenfield describes his experience of meditation at Lama in 1975:

The prayer room is made of adobe cast into two great concentric circles, around a table on which a candle and a stick of incense burn. A small oval door that seems more like the entrance to the burrow of a small animal, than an entrance, leads into the prayer room. One has to stoop to get through it. Directly opposite, pinion shingles burn and crackle in an adobe fireplace, casting orange shadows on

the faces of those sitting around the circle. The fire is the only sound...It is quiet in the prayer room...When the Gong is sounded, its sound gives the silence an end just as it gave a beginning. Slowly, naturally, the chanting starts. Given a chance, they will chant anything that feels right at Lama... (1975:255).

Meditation became more sophisticated and instructive later on with visits from spiritual teachers to the community. Whitney recalls how a visiting teacher instructed her on how to let “my mind open” and “let my mind flow.” She learned that at Lama “the inner road is what’s supported and the inner work is what’s being done and I have a collective family...at Lama that are doing inner work and I can count on that” (Oral History Transcript 2009:14). Meditation is a collective experience where all participants are engaging in their own spiritual development at the same time but in different ways.

Another aspect of silent, spiritual work at Lama is the hermitage experience that is now a requirement of all long-term Residents. The hermitage is a solo experience in a separate building some distance from the central core of the community. It is a tool for bonding the community in a collective belief that every member is engaging in self evaluation and improvement simultaneously. The hermitage is just another avenue to accomplish this. Greenfield articulates the purpose of the hermitage:

Part of Lama’s purpose is to give people room to be alone within a group situation. High above Lama’s buildings, which themselves are eighty-seven hundred feet above sea level, is the high hermitage where people may spend anywhere from a few days to more than a month, having food left for them at the bottom of the path, being totally taken care of, alone, with nothing for them to do but go deep within and work on themselves. (1975:265).

Rose believed that her hermitage experience was a part of her integration into the community. She informs, “And then I came up to do a hermitage—it would have been fall of ’88—I stayed for a week afterwards, just to help myself integrate. And just really

started connecting in with resident people and feeling a whole openness to step into the community aspect of it” (Oral History Transcript 2006:3). The added benefit to a hermitage experience is it offers privacy and a break from the intensity of the community experience.

Another form of hermitage occurs on silent days or hours, periods of community silence particularly in the mornings and during silent retreats. When I first arrived into the community in June of 2008, a silent retreat was being conducted. The participants were mostly retreatants and a few members who had name tags indicating no one should talk to them. The purpose of the silent retreat was to raise self awareness. Silence is an important spiritual practice that also supports all four central community beliefs.

A more recently introduced ritual ceremony conducted in silence is the Japanese Tea Ceremony, which has been added into the eclectic mix of Lama’s ritual observances. The Tea Ceremony is a calming experience and after the Hondo Fire, Residents were in so much turmoil, they were invited by another member to come into a teepee for a tea ceremony. Renaldo reminisces about this experience:

...Then she started to do the whole tea ceremony and it was utterly beautiful. It was as though all silence came to the tipi. There was a grace. There was a presence. I cried through most of it because I understood in that moment that Lama was fine, absolutely fine and that “Yeah, it’s a rough period, but it’ll pass. And that the ineffable presence is there...The tea was beautiful. It had that green foam. I remember just sipping it and it was just like sipping the life of earth itself. You know the roots and the vitality; it was right in that cup... (Oral History Transcript 2007:9).

When I came into the community there was a couple who had been professionally trained in the Tea Ceremony. Because of their expertise, it was a common and important

practice at Lama during their tenure. One of these professionals commented that the Tea Ceremony reiterates Lama's pursuit of individual "peace" and inner serenity (Bathsheba Oral History Transcript 2006:4).

Another form of meditation was "intense physical labor," which in the first few years was often done in silence "because work was seen as conscious labor and intentional suffering" (Cobb 2008:7). The community still perpetuates the shared belief that inner spiritual work continues in all aspects of communal life. Hence, *communitas* is reiterated in every function of the community. All members are reminded that their "seva" or selfless service to the community is a sacred spiritual activity. This reminder comes in the form of "circling."

The community developed a tradition of "circling" before and after each activity as an invocation and benediction to the service being performed. Ammi Kohn referred to circling as a "ritual...It's a sign of community to be reminded of community" (Oral History Transcript 2008:45). Before doing laundry, meal preparation, gardening or any task the laborers gather together in a circle, hold hands, and someone is chosen to say a prayer or word of encouragement. For instance, when I helped in the kitchen to prepare a meal, our group of four people gathered together and the leader reminded all of us to put in our best efforts for the good of the community and asked the circle to concentrate to make a successful meal. When I was on the Natural building team, our leader had a circle before and after our day of mudding the walls of the Flag Mountain Cottage Industries Building. On one occasion, he made the circling experience light-hearted by having us skip around in a circle while singing a tune, "There is nothing, nothing, nothing

only mud, only straw. Oh remember there is nothing but mud” and repeated several times. On another day he used a Sufi prayer that “spoke of a modeler, maker, and creator and we were reminded that we were making a temple for future generations of Lama Residents to be blessed. We were also fortifying our own inner temples through service” (Field Notes June 19, 2008).

Each form of labor not only reinforces the belief in individual spiritual tuning but the community ideology of sustainability and care for the land as another form of spiritual practice. This philosophy pervades the kitchen in regards to use of garden produce, composting, and not using disposable items such as paper towels. In the garden it is using permaculture practices and in natural building using raw materials from the earth to build well insulated structures powered by solar generation. The Lama website quotes horticulturist, Jude Hobbs “permaculture ethic brings earth care and people care together. We only have one earth, and we have to share it—with each other, with other living things, and with future generations” (Lama Website March 1, 2008).

When I was doing my field work, circling occurred before every communal meal and during many special specific ceremonies that were not on the regular calendar. Before each meal the gongs would ring fifteen, ten, and five minutes before a meal was served to facilitate the gathering of the community. The circle of members could include as many as 80 people on occasions when there were retreats. A different prayer or song was said in unison and then all members shouted “Yeah cooks” and “Yeah cleans” as a thanks for the food preparers and cleanup crew. Greenfield describes circling before meals, “Each and every night before the meal is served, everyone stands holding hands in

a human chain for a long, silent moment, letting the energy run around the table, the children as quiet as their parents” (1975:259). Circling occurs at other special events including the burial of a woman’s placenta after the birth of her baby, at weddings, at Solstice ceremonies, May-Pole celebrations, healing circles, blessing circles, and at retreats. Every time a person is about to leave the community he or she is given a “traveler’s blessing.” The person departing stands in the middle of the circle and rotates around to look into the eyes of all the members that are singing a farewell song. After the song is over, each person puts his hands over his chest and moves his hands outward three times while repeating the words, “Ya Fattah” which is another name for Allah translated as “Oh the Opening.” The frequency of circling is much greater now than in former times and this facilitates cohesion amongst an increasing transient membership. Circling is also found in the formal, scheduled ritual celebrations of Shabbat, and Zikr,

The Sufi Zikr or Dances of Universal Peace were introduced into the community by Murshid Samuel Lewis. Sufism has recently become the most dominant spiritual tradition in the Lama community because of its Universalist orientation, and because there are currently more members in the community that follow this path. Murshid Sam was considered to be a “Sufi-Zen-Jewish-Christian Master, who achieved realization in all these traditions” (Cobb 2008:21). The Zikr ceremony of “Remembrance” (to remember Allah) is held at Lama every Thursday evening in the Dome and guests attend this event from outside the community as well. The dances are a collective, moving prayer or meditation and the simultaneous drums and chanting are praises to Allah. The first Zikr I attended at Lama started with a sitting Zikr with chanting, drumming, and

swaying. The ceremony progressed with all participants walking slowly clockwise to the beating of a drum. I record:

Each dance lasted about 10 minutes. It started with instruction from a woman who told us the chant and what it meant. Most chants had the name of Allah in it. The first one we held our hands in cupping shape resembling openness and humility and then moved our hand upward representing a chant of praise similar to “halleluiah” and then the last part we placed our hands on the shoulders of the person next to us meaning Allah is great. The next dance had to do with unity, charity, and service. The last one we repeated the word “hu” meaning the unsearchable wisdom of the universe. Each chant was accompanied by a guitar and drums. The chants increased and then decreased in volume and intensity. There was a period of silence after each one (Field Notes June 12, 2008).

Most of the dances were performed with an inner and outer circle that would often chant different verses and harmonize beautifully with each other. Often Hebrew and Christian elements were mixed in allowing for praises to be made from different traditions. Many interviewees mentioned how transforming and unifying rituals like Zikr became. Josh remarks, “I grew to appreciate Zikr” which at first wasn’t “really my thing...But I came to really enjoy them and look forward to them. That was actually a big thing for me—just sharing, holding hands in a circle, singing with people” (Oral History Transcript 2005:8).

The Zikr is a powerful medium using song and dance simultaneously to remove the barriers between individuals and allows participants to enter into a realm of “mythic identity” (Marini 2003:5). The Zikr allows the community to overcome the isolating and “deadening effect of structure” to “enjoy the anti-structural fruits of communitas” (Marini 2003:33). The religious dance as anthropologist, Liz Lerman has noted fuses movement with prayer and synthesizes personal narrative with a larger narrative. The cumulative effect of singing, dancing and chanting simultaneously is that it provides a bridge

“between thought, action, and spirit” (Lerman 2008:43). The ritual celebration of the Zikr reestablishes the four basic community beliefs while reinforcing *communitas*.

The Shabbat service is likewise a unifying event that ritualizes community ideology. It is held every Friday evening and is also open to the outside community. It was introduced into the community by Rabbi Zalman Schachter (Schachter Oral History Transcript 2006:9). Lama has developed its own version of the Shabbat service that uniquely represents its Universalist orientation. Shabbat is a well attended service and gives the community a chance to celebrate, dress up in nicer clothes, and sip a little wine. The Shabbat service is lively and fun, involving both music and dance. The participants take off their shoes and sit around the perimeter of the Dome. Someone leads the community in Hebrew songs, and on occasion includes Christian and Arabic songs. In the center of the Dome floor is placed a decorative cloth with two goblets placed on one end. A basket of covered bread is placed in the middle and two candles were on the other end. After singing four songs, the members make waving motions over themselves to bring in the light of the candles and to wash away individual misdeeds of the past week (according to Lama tradition seven times). After this, the goblets with wine and grape juice are passed around as members call their names into the circle with a comment on what they are thankful for. The ceremony includes dancing to instruments in two circles and singing songs such as “Shabbat Shalom.” The concluding portion of the ritual is to gather in the center with each person touching the loaves of bread or the shoulder of the person in front of him or her. The bread is broken and each member feeds one another while giving embraces (Field Notes June, 2008).

The Shabbat service is another event where Kapchan's process of "sonic translation" takes effect. Music unifies persons of various faiths and is a medium that "translates affect across cultural divides. In this multi-faith observance, the chanting and music is able to connect the community by the "ultimate translatability of aural codes" which produce a "festive sacred configuration experience of the sacred through heightened attention to auditory and sense-based modes of devotion conceived as 'universal'" (Kapchan 2008:467). The same process occurs when Lama Residents make a weekly pilgrimage to the Hanuman temple in Taos to join that community in Hindu chanting and worship at the Neem Karoli Baba Ashram. One recent Lama Steward mentioned that "I don't consider myself a Hindu, but I really enjoy going down to the temple and singing... I think that since I came to Lama and understood what oneness is—I can participate in any ritual. I don't see much difference in it. There is just a different energy" (Sally Oral History Transcript 2009:8). Ammi Kohn believes that it is possible not to just tolerate another religious ritual but by engaging in it you reach an "understanding" and so when "there is a ritual I try it and emotionally get it, and that's the difference between tolerance and understanding and trying to integrate it into your spiritual repertoire so to speak. It's another way to express your spirituality" (Oral History Transcript 2008:47).

In the book, *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual* Victor and Edith Turner describe the processes involved in achieving the solidarity that Lama members have described above. There are three phases in ritual celebration. The first phase "demarcates sacred space-time from mundane space time" (1982:202). This would be

the time when Lama members leave their activities and assemble in the Dome for Zikr or Shabbat. The second phase of “liminality” is the central part of ritual process. The liminal state has three major components. The first is the “communication of *sacra*,” which involves communicating religious mysteries via symbolic objects and actions. The second component is “the encouragement of ludic recombination,” which involves an element of “play” that can include using costumes or masks. The third component is the fostering of *communitas*, which is a “direct, spontaneous, and egalitarian mode of social relationship” (1982:202). The liminal state occurs during the performance of the Zikr. The element of play is experienced in the dancing and movement. *Sacra* are communicated through the words of the songs, prayers, and chants which reify notions of man’s relationship to Allah, God, or the One. *Communitas* is engendered by the total equality of all participants who are all invited to participate. The circle is the most egalitarian geometric shape and harnesses complete equality. The third and final phase is “the often exuberant return of the novice to society and the desacralization of the entire situation” (1982:202). But in the case of the Zikr and Shabbat ceremonies, desacralization does not occur and the participants as the novices return to other activities where *communitas* is renewed in their other activities that replicate the ritual experience and reconfirm the *sacra* that was communicated.

Communitas is also achieved in Native American ceremonies which the community is particularly fond of. Lama had intimate connections from the very beginning with several of the Elders from the Taos Pueblo who taught them their traditions and how to build with adobe. As a result of this connection, the community has

held regular sweat lodge ceremonies and in the early days they attended Peyote Ceremonies with the Native American Church and with other communes in the area. After the Holy Wars, a Peyote meeting was held at Lama to heal the community. Sabura recalls, “We had a peyote meeting up here... for the healing of the community. People came from all over the place, again, people that cared about Lama, people from the Native American community” (Oral History Transcript 2007:20). For Lama members, the sweat lodge is a purifying event both physically and spiritually. The two to four hour ritual is a bonding experience that also reminds members of their close connection to “mother earth.” The sweat lodge ceremony is a highly symbolic ritual that has been modified to suit Lama tradition. I attended two separate sweat lodges during my research and the first one was lead by someone very familiar with the Lakota tradition; and the second one was led by someone who brought in Native American traditions along with a mix of songs and chants from various sources. All the ritual activities described here reinforce all four basic beliefs of the community and enhance *communitas* or communion.

Over its lifetime, Lama has introduced more and more ritual activities and circling opportunities. The overarching ideologies are repetitively introduced and re-introduced so as to maintain continuous states of liminality where *communitas* will not attenuate. Ritual activity has been demonstrated in empirical studies to increase commitment and feelings of solidarity. Richard Sosis and Bradley Ruffle conducted an empirical study in 2003 of the Israeli Kibbutzim and recorded their results in an article entitled, *Religious Ritual and Cooperation: Testing for a Relationship on Israeli Religious and Secular*

Kibbutzim. They were determined to test the hypothesis that many anthropologists including Turner had proposed that ritual is the “mechanism through which solidarity is achieved” (2003:713). Their findings indicate the following:

We suggest that collective ritual participation influences beliefs (perceived levels of cooperation) and behavior (cooperative decisions) and therefore assume, as numerous theorists following Durkheim have claimed, that ritual participation enhances the social bonds that connect its participants (2003:721).

I conducted a survey that also attempted to examine the relationship between the level of participation in ritual and perceptions of solidarity in the community. Even though I had only 21 respondents, I did come up with some interesting perspectives. To determine the level of participation in ritual activity I asked two questions. The first question asked respondents to list how many ritual activities they attended on a weekly basis out of ten possible activities. The second question asked what percentage of the time the respondent participated in dancing, singing, or playing instruments during ritual activities versus sitting out and watching. At the end of the survey, two questions were asked about perceptions of community solidarity. The first question asked, “Do you perceive most of the other members of the community to be cooperative?” and the second question, “Do you perceive Lama to be a unified community in the past and in the present?” All of the 21 respondents regardless of participation, perceived the members of the community to be cooperative but to different degrees. Eleven individuals that participated in five or more ritual activities per week perceived that the community is unified. Five of these eleven felt that the unity vacillated in the community unity during different time periods (One individual out of this group did not answer the question). On

the other hand, there were ten individuals who participated in zero to four ritual activities per week, and out of this group only three perceived the community to be continuously unified, while six individuals perceived vacillating unity in the community. The results are similar to the Sosis and Ruffle study and suggest that engagement in ritual activity does increase perceptions of unity.

Another open ended question revealed that the moments that respondents perceived the most cohesiveness was mostly during ritual activities. I will list the activities followed by the number of tallies given to each activity that was mentioned: Zikr (10), Shabbat (9), Tuning or morning meeting (7), sit or meditation (6), seva or work (5), business or consensus meetings (4), heart club (2), crisis (2), weddings (1), silent days (1). These results also demonstrate that feelings of unity carry over into other activities at Lama.

Ritual activity is an important vehicle in perpetuating the four core beliefs of the Lama Foundation. Ritual meditation, dances, and singing foster communion and “ideological communitas” that crosses boundaries between individuals and breaches divides that typically separate people of different religious tradition. The frequency and intensity of these experiences is sufficient to “harness the collective behavior experience” and transform it into commitment to the group as a useful form of energy (Zablocki 1971:164). Ritual celebrations that are scheduled on a weekly basis such as the Shabbat and Zikr provide an experience with an interpretive framework where “sacra” or community myth is disseminated and communitas is fostered. The feelings of communion or communitas are extenuated in daily routines through circling activities

that are performed before various forms of labor, before meals, and during other celebrations. Another unifying aspect of ritual activity is the sacralization of space that occurs during ritual activity and is developed in community myth. Symbols and material objects also complement ritual activity in reinforcing community values and beliefs.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: SACRALIZATION OF SPACE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Ritual activity reinforces ideology and group commitment and these ritualized events become solidified in physical objects, symbols, architecture, and constructed space. Anthropologist, Heather Van Wormer's study of material culture of the Oneida commune demonstrates that construction of space contributes to intensified communitas (2006:37). The Lama foundation has also constructed their space to reinforce their ideology and invigorate communitas. As Lama has created multiple spiritual precincts, it has become a revered place of pilgrimage. Community beliefs have increasingly reiterated the inherent spiritual nature of the land. This community myth arises naturally from the fact that the Lama Foundation rests on sacred Native American land.

Multiple accounts from Lama Residents refer to the powerful spiritual energy of the land and its connections to the Pueblo Indians. Ahad Cobb affirms that Lama has spiritual energy to it, "It may be that there is a powerful vortex of natural energy on the land. It may be because the springs here were a resting place on the Kiowa trail, a peace trail between north and south" (Cobb 2008:34). While I was at Lama, a venerated member told our group on one occasion that:

Lama is a vortex of energy that is sent out into the universe and brought back again and that is why sometimes there are negative vibes that come into the community that need to be worked out through dance, meditation, and practice. The Lama Mountain is a sunken caldera that is heart shaped and has high energy

and the greatest energy comes from the tipi circle where Native Americans have prayed for forty years before Lama. Blue Lake is their sacred lake which is close by (Field Notes June, 2008).

Another Resident, who has had a long standing relationship with the Native American Church, talked about the significance of Lama's position on the Kiowa Peace Trail:

“this spring on this land represents a camp that's been here for thousands of years that is the end of the Kiowa trail...There's no warring on this trail...The end of the Kiowa trail ended right here at Lama Foundation” (Jared Oral History Transcript 2009:8). Another member believes that Lama is a safe place and survived the community conflict of the Holy Wars because of the Kiowa Peace trail (Sabura Oral History Transcript 2007:29).

The spectacular scenery at Lama accentuates beliefs about its sacredness. Many scholars that have visited Lama have commented on its pure serenity. Iris Keltz told me in an interview that “Lama is exquisitely beautiful. You're on top of a mountain and you can practically see to the other side of the world from up there” (Oral History Transcript 2009:4). Likewise, for many Residents the setting and the land itself is the biggest draw in coming and staying. Sharifa reflects, “When my feet hit the ground, I just wept because I knew I was home and I had to stay. I just had to stay. It was the land. It was the land. It was the mountain” (Oral History Transcript 2005:3). One member who grew up at Lama as a child reported that he was somewhat “jaded by the concept of religion” but when asked what he believed in he replied “mother nature” (Devin Oral History Transcript 2006:8). The mountain that Lama sits upon is also known to have spiritual energy (Josh Oral History Transcript 2005:5). Another former Resident, Reba finds “there's a really strong force on this mountain and I'm here for a reason other than just

reliving the good old days” (Oral History Transcript 2006:29). The Lama Website refers to the “Mountain as the teacher” and since Lama is a spiritual school, this endows the mountain with power to offer spiritual teachings (Lama Website February 26, 2008).

In addition to the inherent spiritual nature of the land, Lama Residents have sacralized precincts on their property through ritual activity and symbols and signs used in these activities. The significance of ritual performance is perpetuated in oral tradition. Beliefs are also reinforced by other symbols and signs not used in ritual activity that are placed in strategic locations throughout the community, and serve as reminders of the sacred nature of certain spaces. The In Search of Truth commune of Gretchen Siegler’s study also used the “manipulation of symbols of liminality” to strengthen commitment in their group (2002:64). This single faith commune used these symbols and signs to “continually remind each other to transcend mundane affairs and remember their lifelong commitment to an ultimate objective” and as a way to nourish “communitas” (Siegler 2002:64). There are so many sacred locations on Lama land, it would be difficult to provide a detailed description of all of the signs and symbols that accompany ritual activity.

In the survey I conducted, I asked the question, “What location on the land is sacred to you?” and there was a prolific list of responses: Dome (14 responses), Prayer or Meditation Room (10), Maqbara (7), the Land itself (6), The Spring and surrounding Aspen Grove (6), Community Center and Kitchen (6), Library (3), Teepee Site (3), Intensive Studies Center (2), Sweat Lodge (1), Bathhouse (1), Music Room (1), Sam’s Garden (1), and Jesus Shrine (1). A follow-up question on the survey asked, “How do

these sacred spaces enhance your devotion to Lama and preserve your energies toward preserving this place?” Only three respondents did not answer this question and all others had positive responses relating to sacred spaces and their desire to preserve Lama. One response makes a connection between sacred spaces and “Personal time and reflection—remembering ourselves and fundamentals-- to ensure that each individual is centered and ready to offer the community their best” (Survey 2009). Two examples of sacralization of space through ritual performance are the Maqbara and the Dome. The ritual performances conducted in these two spaces reiterate community beliefs that are further memorialized through written and oral tradition.

The Maqbara (which means resting place of a Sufi Saint) is a sacred space which includes the burial grounds of Murshid Samuel Lewis and a female Sufi Saint. The Maqbara is reached by traveling a long, winding trail through the scrub oak up to a location on the mountain high above the community and in close proximity to the High Hermitage. As you walk along the path, there are precious clear stones and white quartz stones left by previous travelers indicating the mystical aspects of the sacred ground that is at the end of the path. Before you enter the space, a set of chimes or bells hang from a tree branch. Similar to Hindu and Buddhist practice, the ringing of the bells indicates the moment a person enters into holy time and space, and the vibrations of the bells affect the Chakras (levels of energy within the human body). The space is organized in three sacred concentric circles. The first circle set above the other two is Murshid Sam’s gravesite. His burial in the center of the circle is covered with a large mound of brilliant white quartz stones and myriads of other precious stones, shells, and beads left by

previous pilgrims. On a wooden plaque above this mound is the Sufi symbol of a heart with two outstretched wings on both sides. The second circle below is the other burial of a Murshida, a female teacher in the Sufi tradition, with an altar above the gravesite with similar trinkets and stones. Both of these circles have benches where visitors can spend time enjoying the space and the beautiful views of the valley and community below. The third circle is made of smooth dirt surrounded by stone that is used for the performance of the “Dances of Universal Peace” and other ritual dances that Mushid Sam introduced.

I was invited by the Dervish Healing Order (one of the five Ruhuniat Sufi Orders) that was on retreat in the summer of 2008 at Lama to participate in a Sufi Healing ceremony at the Maqbara. I will refer to my field notes to describe this ritual:

A retreatant invited me to attend their Sufi healing ceremony on the hill. They sang a prayer or two in a circle holding hands and then walked very slowly and meditatively (Murshid Sam is well known for teaching to walk and dance as a meditative practice) to Murshid Sam’s gravesite or the Maqbara. As they entered the grounds, they rang the bell and each retreatant bowed two times in front of Sam’s grave (one bow in a standing position and the other kneeling down on the ground). They had a box which was opened to sprinkle flower petals on the mound of white rocks and they also placed an embroidered, blue and white cloth representing their order on the grave. Then standing in a circle around the grave they sang Sufi songs as well as a Hindu chant. One song included Christ, Buddha, Abraham, Allah, and other enlightened beings.

After a ten minute break, we went down to the dance circle and did walking like Sam introduced, once as the Hindu god Ram, then as the Hindu god Hanuman, and once as a bodhisattva, who refused to be enlightened and leave this world till all humans became enlightened. So we walked around the circle carrying a pretend world in our arms. We were instructed to walk slowly and with a feeling of great compassion. After this we went back up to the gravesite for the healing ceremony where people called out names of people in need of healing and prayers, while one person wrote the names down in a notebook and another attendant on the other side made sure the incense didn’t blow out. The leader lit the incense and explained that on the small altar they brought up and covered with cloth there was a bowl of water for the waters of life, a gemstone of amber for

healing, flowers representing life and incense representing prayers. Each person in the circle was asked to be an oracle of god's light or power to help heal the individual whose name is called out (Field Notes June 25, 2008).

The healing ritual, as many other celebrations at Lama, was similar to the Sufi ritual activity of British Muslims in Pnina Werbner's research, which sacralized constructed space by performing the Zikr (1996). Werbner suggests that the performance of their sacred dances "empowered moral space" by "stamping the earth with the name of Allah" (1996:309). In addition to the creation of sacred space, ritual performance offers a "text" conveying messages of "collective identity" (Werbner 1996:311). Anthropologist Roger Abrahams concurs with Werbner and recognizes the connections created in collective ritual to community knowledge. He remarks that ritual activity "acknowledges the existence of others and signifies a willingness to be involved in the flow of vital cultural information and...to be exuberant in passing this knowledge as a way of tying together, self, others, and the larger worlds (Abrahams1986:69). Werbner also proposes that Sufi dances legitimize "the rise of new 'living saints'" while honoring the saints of past tradition (1996:310). The healing ceremony and dances conducted at Maqbara similarly accomplished all three of these purposes as suggested by Werbner. The dances renewed the sacredness of the site. The performance offered a text of collective identity, which reached beyond their immediate circle to others they prayed for and to the heavenly agents beyond this realm. In addition, the ceremony enhanced the legitimacy of Murshid Sam as a recent American Sufi Saint.

The objects used in the ceremony are accoutrements to ritual, which are inextricably connected to shared and individual meaning. Objects may have a

multiplicity of meanings, as Clemmer-Smith has noted (1998). In this ritual the objects upon the altar were given an associated meaning by the leader of the group that was contextualized by the ritual itself. Even within a certain context, individual participants bring their own individual narrative into the collective and can determine their own interpretation to the meaning of objects and to the entire ritual itself. The most important feature of objects, signs, and symbols used in ritual is that they revivify collective beliefs and communal bonds.

Beyond the moment of ritual, other signs and symbols around Lama extenuate liminality and *communitas* since they operate as visual reminders of communal values. For instance, in many places around Lama are signs that say “Remember.” I was told by one Resident that Neem Karoli Baba once said, “Remember to love everyone, feed or serve everyone, tell the truth, and remember God” (Field Notes June, 2009). This sign has universal implications and is applied to a remembrance of all teachers that have come to Lama and all spiritual beliefs held by the community. The Ram symbol is also found in many places at Lama, including the bathhouse door, and it means the name of God repeated over and over again. This symbol is another iteration of the prayer sung at the Dervish Healing Order ceremony including the names of God from many different traditions. The sacred space of the Maqbara is also replicated in pictures of Murshid Sam placed in various locations in the community center and in a decorative sign post placed at the trail head to the Maqbara.

Oral tradition and written texts also preserve feelings of communion in between scheduled ritual activities. There are two rooms on the lower level of the community

center. One of these is a gathering place for meetings and Heart Club. In this room there are multiple objects, signs, and posters which are centered on community values. There is a remember poster, a banner with symbols from all religions and philosophies, photos of Lama Teachers, an altar with the statue of Mary, an angel, and Buddha. Also besides the altar is a piece of wood with the words scrawled on it “Faith, presence, positive thoughts, hope, gratitude and abundance, spirit of guidance, and mental spaciousness.

One poster in the same room reads:

Here among these images are beings who have crossed over and returned to tell us, show us home from beyond the message. It is possible...it is possible. Rivers in our wilderness, humans like us, flesh and blood witnesses to the One eternal All. Encompassing truth of the Realization, of the self within/without.

Let them help, let them Remind, looking out from the wall, from beyond time and space, who and what we are here. So that we are here so that we may be one family.

Of those who have crossed over, have seen, have known, and have returned so that we come home at last.

I honor the Master's those past and present and the Master yet to come. I take refuge in the Perfect Beings. I take refuge in the Teaching. I take refuge in the community.

All of these images combined with text remind members of past, present, and future spiritual teachers whose teachings are encompassed in Lama's ideology.

Oral histories are flush with reflections of the sacred character of the Maqbara and other holy places at Lama. These experiences are often endowed with supernatural or mystical experiences. Denny reflects:

Right after the fire, I went up to the Maqbara and, you know that beautiful mound of white rocks over Sam was black...I was devastated and started crying and I heard him laughing. And I stopped and I said, 'I don't get it.' And he said

'Exactly, you don't get it...But don't worry you will!' So you know, I trust that they have the bigger picture and with that humor and gentleness are leading the community toward where it needs to be (Oral History Transcript 2008:15).

Paul records that the dance floor of the Maqbara was seen in vision by all the planners at Lama in one of their business meetings, "The interesting thing about that meeting is that we all sat there and held hands and said the invocation and we all had the same vision. We all saw the dance floor..." (Oral History Transcript 2006:8).

A majority of oral histories refer to the sacred nature of the "Dome." This is not surprising since most of the communities' ritual activities and retreats with spiritual guides like Ram Dass have occurred in the Dome. Whitney records that there was a "spirit light" at Lama and in the evening if you were outside the Dome "there was a light that came through the top of the Dome Room," and she recalls "You're just there together and listening to Ram Dass talk and then the next day doing the Dances of Universal Peace together, and gathered in community--you could connect with people as you felt like it" (Oral History Transcript 2009:4). The Dome is a point of connection between the members, spiritual teachers, and the universe. Bathsheba visits this concept, "Think of all the people who've come here with their guides and angels and spirits. It's the connection to those realms...a vortex of energy between the dimensions" (Oral History Transcript 2006:37). According to community belief, it is not only endowed with sacredness because of the holy men and women that have visited this space, but because its architecture was originally built in a sacred design.

The Lama website has an article written by Willie Peck entitled, "The Sacred Geometry At Lama Foundation," which examines the sacred geometry encoded in the

Dome complex. He was inspired by the Dome structure that “rivals the Pantheon in natural lighting and design character.” He determined after many observations that the geometry of the Dome (octagon) aligned specifically with the sunlight of the equinoxes and solstices (Peck 2008). He concluded that the eight pointed star or an octagon correlate with the eight annual festivals (Imbolic, Vernal Equinox, Beltane, Summer Solstice, Lughnasadh, Autumnal Equinox, Samhain, and the Winter Solstice) related to the sun’s alignment and “an incredible amount of focused intent here concerning architecture and alignment” (Peck 2008:2).

Another reason the Dome and other structures at Lama are known to be sacred is that they miraculously survived the destruction of the Hondo Fire and their deliverance is attributed to supernatural forces. The myth has developed for some at Lama that the Intensive Studies Center (ISC) once called the Islamic Studies Center by Nouradin was not spared because of its “karma” (history of being a place of divisiveness in the community). Even during the time of the Holy Wars, there were strange occurrences surrounding the ISC. Hans mentions, “I knew that there was a lot of strangeness around the ISC—walking around the site to kind of, and when I did that, a fierce wind arose, really fierce...So there was a lot of built-up of stuff there having to do with the original efforts to build it” (Oral History Transcript 2005:25). The Dome, on the other hand, represents a place that was spared by the fire and maintains the communities’ ecumenical vision. Donovan has great reverence for this structure. After the fire he was overjoyed to hear that:

The Dome was still here, it was just something intellectually I knew. Then I walked into the Dome and the Dome felt like it was still here, that it was the same place. The mountain looked very different, but the Dome was still here. The Dome has always, ever since 1988, has been the thing for me, or like, if I can come into the Dome and put my bare feet on the floor of the Dome and then step into the center clay and then look out toward the West (there is a large octagonal window with a view of the valley), I get connected to stuff that I just can't comprehend. I had the same kind of emotional reaction when I heard that the Dome was still standing and I knew that lots of things made that happen beyond—it was just, I don't know, spiritual place (Oral History Transcript 2006:17).

The prayer room attached to the Dome is equally sanctified by the prayers uttered within its walls over the years. Asha conducted a meditative teaching session in the prayer room which I attended in the summer of 2008. She recalled another miraculous occurrence with the fire. A candle lit in the prayer room before the fire was still burning when Residents were finally allowed back onto the land a couple days after their evacuation (Field Notes June 25, 2008). My favorite place adjoining the Dome is the Lama library, which is filled with hundreds if not thousands of books from all of the spiritual traditions at Lama. The eclectic mix of books includes vast topics such as sensory healing, mind consciousness, theosophy, tarot runes, channeled aliens, Hindu scripture, Judaism, prayer, Christian monasticism, Islamic Mysticism, spiritual psychology, occult magic, Buddhism, etc.. The library resounds with Lama's openness to every spiritual path imaginable. Each space at Lama is created with reverberations of communal belief systems. I will briefly describe some of these locations and the practices, symbols, or design features that make them sacred.

The natural spring at Lama is surrounded by an Aspen Grove. An altar to an African water goddess graces its banks. I witnessed a sacred ceremony where a woman's

placenta was buried at this location in honor of the birth of her daughter. The spring has always held sacred characteristics as an important source of water on the Kiowa Peace Trail. A path leading to the Aspen Grove has an altar situated on the south side of the path and is dedicated to the Hindu deity, Hanuman.

A circular Labyrinth designed out of rocks and gravel is placed near the trail head to the Maqbara and is similar to designs of the Native American Southwest, and to the stone and boulder Labyrinths found in India. According to scholar, Jeff Saward (2003), the Labyrinth in India is related to several mythical narratives and to Indian manuscripts such as the Rajasthan and Gujarat. Saward also notes that “Many appear on Tantric drawings as protective magical charms...The Labyrinth symbolizes the one way passage out of the womb” (2003:62). The Labyrinth is often associated with sacred ritual space, which at Lama symbolizes an individual’s personal path of individual awakening and reaching the center, the heart. I attended one ritualized, meditative walk through the Labyrinth during a women’s retreat in the summer of 2009. Before our journey, we were purified with sage smoke and then walked slowly through the Labyrinth singing Native American songs (Field Notes June 19, 2009). After our Labyrinth experience, we prepared for a sweat lodge, another sacred ritual practice and site on Lama land, filled with Native American symbolism. For example, the fire where the rocks are heated symbolizes male power, while the lodge represents the womb of a female. When the stones from the fire are passed into the lodge it represents the moment of creation. The lodge becomes a place of purification and rebirth much like the sweat baths of Mesoamerica (Field Notes June 19, 2009). Another site on the land associated with the

Native American is the tipi circle, created for annual fall ceremonies held with some of the current Elders of the Taos Pueblo.

The hermitages, gardens, teacher's house, old kitchen, fire circles, music room, dewdrop building, sauna, community center, and the new Flag Mountain Cottage Industries building are all invested with sacred elements. Prayer flags grace all these buildings and carry powerful community messages. When you arrive on the land, the first visible symbol that you see is a large pole that rises up about ten feet from the ground, and at the top of this pole are smaller, wooden poles extending from it in a fan shape. Each beam is lined with prayer flags that flap in the breeze. It is a mesmerizing piece of artwork symbolizing the myriads of prayers from all the spiritual paths. One flag is called the "Meeting of the Ways" and depicts a flower with eight petals and a heart with wings in the center. Each petal represents symbols from Taoist, Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian, Sufi, and Sikh traditions. One prayer flag contains the "Lama Seal" representing the community, and it is an alchemical symbol representing the union of Sun and Moon over the river of life (Lama Website March 8, 2009). The prayer flags are not only sold for income, but allow leaving members and retreatants to take a significant piece of Lama with them into their own homes thus reinforcing communitas outside of the commune itself. I visited the homes of many former Lama Residents in Taos and Santa Fe, and most of them had prayer flags and other objects familiar to Lama.

Ritual activities with the help of prolific symbols, objects, and written texts have sacralized multiple spaces on Lama land. Supernatural events and oral traditions surrounding these events have further crystallized beliefs in the sacred nature of these

spaces. The way space and architecture is organized adds sacredness to these places on the land and in the structures that are built. The historical nature of Lama on sacred Native American land gives it a historical precedent of being sacrosanct. Pilgrimages to Lama have also cemented into its history the idea that it is a place of spiritual energy. Ritual activity has sacralized multiple spaces on Lama land. Material culture used in ritual fosters and maintains *communitas* even between ritual performances and infuses the mundane aspects of daily life with cohesion around shared beliefs. Increased levels of ritual activity and sacralization of space has been imperative to Lama's survival in the modern world.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: OUTSIDE RELATIONS AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

In creating a new social order, communal organizations must sever themselves from the society from which they are breaking away. Solidarity amongst members increases when there are significant boundaries between their community and the dominant culture. But all successful communes must have some interface with the outside in order to adapt to changes in the dominant culture and economically survive. Positive interactions are beneficial too, not only on the economic front but cooperative relations benefit communes in other exchange relationships as well. In times of crisis, communes are helped rather than hindered by amicable relations. A discussion of outside relations and boundary maintenance are two important elements of Lama's adaptation and survival in its 42 years of existence.

I. Outside Relations

Utopian experiments must grapple with multiple pressures from within and without in order to survive. Kanter's statistical analysis determined that 19th Century communes benefited from outside persecution, and this in turn served several functions for the communion mechanism. She stipulates, "Facing a common enemy binds people together... Since group cohesiveness has been defined as the ability to withstand threats to existence, social vaccination in the form of persecution should help to build up group

defenses” (Kanter 1972:102). Her study revealed that a higher proportion of successful communes had persecution experiences. Counterculture communes also experienced persecution incidents that in many instances caused communal failure. These communes were not fortified with enough internal strength to withstand these outside pressures. Communes, such as the Lama Foundation, survived in environments of hostility by nurturing favorable relations with their neighbors and became internally bonded without the need for persecution experiences.

Counterculture communes have a high failure rate because of lack of internal structures, which leads to an inability to deal with outside pressures. Hall declares, “Hip communes are notoriously unstable. Two years is an exceptional length of time for their existence” (1971:47). Outside pressures on Counterculture communes varied from locale to locale. In many areas of the country, the mainstream was ambivalent to the existence of communes. Roberts noted that the exceptions to this were, “In areas with heavy concentrations of communalists, such as New Mexico or northern California, where the anger of local Residents smolders and they question, ‘Why are these people allowed to stay in our neighborhood? What about property values?’” (1971:112). Communal failure was often directly attributed to pressures from the outside community. In the case of the Oz commune they faced violence, legal problems, and community boycotts to such an extent that they were forced to close its doors (Houriet 1973).

The Lama commune was founded in an environment of great hostility toward hippies and hippie communes. While many other communes closed their doors or suffered immensely under this persecution, Lama was able to avoid many of the issues

experienced by other communes for several reasons. Lama was geographically and institutionally isolated from the outside, its strict regulations and orderliness created a community that did not come under close scrutiny from the outside, and its relations with the outside became more positive over time as the Counterculture movement waned and tensions relaxed in the Taos community. Unfortunately, many of the communes neighboring Lama did not fare so well.

The Taos, New Mexico community was hostile to the large influx of hippies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This hostility made it difficult for many communes in the area to survive. On his personal tour of communes throughout the United States, Fairfield acknowledged a tense situation in Taos. He records, “When hippies (from the outside, not the commune) began flooding into the town, the local authorities got very upset. After all, the hippies didn’t have much money to spend and their presence scared off all the well heeled citizens of America” (1971:186). He saw the demise of the Five Star Commune as a result of continual harassment from authorities. Keith Melville noticed the same inflammatory situation when he visited Taos around the same time. He witnessed bullet holes in the “hip information center” and a situation of “seething intolerance” as a result of “radically different cultures trying to co-exist and not doing a very good job of it” (1972:140). The level of harassment by authorities was discussed in an interview Melville had with a member of the Morning Star East commune:

The neighbors got completely freaked out. All those people were coming in, and there was shit all over. It was a mess. So the courts got an injunction. The authorities said we didn’t have enough flush toilets... Then they said they’d arrest us for living in condemned structures. And finally it got so that it was illegal for anyone except Lou Gottlieb to set foot on the land. I mean, the police would come

up five mornings a week just before sunrise. You're lying in bed, and the man goes, 'Name, and date of birth,' and like if he catches your name and recognizes your face, you're busted...Finally, I got busted, and I was facing a choice. Either six months in jail or get out. So I packed my bags and got out (1972:145).

In the case of Morning Star East, harassment from the outside was just one of many of their problems that led to early dissolution.

The New Buffalo Commune lasted much longer but still received persecution by many elements from the outside community. This harassment varied in levels of intensity from being annoying to almost destroying the community. Arthur Kopecky, a former New Buffalo member, chronicles these frustrating experiences in the journals he wrote while living in the commune. He reports regular police raids. One of his entries records:

Friday: RAID! Last evening, just as Nixon was resigning, we got raided by three cops, two FBI's, backed up by a few carloads of state troopers, who stayed in the parking lot. Kemal took the rap and it cost us \$60 to get him off. One long haired narc chased Reb around and drew his gun on him. Rebel then gave him the slip through the kitchen. They left after an hour. All agree—magistrate, cops, and us—that they were foolish to have that pot so out front (2004:203).

Kopecky also reports difficulties in obtaining water rights for their farming operation and increased regulations in obtaining food stamps that appeared to be discriminatory against communards. One of their closest calls to losing their commune came with confusion on taxes that were owed by the commune. He records, "December 3, 1974: Today we paid land tax of \$151.52 to Taos County treasure for half of 1974. This is historical. Our history became very confused after 1968. We came very close to having New Buffalo auctioned off" (2004:214).

The levels of persecution varied for each commune in the Taos area with diverse results. For the Five Star Commune, outside persecution directly resulted in their

dissolution. For the Morning Star East commune, outside persecution was one of many reasons for communal failure. The New Buffalo Commune suffered from outside attacks and bureaucratic regulation aimed at shutting down communes. The Lama Foundation wasn't completely impervious from outside pressures, but generally they avoided them.

There are several reasons that Lama Foundation has been able to coexist peacefully with their neighbors, even during a time of general hostility to communal groups. The insularity of Lama and its geographical isolation benefited its removal from community hostilities. Lama's abolition of drugs and alcohol further diminished community concerns. But Lama wasn't completely immune to the tensions. When Jared was asked in an interview with Ammi Kohn, "Was there a lot of friction in those days between the Foundation and the locals?" he answered:

Yeah, they were a little bit far enough away from the main areas of traffic that a lot of people didn't know they were up there, but for those of us in Hondo, for instance and Seco and different places around there, we feared for our lives. There was a year when you didn't go to town to buy your groceries without a visible sidearm and you never went alone and you never hitchhiked. People had terrible stories of being driven out in the woods and beat up or raped. There were some murders (Oral History Transcript 2009:10).

Unlike other communes with poor sanitary conditions that led to diseases and intervention from health authorities, Lama did not have such problems. One Lama Resident, Azima, noticed a significant difference between Lama and other communes they visited. She recollects, "I remember going to other communes...I remember being sort of shocked at how dirty and depressing they were, and I don't know—there was a way that Lama sparkled...It was so orderly and yet there was so much freedom (Oral History Transcript 2005:26). Lama has been cooperative with the rules and regulations

of government agencies, unlike many other communes in the area. Richard felt that as Coordinator it was his duty to create a cooperative relationship with the Forest Service:

I was involved with being a liaison between the Forest Service. The good that came out of that, aside from the land swap which I think was very beneficial... The other part of the win-win situation was that it got us more engaged in the larger community and so there were Forest Service people coming to do surveys and to talk to us and to look at the land, spending more time on the Lama property and interacting with the Lama community. I was spending time off the mountain in meetings with the Forest Service and getting to know people in the Questa Ranger District (Oral History Transcript 2006:27).

As time went on, the relations with the outside community improved since Lama became more open to the outside community and served it in various ways.

In its first decade, Lama was a “retreat commune” with a monastic orientation and spiritual retreats were limited to its own members. Kanter describes retreat communes as those that “seek geographical isolation, they discard technology” and retreat in “both time and space” to a more “primitive existence” (1972:175). After the Holy Wars, the community needed to derive income from a retreat business, which forced the community to open up to the outside. At this time, Lama marketed itself to a selected portion of the mainstream population, those interested in New Age values and spiritual retreats offered by Lama. As a result of this new orientation, Lama became a spiritual school and what Kanter terms a “service commune.” A service commune “seeks engagement and involvement’ rather than retreat and withdrawal from society (Kanter 1972:191). As a service commune, Lama has sought for a specific constituency and seeks to reform it. The Lama Foundation began to interact with the environment with a strong sense of purpose and developed an “exchange relationship” where “all types of tools and

techniques and behaviors from the society can be incorporated instead of rejected by the commune” (Kanter 1972:192). Lama in turn utilizes these tools against the current rejected system in order to transform it. For example, they have co-opted communication devices such as the Internet and have developed a website to advertise their unique message to the outside world and obtain business in the process.

Lama’s new direction as a service commune altered its engagement with the dominant culture and this new direction has facilitated its perpetuation. Service communes, according to Kanter, achieve a high degree of longevity for several reasons. As they serve the outside community, they have a sense of purpose they can congeal around. The service commune also benefits from an exchange relationship with the outside that promotes healthy relationships with neighbors. The group has a heightened awareness of their superiority as they raise others to a higher plane. This ethos provides an in-group feeling which further strengthens solidarity. Finally, service communes have stronger belief systems and therefore stronger boundaries than retreat communes: “Their boundaries are more affirmative than negative, more exclusive than inclusive, and more strict than permissive” (Kanter 1972:195).

Lama has become a special type of service commune that Kanter refers to as “Service and Learning Commune.” These types of communes have grown out of the human potential movement and spiritual revival movement (1972:193). The advantages of a therapeutic community or learning center are that ideology is invigorated and members are trained to “know these beliefs deeply and intimately” (Kanter 1972:194).

A comparison of Lama with other successful service communes illustrates their effectiveness. Anthropologist David Plath examines the adaptive tactics in four successful Japanese communes that lasted for several decades. Each of the communes of his study engaged in some form of public relations to the outside. All four communes allowed outsiders to come into their facilities to learn about their inner workings. Two of them, Ittoen and Atarashiki Mura propagandized on a national scale. One community, Shinkyō served the village that once ostracized it by donating needed supplies and services such as building a new school. Ittoen sent its trainees into the community to do “selfless service” by doing menial chores or odd jobs for households in the surrounding town (Plath 1966:1160). The good relations that these communes developed are one of the major factors contributing to their successes.

There are other examples of long-lived, New Age communes that all have engaged in service to the outside world with great success. The Farm is an acclaimed commune in Tennessee. Since 1974, its program, Plenty International, has donated service and goods to the indigent in Third World countries. This program has been so effective that it is recognized by the United Nations as the most efficient foreign aid program, with only five percent overhead (Popenoe et al. 1984). Findhorn in Scotland is another successful commune, similar to Lama. It is an educational center that studies and practices universal and religious truths and has incorporated sustainability practices. Approximately 3,000 students attend Findhorn’s “University of Light” every year, and the commune has become one of the major tourist attractions in northern Scotland (Popenoe et al. 1984:191). Findhorn has stable relations with local neighbors and has

outreach all over the world. Because of its amicable relations and network, they received donations from around the world to purchase a trailer park it needed for visitors.

Lama has also benefited from a network of outside support that has grown over the years. In the case of the Hondo Fire, the outside community rallied around Lama with generous contributions that helped it rebuild. Like Findhorn, Lama now conducts outreach to thousands of supporters. They connect with this network via newsletters, emails, and their website. One seasoned Lama member explains, “I think that Lama is hooked into the local scene so strongly that it would be very difficult for them to be pulled out. They have lots of friends who are in positions of, not power necessarily, but certainly place” (Oral History Transcript 2006:24). Paul also finds that many people that leave Lama influence the world for good by engaging in other avenues of spiritual or humanitarian service. Lama’s improved relations with the dominant culture have encouraged its longevity.

Excellent relations with the outside have always been an important aspect to Lama’s survival. Its inception occurred in a hostile environment where other communes buckled and folded. In this early period, Lama’s insularity created a cocoon like environment for the community to get established and flourish. Lama was not as heavily targeted by governmental agencies because of their clean record and policy of no drugs and alcohol. As tensions relaxed in the Taos area and as Lama changed the direction of its focus outward, relations with the outside community became more frequent and many new associations were made. These connections have increased with a continuous stream of guests, variety of retreats, and an ever growing circle of outside support. These links

have fostered a positive image of Lama in Taos and the surrounding region and on a national and international level as a prominent leader in permaculture and sustainability practices. As an ecumenical spiritual school, members feel a higher sense of purpose as they send their message out into the world via their students who often engage in humanitarian service organizations after their departure.

External relationships have improved over extended periods of time to benefit Lama's adaptation to a changing outside world. Of all the factors that have contributed to Lama's success discussed thus far, all of them has increased in strength or improved, creating a stable community. The only factor that has diminished has been boundary maintenance. As a service learning commune it has always had a transient membership, but this has increased with each new decade. Even though weakened boundaries enervate the renunciation commitment mechanism, there are some very important side benefits that compensate for any weakness.

II. Boundary Maintenance

Communes that survive over long periods of time have several types of barriers that buffer the community from the dominant culture on the outside. Strong boundaries are essential for the renunciation commitment mechanism. As individual members renounce relationships on the outside they are able to focus on their commitment to the commune. Kanter explains that successful communes provide "structural arrangements which ensure that the individual will give up relationships outside the group" and "concentrate not only his loyalties and allegiances but also his emotional attachments and gratifications on the whole group. His potential for satisfactions within the group

increases as his options for relationships elsewhere are decreased” (1972:83).

Renunciation creates loyalties within the group that “provide maximum strength to the entire system” (Kanter 1972:82).

Kanter reveals that strong boundaries include physical boundaries such as geographical isolation, a homogenous population derived from strict admittance policies, and psychic boundaries which include creating a separate world in opposition to the outside world (1972:84). The Lama Foundation has benefited from all of these types of boundaries. Lama has always been favored with geographical isolation, a homogenous population, consistent protocols for removing undesirable members, a stringent screening process for new members, and psychic boundaries. All of these boundaries have remained consistent over the life of the community except for a very important aspect, cross boundary control which has significantly loosened with time. Where boundaries have softened, there have been salutary implications, not noted by Kanter, that actually strengthen rather than weaken the commune. Each of these aspects of renunciation will now be discussed in greater detail, and the discussion will include other commitment mechanisms that are also influenced positively by these same attributes.

Homogeneity is an essential element in creating a cohesive group. Communion in a group setting is more likely to occur if the membership has similar ideologies and backgrounds. Kanter reveals that successful communes of the 19th Century had populations that were similar. The most successful communes had not only analogous social or educational status and common ethnic origin but also a comparable religious background. Commonality allowed for “ease in mutual role-taking and identification

with one another and the collectivity” and facilitated communion. Lama has also benefited from a homogenous population. Gardner observed that at Lama, “They came from upper-middle-class backgrounds and to varying degrees were independently wealthy. They held degrees from the nation’s best universities. Like the founders of Libre, they were older (late twenties and early thirties)” (Gardner 1978:78). From my observations and from my limited survey responses, I ascertain that demographics have changed very little since its early days.

The demise of many communes in the Counterculture came as a result of Open Door Policies that allowed for uncontrolled access. By being non-selective, undesirable elements were introduced and communes like Drop City were impoverished by overwhelming numbers of people. Communes that lasted longer such as New Buffalo recognized the problems of their Open Door Policies and introduced new regulations restricting admittance. In their research of 21 successful modern communes, the Popenoes found that all but two communes had careful screening processes for new members. They found that communes, Stelle and the Abode of the Message, had a high turnover rate because of loose border control. All of the other successful communes had:

Elaborate selection procedures, involving trial periods running from weeks up to several years, frequently with increasing levels of commitment, and sometimes with a period away from the community to give the applicant perspective. The communities that take care in screening potential members seldom find it necessary to expel members (Popenoe et al. 1984:277).

Lama has always had a selective screening process, which has not changed. All new Stewards or volunteers submit an application with references. Before they are admitted, they are asked to sign a waiver and agree to all Lama’s rules and regulations. Any

Steward interested in becoming a year-round Resident must arrive at the property no later than the first of August (formerly the rule was the beginning of the summer), so that it could be determined how this person relates with the current Resident circle. In September or October, all potential candidates are interviewed in a lengthy process to determine compatibility with the group and to ascertain the individual's level of commitment. This process is called "consensus" and is completed with a unanimous vote by all current Residents. For Mikala, this was an intimidating process "I had heard that to stay there (Lama) you had to go a very rigorous process of applying and being kind of grilled and that it was—the people living there, they were intellectuals, basically" (Oral History Transcript 2006:3).

In the early days, many outsiders believed that Lama's strict policies made it elitist. Esther resided at the Magic Tortoise commune, which is in close proximity to Lama, and she felt that in the early days there was a

...certain click of people and I think that they were not so open to the world... I've never felt that they were elitist...But now they are really open to the world, at least in the summer, in the winter they try to go inward and work on their own development so that it will be a strong foundation (Oral History Transcript 2009:5)

In addition to restricting applicants for permanent residency, the community also restricts visitation. In the first decade, Lama only allowed visitors on Sunday's. Currently, there are designated visitors days, otherwise permission must be granted in advance. Richard recalls his first visit to Lama when he dropped off his sister for a Ram Dass retreat. He explains what happened:

I'd never been to Lama at that point. As I was just about to leave the parking lot, I was greeted by the person who I later understood was the Watch...And, greeted quite brusquely, and told in no uncertain terms that since I was not enrolled for that retreat, I was not permitted to come onto the property. I was quite taken aback by that... "You can't leave the parking lot." I said, "Well, what about if I'd just take a walk around and look a little bit." And he said, "Alright, OK you can do that," and gave me some kind of time frame of five minutes or something like that (Oral History Transcript 2006:7).

Another key process in maintaining a homogenous population is the ability to expel undesirable members. Expelling members that disrupt unity enhances the mortification mechanism. The mortification mechanism requires new members to replace self identity with the norms and values of the group. One way to achieve group identity is for communes to implement "sanctions" upon deviants. Lama has developed several forms of rewards for compliance and commitment to the community as well as sanctions for non-compliance. There are ceremonies that involve blessings and praise for hard work and commitment. These occur in public ceremonies or in Steward or Resident interviews. Sanctions mostly come in the form of communications in these same types of interviews. The ultimate sanction is expulsion from the community.

I witnessed an expulsion of a member the first summer I volunteered at Lama. There was a young girl that was critical of Lama and vocalized her disgruntlement at Steward meetings. She did not like mandatory meditation and other ritual activities. After her Steward interview, this same girl was in tears and told me that she and six Residents mutually agreed that she should leave the community (Field Notes June 12, 2008). On another occasion, I witnessed the leadership invite an unpleasant and uninvited guest to leave:

At dinner the community manager and her assistant sat close to a man across from me who had invited himself to help with the Healing Order. The manager very calmly invited him to leave. He was a bit brash and replied that he had been “called” to come here and they would regret him not being there, and the assistant assured him that they wouldn’t regret it. Later, I saw this gentlemen pack and leave with his things (Field Notes June 23, 2008)

The outside world can be a threat to a member’s loyalties, and so successful communes create an environment very different from the outside world. One way they accomplish this is by creating “psychic boundaries” that “conceptualize the community positively and the outside negatively” (Kanter 1972:84). The negative perceptions of the outside world are easily accomplished at Lama, since all members I surveyed had a negative outlook on mainstream America. A list of some of their critiques include: out of control capitalism and materialism, war over oil and religion, people wrapped up in doing not “being,” separateness and non interaction with one another (not being “one”), media and entertainment that indoctrinate and preoccupy the populace, individualism expressed as selfishness, poor values, and superficial approach to life. Because of these negative views of the mainstream and Lama’s current orientation as a spiritual school, it is likely that members view themselves in a more positive frame than the society at large.

Another way communes can conceptualize their communities positively is for members to create a completely new world. Lama has accomplished this by giving people new identities, creating a new vocabulary, and by creating a different outlook on sequential time. In my survey, most respondents felt Lama gave them a new identity. Nine responded affirmatively to the question, “Has your identity shifted since coming to Lama, for instance do you have a new name in association with coming to Lama?” Two

people did not answer this question, four said no, and six answered yes with qualifications. Many that answered yes received new names as initiates into a Sufi Order. In its early days, Lama had distinctive hippie dress and there are some today who dress in similar fashion. Sunny recalls that at one time in his “Sado phase” he always went around Lama barefoot (Oral History Transcript 2005:13

Lama has a distinct vocabulary that differentiates and separates it from the outside world. I will provide a short list of some of the most common words. The word “container” refers to the entire community or to particular sub-units including the individual. It also has spiritual and unity connotations to it. Another common word at Lama is “transmission.” Ruby explains the meaning, “Transmission is passing knowledge. Passing knowledge from generation, to giving that transmission from person to person... You’re not just giving information. You’re trying to give the essence of it” (Oral History Transcript 2006:11). Another honorary term is “Lama Bean.” I heard several interpretations of who is considered a Lama Bean. One person told me that a chickpea has to cook for awhile and so in order to become a Lama Bean you had to live in the community for awhile. Other terms include: curriculum, blockages, intention, invitation, witnessing, practice, and invocation and terms related to different spiritual paths such as “Ya Fattah” (meaning “Oh the Opening”). This distinct vocabulary is another aspect of the psychic boundary necessary for renunciation of the outside world.

Communal groups such as Lama have also constructed a different boundary by creating their own orientation to the passage of time. Sociologist John Hall and anthropologist David Buchdahl both have considered the distinctiveness of

Counterculture versions of time. Hall proposes that Counterculture communal groups remove themselves from a work-shift oriented dominant culture by creating a new time orientation. The communes of Hall's study replaced synchronic time with moments bound by the "here and now" and emotive experiences only found in the present. Time passes not with hours or minutes but with experiences. Hall found that anarchic communes had a very loose orientation to time. Structured commune's concept of time held individuals more accountable for accomplishing tasks. At the Twin Oaks commune, "established diachronic schemes of time are eliminated" and replaced with a notion that "time is labor" (Hall 1978:54). Buchdahl concludes that the Counterculture has different orientations about the past and future. The future is marred by what they consider "a dead and dying social order" and the past is part of a world that they reject (1977:470). The hippie consciousness "envision the past, present, and future as a single enduring moment" (Buchdahl 1977:479).

At Lama the term "be here now" is a familiar phrase that is consistent with their ideology. Being present in the moment is encouraged as a form of meditative practice. Time orientations are not as relaxed as in anarchic communes. Bells ring on certain hours demarcating the moments of work, meditation, and communal gathering. But on the other hand, the flow of experiences is more essential than diachronic time. For instance, on a women's retreat in the summer of 2009 our group was heavily entrenched in the experience of a sweat lodge. The ceremony took a couple of hours longer than anticipated. An outside guest lecturer was scheduled to meet with our group in the early afternoon and was rather upset that our group did not show up for the session. Our group

leader was apologetic but not unnerved and unabashedly remarked that the way we used our time was as it should be (Field Notes June 16, 2009). It was the experience not the schedule that mattered most. Lama's time orientation is another aspect of a psychic boundary and "provides the possibility of a boundaried site for the enactment of a new world" (Hall 1978:52).

Another critical boundary in Kanter's model is isolation and cross boundary control. At Lama, this boundary was rigid in its early days and has relaxed since then. In its first 10 years, Lama did not allow members to travel outside the community except to conduct sporadic business. Ruby describes it as a time that "was more vigorous and more monastic than certainly it is now" (Oral History Transcript 2006:4). Trace speaks fondly of those times when, "You were at Lama to be at Lama. It was the belief at the time. If you were there and you gave your energy to it and didn't commute. That was the story. There was no vacation...it was marvelous, the communal atmosphere" (Oral History Transcript 2007:20). Ruby remarks on the changes she sees in Lama now:

Lama is more integrated into the world than it was before. Lama is now in the 21st Century. We were in the 20th Century then. We didn't have a computer on the land. We now have eight? Six? We didn't actually have an office. We had the Ram Dass bus... We had one telephone that took twenty years to get up on the mountain because people protested a telephone at Lama. I would say our interface with the more secular part of the world is much more integrated now (Oral History Transcript 2006:19).

The move from almost complete isolation and withdrawal to openness and mobility has occurred for several reasons. As discussed previously, the move to a service community (spiritual retreat center) shifted the community's mission, which included opening up its borders to outsiders and itinerant members. Lama is also following a

current trend in modern communes that is more amenable to mobility. Kanter actually cites Lama as an example of the mobile populations associated with service communes dedicated to growth and learning:

Such communities not only offer a mission around which to organize but also have found a way to legitimize the drift and mobility characteristics of the commune movement today. They tend to be composed of two sets of people—a core group that makes a permanent commitment and takes responsibility for the commune’s learning functions, and a transient group with a more limited involvement and an expectation that they will move out of the group. At Lama, the core group remains at the commune through the rugged New Mexican winter, while transients tend to come in April and leave in October (1972:194).

While the physical boundaries have become more porous the psychic boundaries are maintained by the service mission and cohesion around a central purpose.

Lama also has officially mandated transiency with a new rule they entitle “the seven year rule.” Lama has carefully guarded its ecumenical flavor. When teachers such as Ram Dass and Murshid Sam Lewis wanted to obtain residency at Lama, their requests were declined because no one wanted the commune to become heavily dominated by the teachings of one person. In the same vein, individuals that stayed on the land too long had a tendency to become entrenched in their own ways of doing things and swayed the community too heavily in one spiritual path. The rule was instituted when one member, who had been there for seven years refused to leave. To prevent entrenchment of any member, the Resident circle created a new rule which limited residency at Lama to seven years. Most members I spoke with believed the seven year rule preserved the egalitarian and ecumenical nature of the community. Rocky comments on the seven year rule:

No one is getting too entrenched or feeling too entitled, because if people get to that point they have to leave. New people are coming in and bringing in new

ideas and fresh perspective. But for some things, you need someone here to maintain that vision and maintain the focus on it. That's been a real issue is that things get started and then that person leaves and then someone has to start all over (Oral History Transcript 2009:7).

Cross boundary movement has also increased at Lama with each decade. Kanter reveals in her study that successful 19th Century communes controlled movement across their boundaries "in such a way that they did not threaten the group's insulation or enable attachments outside the group (1972:85). She found that communes that allowed for members to leave daily, weekly, and monthly tended to be unsuccessful. What does this mean in a modern context where you have a successful commune such as Lama that has fluid movement across its borders and yet still remains successful? I propose that porous borders in a current context have several beneficial ramifications that were not considered by Kanter's model and offset the negative impact on the renunciation commitment mechanism.

There are several side benefits to Lama's revolving door. One benefit is that its mission is better served by reaching more people. Mikala feels that this is appropriate, "Lama is a school more than anyone's home. That was part of the invocation. It tends to kick people out after several years" (Oral History Transcript 2006:22). Routinization is a process that happens in the life-cycle of communes and it can attenuate enthusiasm and as a result *communitas* wanes. Another benefit to Lama's transiency is that it rejuvenates *communitas* by bringing in a fresh crowd that has not gotten bogged down with the mundane aspects of communal life. For many, seeing new faces was refreshing and made life at Lama more interesting. Lorelei appreciated this aspect of Lama, "People

from around the world constantly showed up. I loved that too, because you didn't have to leave the mountain. The world just kind of came to you" (Oral History Transcript 2006:10). Another benefit to having fresh crews arrive is the energy they bring to crisis situations. Many of the members living at Lama before 1996 left after the Hondo Fire. If it weren't for newcomers that had fresh energy and perspective, Lama probably wouldn't have survived (Rose Oral History Interview 2006:10).

Lama's shift to openness to the outside world helped it adapt to a changing environment on the outside. It assisted the process of accommodating the ideals of a new generation. The adaptability of long-lived communes is essential for perpetuation. Kanter proposes that communes that last for more than a generation must "change the terms under which they operate" and as the mainstream changes "they must somehow reckon with that changed environment" (1973:494). Communes today operate in a very different environment than in the 1960s and 1970s. In the past two decades, young people are coming to Lama for different reasons than in the past. They are not revolting against the older generation as Counterculture youth. Lama has stiff competition in today's world for the allegiance of young people. Individuals do not easily give up the outside world nor do they "shed their habits and customs easily" (Hall 1978:29). Current members are used to mobility and many more individuals own their own cars. They are also more technologically attuned. Rose describes Lama's shift to accommodate the rising generation:

Yeah, yeah, I would say, philosophically there has definitely been a shift...the younger generation, when that shift came to the younger; there was a lot more interaction with town. I think older people had more solid practices, too. So there

was something to do in your cabin alone at night. Whereas the younger people who are still exploring want to go that class in town or want to hear that lecture or want to interact there. The X generation I hate to say it. I mean to put that form. But the younger people grew up in a different technological world than older people who can remember having no TV. (Oral History Transcript 2006:8).

Another accommodation that Lama has made for a rising generation accustomed to creature comforts, is an upgrading of facilities and housing. Ideology creates communal commitment, but if conditions are too rustic and miserable individuals are less likely to stay. A major concern for communes, according to Hall, is “what kind of life they are providing for their members” (1978:199). In doing this, Lama is balancing its values of simplicity and non-materialism with creating living conditions that are satisfactory to individual members.

A final benefit to the fluid nature of Lama over the decades has been a growing circle of supporters on the outside. Many members are reluctant to leave Lama and so they remain connected to Lama in various forms. Most visitors to Lama return multiple times in various capacities. Renaldo is typical, and has returned over and over again to volunteer his services to the community. He mentions, “I would take every chance I got, driving up to Lama and bringing things and visiting with people and just seeing how they were doing” (Oral History Transcript 2007:10). Others become continuing members, board members, or “free associates.” Many of them relocate in close proximity to Lama. Many have built homes on Lama Mountain in the small town of Lama, and they regularly volunteer at many events including Zikr and Shabbat. Many others, including Board members, live in Taos, Santa Fe, and neighboring Arroyo Hondo. The Board of Trustees

strengthens the Resident circle with bi-annual visits. The annual meeting held once a year becomes a Lama reunion where old friendships are renewed.

The outer circle became an essential support system to Lama after the Hondo Fire. Siddiq calls the outer circle “graduates” from Lama’s spiritual school. He believes that these graduates offer a needed resource during crisis. In general terms, the Lama Council and the Board provide stability in the midst of fluctuating leadership. Siddiq is certain:

...that their presence in Santa Fe and Taos and around and about in their communication helps to preserve the tradition. I mean there’s an invocation that’s made in the hearts of each of us who have graduated from Lama and I think that invocation lives on in us and probably comes back to the community, making it harder to abandon it (Oral History Transcript 2008:38).

The stability and strength of older members on the outside is also noted by a current Resident:

There’s tons of politics here. But I mean people are coming and going who have different visions and different people holding the day to day governing and they might understand what their responsibilities and sort of over-view of power is. And so it’s always changing, but I feel like there’s this bigger community sort of holding it together that if something sort of runs contrary to that view then they can step in...there’s always people holding Lama at a greater level and like paying attention to what’s going on (Oral History Transcript 2009:4).

The outside circle not only provides advice, stability, and a resource, they also provide financial support in the form of fundraising and donations. The outside circle would not exist were it not for its impermanent residency requirements.

Lama is part of a growing trend that is exploring new ways communities can operate. The Rainbow Family is an example of a highly mobile community. They gather by the thousands once a year in various locations in America and in Europe. They have a total membership of 20,000 (Sreenivasan 2008:240). Rainbows gather in remote

wilderness locations “to form a gypsy city, continually appearing, disappearing, and reappearing” (Niman 1997:97). There is a growing trend of New Age communes that offer temporary experiences in communal and spiritual living just as Lama has done. Findhorn is most similar to Lama in that it has a large outside circle of supporters and promotes a fluid membership. Findhorn has high turnover by design:

Virtually no one thinks of Findhorn as a permanent home. It is a place people live for a while to contribute to its effort to bring light to the world and also to develop their own spiritual life and practical knowledge so they can make their life count somewhere else. When they feel that they’ve learned as much as they can they move on (Popenoe et al. 1984:187).

Lama has also become a place of learning, graduating, and leaving but the difference maybe that many return over and over again.

Boundary maintenance remains an important feature for Lama’s survival. It has always had the advantage of geographic isolation and a homogenous population. It has protected the community with stringent admittance procedures and sanctions that allow for undesirable members and visitors to be expelled. The community has also created important psychic barriers by providing a new world with different schemata for time, dress, and language. While connections to the outside world have increased, these connections have been vital in its adaptation to a changing environment and a rising generation that it accommodates. And while cross-boundary traffic has increased, the salutary effects are revitalization of *communitas*, servicing its mission as a spiritual school, and creating an important circle of outside support

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: CONCLUSIONS FROM RESEARCH

Utopian experiments innovative new types of social structures and economic systems that are egalitarian in nature and fundamentally different than forms found in the mainstream. They create an environment where social interactions foster amorous bonds and connections on deeper levels than are experienced in other environs, and communitarianism perpetuates an experience where individuals are inextricably connected to the welfare of others. Communes create novel worlds that set new trends that are often adopted by the mainstream. There are great advantages in researching communal organizations because they are vehicles for social change, are “cognitively-based reconstructions of reality” and are “innovative approaches to the questions of how, and for what, to live” (Hall 1978:8).

The Lama Foundation has demonstrated how a commune can remain resilient over several decades in the face of great adversities. It has been a unique laboratory that has been emboldened by its vision of a better world where humans can celebrate religious diversity, share worldly wealth, and connect on deep, emotional levels. Their vision of the advancement of human beings through the awakening of consciousness and sublimating the “ego,” has turned a once monastic institution into a spiritual university where graduates carry their message out into the world. The Lama Foundation considers

itself a place where people learn how to live in communion with each other and the natural world, and they now export this expertise beyond their borders.

Over the last century, scholars have investigated intentionally designed communities to learn more about experimental social structures and to uncover the secret sauce that makes them operate and function over long periods of time. My anthropological study of the Lama Foundation is also designed to uncover the combination of factors that has led to its perpetuation. Kanter's empirical analysis developed in the 1970s has been the most useful model and predictor of success for communal structures. Even though her study provides the common elements found in successful communes in the 19th Century, her study remains a useful framework for my research because modern intentional communities operate under the same principles of commitment as they did then and in the early days of the Counterculture movement.

Hugh Gardner's subsequent comparative study of Counterculture communes in the early 1970s using Kanter's commitment mechanisms, including the Lama Foundation, has also been immensely helpful to my research. His findings have become a basis for my comparison of Lama 40 years later. Lama was the highest scoring commune of all 13 Counterculture communes of Gardner's study for commitment mechanisms. Over its four decades of development, all commitment mechanisms at Lama have been strengthened rather than diminished through various strategies with a few exceptions.

While Kanter's model was highly predictive of Lama's success, there have been several modern adaptations including greater individualism, transiency, and increased

openness to the dominant culture that are not discussed in Kanter's analysis. These modern trends offer challenges to Kanter's renunciation mechanism. Nineteenth century communes thrived as separate, enclosed societies where renunciation of the outside world was imperative for commitment to the community. The mainstream culture now values individual expression and mobility, and communal structures have adapted to these changes. Only one aspect of the renunciation mechanism, cross-boundary control, has decreased in strength at the Lama Foundation. Transiency has increased and borders have become more porous, but with other salubrious effects. The Lama Foundation has the right elements that proffer stable institutions that contribute to Kanter's commitment mechanisms while at the same time allowing for flexibility in adapting to a changing outside environment.

One of the fundamental features of Lama's success came in its early days with charismatic influence. The community has perpetually prospered under charismatic elements from three important sources: the original founders, charismatic teachers and gurus, and on-going community charisma. The latest form of charisma is a much more stable type, which provides greater strength to transcendence and to the community itself. The Lama Foundation was founded by charismatic leaders who had a vision and a well thought out plan for creating a spiritual home based on "awakening consciousness." Their By-Laws established their vision in written form and this document governed the community even through turbulent times. The By-laws, well established social structures, and a tradition of honoring multiple spiritual paths provided a smooth transition through community crisis and loss of individual charismatic leaders. Ongoing

influence of spiritual teachers and the original founders is incarnated in community myth and enhances “institutional awe,” which has been elevated over the decades. The transcendence mechanism has been emboldened over the decades by institutionalized community charisma that connects members to a “central and meaningful feature of existence,” a set of shared beliefs (Kanter 1972:113).

The Lama Foundation had an advantage over many other communes of its era because they had a common purpose and coalesced around shared beliefs that are both indispensable to the creation of transcendence (Kanter 1972:122). At the same time, the shared ideology had room for modification and negotiation, which is essential for ideological work to be effective. Ideological planning has allowed Lama to alter their generalized beliefs to accommodate changing circumstances. The Lama commune has used two of the methods Bennett Berger describes in ideological work to maintain ideological integrity. They have “struggled” against “oppressive circumstances” during a time of community schism and adapted their belief system to “accommodate” a new direction for the community after the Hondo Fire and a necessary economic move to offer retreats to outsiders (Berger 1981:21). Both social institutions and community ideology at Lama interplay with each other and as a result shape and vindicate the other (Shenker 1986:242).

From the very beginning, Lama was distinct from other communes set up in the Taos area. It was highly structured with a formal set of regulations regarding organizing labor and modifying conduct. Gardner believed that Lama was the most highly structured commune in the Counterculture (1978:83). There is a link between rigid social

structures and communal success, and Lama has been able to maintain and improve upon these structures over the past four decades. Ideology has always been inextricably linked with Lama's social structures. The labor system is infused with the value of volunteerism and selfless service referred to as "seva." The value of equality is inculcated into a system of rotating leadership and consensual decision making. And finally, the value of "discipline" is heralded by the ringing of community bells that mark a structured schedule, which includes many forms of meditative practice and community meetings. The Lama Foundation has achieved success by creating structure and order without threatening the autonomy of the individual and throughout its existence has provided individuals more options and freedoms as part of its adaptation to modern trends.

Lama's social structures also enhance Kanter's commitment mechanisms of transcendence, communion, and mortification. Greater structure and organization of labor contributes to transcendence, a schedule that generates communal gatherings contributes to communion, and consensual decision making regarding admittance into the community contributes to mortification. As a result of successful institutions, Lama has developed a resilient economic system that has adapted to internal and external economic circumstances.

Lama has survived for over 40 years because of a well-planned economic system that has worked. Lama has been able to engage their membership in economic cooperation by synchronizing their economic system with their overarching ideologies. The types of product sold and the forms of economic distribution augment a sense of purpose and reiterate communal values. Lama's publications produce income while

espousing community values, spiritual and natural building retreats reflect norms and values on the spiritual and physical plane, and products such as prayer flags are emblems of communal solidarity that are taken into the homes of members within and without the community. Lama's economic system is symbiotic with ideological planning and as a result has significantly contributed to its perpetuation.

Conflict management mechanisms at Lama have increased in sophistication over its history and mitigated schism and collapse. Conflict management benefits the mortification mechanism which binds individuals to community norms and beliefs. Mortification also encourages members to accept the control of the group through a process of developing openness and trust. Lama has three important tools in conflict management that have made their appearance at different stages of its development. There are several meetings including Heart Club, Tuning, and men's and women's lodges that offer a space for open sharing and airing out of difficulties in regards to interpersonal relationships. A second tool is "curriculum training" that is designed to support personal growth and healthy communal interactions. A third tool is consensus and conflict management training of members by outside professionals. Conflict is also assuaged by ritual activity which has increased in intensity in recent years.

Ritual activity has strengthened the Lama Foundation since its inception. It is also the most vital component of achieving solidarity in an ecumenical setting. Regularized group contact strengthens the commitment mechanism of communion and this mechanism has intensified over the course of its history. Ritual activity has been scheduled with greater frequency in the past two decades as an important vehicle in

unifying an increasingly transient membership. Ritual activity serves several important functions that bolster the community. It reestablishes the communities' overarching ideologies, attenuates conflict, and revitalizes "communitas" or "collective charisma" while diminishing routinization. Group rituals, according to Kanter, are the most significant aspect of community life "for it is here that the higher, transcendent meaning of living in Utopia is affirmed" (1972:47).

In its early days, Lama had various opportunities for silent and group meditation including the morning "sit" in the prayer room, hermitages, and silent hours or days. Chanting and singing accompanied these early forms of meditation. A different form of collective meditation occurred in communal labor which is also called "selfless service" or "seva." These are all still regularized practices at Lama. Murshid Sam Lewis introduced the "Dances of Universal Peace" which added movement and dance to meditation. These dances became a habitually scheduled activity in the weekly Zikr held on Thursday nights. Another influential teacher, Zalman Schachter established a weekly Shabbat service which has been a well attended religious celebration. Circling for meals was an early practice that has increased in regularity and occurs in many forms including before and after participation in "seva" and in celebrations of various kinds. All of these ritual activities constitute multiple opportunities to connect and unify the membership while reinforcing communitas in the enactment of all other daily activities. In addition, these performances have sacralized specific precincts on the land.

Ritual activities with the assistance of ubiquitous symbols, objects, and written texts have sacralized multiple spaces on Lama land which reinforces liminality and

communitas even after ritual has abated. Oral tradition and all forms of material culture crystallize community beliefs and further enhance the sacred nature of these spaces. The organization of space and architecture in ways that are considered “holy” also endows them with spiritual energy. The land is inherently sacred because it is revered by Native Americans as a historical stop on the Kiowa Peace Trail. The burial of spiritual teachers on Lama land has intensified its spiritual status and it has become a place of pilgrimage. Over time, an increasing number of spaces including the mountain on which Lama resides have become formalized as sacred locations. Sacralization of space alongside ritual activity contributes to the communion mechanism and promotes Lama’s chances for survival. It gave the community the impetus to rebuild after the Hondo Fire and it enhances the economic success of spiritual retreats. It has also provided positive connections with the outside community which has been another critical component to Lama’s success.

Positive relations with the outside are important for communal survival. Several communes in the Taos area met an early demise in the early 1970s due to harassment and contentious relations with the outside community. The Lama commune was developed during this time of persecution but avoided conflict for several reasons. The Foundation was geographically isolated from the Taos community. Their motivations were different than other communes in the area, which made them insular and closed off from the large influx of transient youth. Their strict rules about drugs and alcohol, their orderliness, and excellent sanitary conditions assuaged any public concern about their disruption to the dominant culture’s moral codes as well as health codes. Over the years, the Lama

Foundation has improved its relations to the outside community as they have moved from a monastic community to a “service-learning” organization. As a spiritual school, Lama has developed outreach and important connections with the outside world while instilling a sense of higher purpose and an “in-group” feeling amongst its membership. This higher sense of purpose along with all of the other features summarized thus far have increased in strength and all benefit Kanter’s commitment mechanisms. From my study, I have found that only one aspect of boundary maintenance, cross border control, has decreased in vitality since its inception

In creating a sustainable alternative to the outside world, successful communes have rigid boundaries to protect their unique society. There are several facets to optimal boundary maintenance outlined by Kanter which include: rigid physical boundaries such as geographical isolation, exclusivity, homogenous population, rigorous screening process for new members, and psychic boundaries which innovates a separate world on a cognitive level (1972:84). In comparison to a majority of Counterculture communes, Lama had firmer boundaries which enabled it to survive longer than others and most of these boundaries have not relaxed with the passage of time. Lama has always had a consistently homogenous population and sanctions to remove undesirable members. Its stringent screening process for new members has also remained consistent. Psychic boundaries at Lama have been created by a separate vocabulary, mode of dress, and a different perception of the passage of time. The only mechanism that has attenuated is a decrease in cross boundary control.

Movements across the boundaries at Lama have been beneficial to the commune's survival in an ever-changing world. The increased traffic to and from the land has occurred for several reasons and with advantageous results. The Lama Foundation and many other modern communal experiments have adapted to a modern world by a closer alignment with the dominant culture. At Lama, increased connections to the outside come as a vital economic component as well as an accommodation to the changing culture of a rising generation. Technological advances and devices that connect cultures on a global level have infiltrated communal structures such as Lama. The community shift to outside retreats and orientation as a service-learning commune by design created a transitory population. Modern trends of increased mobility has also influenced cross border traffic. Lama has also enacted regulations such as the "Seven Year Rule" which mandates expulsion from the community after seven years of residency. Members of Lama that I interviewed all agree that living in community over long periods of time becomes difficult. Members that stay at Lama for extended periods tend to get deeply rooted in their perspectives and religious leanings which can threaten the ecumenical nature of the community. One of the side benefits of rotating membership is the revitalization of *communitas* and diminishing inevitable processes of routinization. Other side benefits of porous borders are the creation of an outside circle and network of support and the promotion of Lama's mission as a spiritual school.

The Lama Foundation is truly a unique enterprise that has avoided many of the pitfalls experienced by other Counterculture communes. There have been recent scholarly examinations that consider why communes developed in this era had such high

rates of failure. Sociologist Gilbert Zicklin conducted a study of 21 Counterculture communes, and he concludes that the ideology of the Counterculture movement actually hindered the prosperity of the concomitant communal movement. Counterculture values repudiated the mainstream but did not provide viable alternatives for “a better way of life” that intentional communities could organize around. The Counterculture value of openness and acceptance of everyone generated communal structures with no boundaries. Anti-establishment feelings negated a move toward internal boundaries, regulations, and governing structures which are critical elements for success. Some communes isolated themselves so completely from the outside world that their isolation limited their survival, while others became so outwardly incongruous with straight culture that persecution led to abandonment. The severest hindrance had to do with the difficulty of “achieving long-lasting communal bonds” (Zicklin1983:164). Without communal bonds, internal conflicts led to dissolution or to a move toward authoritarian leadership. Occasionally there were isolated incidences of communes that had a specific alternative message that attracted “the alienated and the searching” and had a greater degree of success (Zicklin1983:163). Overall, Zicklin determines that Counterculture values were inconsistent with values that create successful intentional communities.

Another scholar Timothy Miller evaluated specific criteria that lead to failure in Counterculture communes. From his survey of approximately 65 diverse Counterculture communes, he concludes that there are multiple reasons for failure but the central problems are: open-door policies that encourage free-loaders to abound, internal dissension and conflict, ideals not realized resulting in diminishing enthusiasm, inability

to survive the loss of charismatic leadership, external pressures from outside communities, and the waning of the Counterculture as a movement (Miller 1999:225).

The Lama Foundation differed from the Counterculture communes that failed in Miller and Zicklin's examinations. Lama had its own distinct set of values, which offered a superior alternative to the mainstream, and these ideals were realized through social structures that gave order and meaning to each member. While the founders and members are critical of the mainstream, they believe they have an eminently better alternative and a higher sense of purpose. Instead of just "dropping out" they gathered as a group dedicated to "awakening conscious" and developing spiritual practices. Even though the commune is critical of the mainstream culture, they have not isolated themselves and have positive interactions with the outside. They have the same Counterculture values of simplicity and connections with the natural environment, and they approach the value unity of all people in a different manner than other Counterculture communes that opened their doors to everyone. They believe in the unity of all people, but have determined that unity can occur without everyone living under the same roof and have limited membership as a practical necessity. There are a few more contemporary studies that enumerate attributes of success which describe similar features found at Lama.

A couple of recent studies have taken another approach by focusing on successful experiments rather than ubiquitous failures. Their analysis generates general characteristics and organizational features that are essential to long-lived communes such as Lama. Their findings provide insight on recent adaptations not available in Kanter's

model. Barry Shenker conducted an extensive examination in 1986 of three of the most successful types of Utopian experiments in terms of longevity: the Hutterite Colonies, the Kibbutzim, and therapeutic communities. The purpose of his study was to understand how these intentional communities manage specific operational problems (1986:12). These same qualities are also recognized in the Lama commune and are consistent with my findings.

Shenker came up with a list of 69 separate characteristics that cumulatively contribute to persistence. Each of these 69 qualities can be grouped into categories. These three communities all emerged at a time of great social change, are not incongruous with the wider society, and have a network of outside support. They started with a vague ideology and have since engaged in ideological planning that has responded to environmental, internal, and economic needs. The ideology has remained relatively consistent and there is a feeling of the “rightness of cause.” Each one is economically successful and their economic system is congruous with ideology. They all were started by charismatic leadership but quickly transitioned to more democratic forms of governance. Solidarity in all three types of communes is achieved by the development of a mutual faith; and each community has emphasized the socialization of children. These communes all have firm boundaries, and each community has created a balance between community and individual where individuals are given various forms of personal satisfaction on a daily basis to enhance a sense of well-being. (Shenker1986:217).

Several other scholars have examined communal structures for elements that contribute to success and they all generate similar conclusions. Scholars John and

Virginia Friesen provide a shorter list of criteria for successful communes. Their categories include: communes that have leadership that is formulated to replace charismatic individuals; have strong physical, social, and behavioral boundaries; have structured institutional life, but not stifling; have strong belief systems; have an ability to change and adapt to a changing environment; and have commitment apparatus (Friesen et. al. 2004:245). All three of these studies give disproportionate attention to individual autonomy and individual need satisfaction as a necessary component of success for long-lived communities. I argue that the reason for this increased attention is that communal experiments have had to adapt to an outside culture that has become increasingly centered on individuality.

The Lama Foundation has all the positive qualities mentioned in recent studies, including adapting their structures to accommodate more individual freedoms and creature comforts while maintaining the vitality of their institutions. The positive features outlined in recent studies align perfectly with Kanter's theoretical framework. The Foundation was observed by Hugh Gardner to have strong commitment mechanisms in the early 1970s and all of these mechanisms have been strengthened and improved upon since its inception. The strength of these mechanisms has directly influenced community solidarity and its perpetuation. The modern adaptation to the current culture has also influenced longevity. The Lama Foundation is poised to continue operating its spiritual school and promoting the experience of living in community, but its future vitality will depend on the continued commitment of the current generation.

I. Future Research

The search for the ultimate Utopia continues unabated in modern times, and each communitarian experiment comes with a unique template. There are many new formulations that push the boundaries of societal norms and propose new ways a community can exist, including varying levels of communal ownership and interaction. These new types of communities include eco-villages, quasi-communes, co-housing developments, cooperatives, community partnerships, mobile communities, etc... Interest in community building is thriving and local and regional networks of communal organizations are expanding. Social scientists should take advantage of these extraordinary laboratories that are situated on a wide open frontier of social exploration. These are places of discovery and these nascent communities create unique designs for social interaction and communion with the natural world that needs to be preserved in scholarly works.

What happens in communal settings is relevant to the dominant society and the connection between communal organizations and the outside world would be an excellent platform for future research. Communal experiments influence the mainstream cultures to varying degrees and in various ways. The Counterculture communal movement was a “large social phenomenon” that has broad implications to the mainstream culture and transformed daily life in America in many ways (Miller 1999:238). For instance, changes have occurred in American cuisine with a shift to whole and natural foods that can now be found in specialty markets and almost all commercial supermarkets. Health care has been influenced with “public receptivity to holistic health” practices such as

naturopathy, natural birthing, chiropractic services, and aromatherapy (Miller 1999:239). The Counterculture skepticism of centralized authority has spawned the expansion of the Internet and personal computers where individuals have the power to make their own connections. Finally, Miller notes that, “The era’s notions of openness, of inclusiveness, have had a lasting impact in the spiritual world, with the increasing spread of alternative religions, multiculturalism, and gender liberation” (1999:238). Another important aspect is the impact Counterculture communes have had on environmental awareness.

The beliefs of the New Age movement inextricably connect humans harmoniously with “mother earth.” According to Bron Taylor, author of *Dark Green Religion*, New Age thinking demands a change in consciousness as a “prerequisite to the desired harmony between the earthly and heavenly realms” (2010:165). If the planet is to achieve balance it “must be overcome with positive, conscious energy” where human’s “grasp how beautiful and spiritual the natural world really is” (Taylor 2010:165). Taylor’s book chronicles how New Age philosophies have inspired a growing worldwide effort to expand environmentalism with emerging global networks that include international organizations such as the United Nations, educators, indigenous groups, and religious groups. Intentional communities are on the cutting edge of this movement and are inculcating the ideas into practical reality. The Lama Foundation is part of a growing trend of intentional communities that are becoming educational centers for sustainability practices such as permaculture and natural building. They are also living off the grid and limit their carbon footprint by conservation techniques and by utilizing renewable energy sources. McLaughlin and Davidson recognized that beginning in the 1980s, there was a

new focus and emerging trend for communal organizations to focus on environmental awareness. They report: “Many communities are growing into villages with a planetary awareness, a sense of the connectedness of all life on the earth. ‘Planetary villages’ are places where the presence of the planet as a whole is felt, where the cosmic embraces the mundane” (1985:336). These villages believe that change on a local level will create change on a global level.

There is a need for research that examines the powerful role that communitarians have in the current global environmental movement. There are many diverse forms of communities including various types of eco-villages that thrive around the central ideology of harmonious interaction with nature. For instance, Terre Nouvelle in France is a planetary village that restored houses in an old abandoned village where they share resources and limit consumption (McLaughlin et al. 1985:337). In addition to sustainability practices, several communes such as Findhorn and Auroville have broadened their scope as international centers that demonstrate how people from vastly diverse cultures can live peacefully and cooperatively together. Auroville has members from 20 countries, including several from the Third World (McLaughlin et al. 1985:337).

There is also a need for research in new types of communitarian experiments such as co-housing developments that are rising in popularity in the United States and Europe. These communities are built in rural and suburban neighborhoods where individuals own their own homes but share some resources and achieve communion through shared meals and other community activities. There are other communities within the mainstream culture that are expanding their services in a communal way. For example, an urban

community in San Francisco operated a “tool library” where “neighbors could borrow tools and check them out, promising to return them in good working condition” (McLaughlin et al. 1985:344). An examination of how mainstream cultures are incorporating communitarian ideals would also be an interesting avenue for future research.

Communal organizations supply rich material for anthropological research. They tell us about problems in the dominant culture and about revitalization movements. They also reveal important social processes that occur within communal structures. Timothy Miller referred to two types of intentional communities: the arks and the lighthouses. Nineteenth Century communes were typified as arks where individuals retreated into a protected sphere of an isolated commune that offered safe harbor from a morally corrupt world. Counterculture communes were more like lighthouses: “They were demonstration projects that would show the world just how wonderful life could be if only humans would abandon selfishness, greed, and materialism” (1999:242). As lighthouses of the future, intentional communities can demonstrate a superior way to engage in human relations and interaction with the natural world.

REFERENCES

- Abrahams, Roger D., 1982 *The Language of Festivals: Celebrating the Economy. In Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual.* Victor Turner, ed. Pp. 161-173. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press.
- Abrams, Philip, with Andrew McCulloch, Sheila Abrams, and Pat Gore, 1976 *Communes, Sociology, and Society.* London: Cambridge University Press.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila, 2006 *Writing Against Culture. In Anthropology in Theory: Issues in Epistemology.* Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders, eds. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. Pp. 466-479.
- Albuquerque Journal, 1996 *Albuquerque Journal* May 9:1,3.
- Andelson, Jonathan G., 2002 *Coming Together and Breaking Apart: Sociogenesis and Schismogenesis in Intentional Communities. In Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective.* Susan Love Brown, ed. Pp. 131-152. New York: State University of New York.
- Bachrach, Arthur J., 2006 *D. H. Lawrence in New Mexico: The Time is Different There.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bang, Jan Martin, 2005 *Ecovillages: A Practical Guide to Sustainable Communities.* British Columbia: New Society Publishers.
- Barker, Eileen, ed., 1982 *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society.* New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Barnett, H. G., 1953 *Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation.* The Social Science Research Council Summer on Acculturation.
- Basso, Keith H., 1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Berger, Bennett M., 1981 *The Survival of a Counterculture: Ideological Work and Everyday Life Among Rural Communards.* Berkely: California Press.
- Berry, Brian, 1992 *America's Utopian Experiments: Communal Havens From Long-Wave Crisis.* Hanover: University Press of New England.
- Borowski, Karol, 1984 *Attempting an Alternative Society: A Sociological Study of a Selected Communal-Revitalization Movement in the United States.* Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions.

- Bradley, Ruffle J., and Richard Sosis, 2003 Religious Ritual and Cooperation: Testing for a Relationship on Israeli Religious and Secular Kibbutzim. *Current Anthropology* 44(5):713-722.
- Brown, Juliette Eve, 1987 An Ethnographic Analysis of Decision-Making and Survival at Twin Oaks Community. Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of the Arts, University of Massachusetts.
- Brown, Susan Love, ed., 2002 *Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*. New York: State University of New York.
- 2002, Community as Cultural Critique. *In Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*. Susan Love Brown ed. Pp. 153-179. New York: State University of New York.
- Bruner, Jerome, 1991 The Narrative Construction of Reality 18(Autumn) Pp. 1-21.
- Buchdahl, David, 1977 The Past, the Counterculture, and the Eternal Now. *Ethos* 5(4):466-483.
- Caillois, Roger, 2001 *Man and the Sacred*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Caplow, Theodore, 1973 Goals and their Achievement in Four Utopian Communities *In Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, ed. Pp.108- 124. New York : Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Chyutin, Michael, and Bracha Chyutin, 2007 *Architecture and Utopia: The Israeli Experiment*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Clemmer, Richard O., 2003 Motifs with Messages: Ceramic Objects as Forms of Communication. *Journal of the International Association for Semiotic Studies* 147(1) Pp. 219-240.
- Clifford, James, 1986 On Ethnographic Allegory. *In Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Pp. 98-121.
- Cobb, Ahad, 2008 *Early Lama Foundation*. San Cristobal: Lama Foundation.
- Conquergood, Dwight, 2002 Performance Studies: Intervention and Radical Research. *TDR* 46(2) Pp. 145- 156.
- Damrell, Joseph, 1978 *Search for Identity: Youth, Religion, and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

- Dass, Ram, 1971 *Be Here Now*. San Cristobal, New Mexico: Lama Foundation, 1979
 Miracle of Love: Stories About Neem Karoli Baba. Santa Fe: Hanuman
 Foundation.
- Dillard, Annie, 1983 *Living By Fiction*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Eliade, Mircea, 1991 *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism*. Princeton:
 Princeton University Press.
- Eller, David , 2007 *Introducing Anthropology of Religion: Culture to the Ultimate*. New
 York: Routledge.
- Erickson, Paul A., and Liam D. Murphy, 2006 Introduction. *In Readings for a History of
 Anthropological Theory*. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, eds. Ontario:
 Broadview Press. Pp.xiii-xv.
- , 2006 *A History of Anthropological Theory*. Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Fairfield, Richard, 1971 *Communes USA: A Personal Tour*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Fitzgerald, George R., 1971 *Communes: Their Goals, Hopes, Problems*. New York:
 Paulist Press.
- Fox, Stephen, 1983 *Healing, Imagination, and New Mexico*. *New Mexico Historical
 Review* 58(3) Pp. 213-234.
- , 1997 *Boomer Dharma: The Evolution of Alternative Spiritual Communities in
 Modern New Mexico*. *In Religion in Modern New Mexico*. Ferenc M. Szasz and
 Richard W. Etulain, eds. Pp. 145-170. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico
 Press.
- French, David, and Elena French, 1975 *Working Communally: Patterns and
 Possibilities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Freund, Alexander, 2009 *Oral History as Process-generated Data*. *Historical Social
 Research* 34(1): 22- 48.
- Friesen, John W., and Virginia Lyons Friesen, 2004 *The Palgrave Companion to North
 American Utopias*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gardner, Hugh, 1978 *The Children of Prosperity: Thirteen Modern American
 Communes*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Glassie, Henry, 1982 *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Glock, Charles Y., and Robert N. Bellah, eds., 1976 *The New Religious Consciousness*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Greenfield, Robert, 1975 *The Spiritual Supermarket: An Account of Gurus Gone Public in America*. Saturday Review Press.
- Hall, John R., 1978 *The Ways Out: Utopian Communal Groups in an Age of Babylon*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hedgepeth, William, and Dennis Stock, 1970 *The Alternative: Communal Life in New America*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Heelas, Paul, 1982 Californian Self-Religions and Socializing the Subjective. *In* *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*. Eileen Barker, ed. Pp. 69-85. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Hollenbach, Margaret, 1973 Relationships and Regulation in “The Family” of Taos, New Mexico. *In* *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, ed. Pp. 430-442. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Holloway, Mark, 1996 *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Houriet, Robert, 1973 Life and Death of a Commune Called Oz. *In* *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. Rosabeth Kanter, ed. Pp. 473-484. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Johnson, Mansur, 2006 *Murshid: A Personal Memoir of Life with American Sufi, Samuel L. Lewis*.
- Joyce, Rosemary A., 2002 Introducing the First Voice. *In* *The languages of Archaeology: Dialogue, Narrative, and Writing*. Rosemary A. Joyce, ed. Pp. 4-17.
- Kamau, Lucy Jayne, 2002 Liminality, Communitas, Charisma, and Community. *In* *Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*. Susan Love Brown, ed. Pp 17- 40. New York: State University of New York.
- Kapchan, Deborah A., 2008 The Promise of Sonic Translation: Performing the Festive Sacred in Morocco. *American Anthropologist* 110 (4) Pp. 467-483.

- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, 1972 *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, ed., 1974 *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Keesing, Roger M., 2006 *Anthropology as Interpretive Quest*. *In Anthropology in Theory: Issues in Epistemology*. Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders, eds. Pp. 258-266. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Keltz, Iris, ed., 2000 *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie*. El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press.
- Kephart, William M., 1974 *Why They Fail: A Socio-Historical Analysis of Religious and Secular Communes*. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 5(2) Pp. 130-140.
- K'Meyer, Tracy Elaine, 1997 *Interacialism and Christian Community in the Postwar South: The Story of Koinonia Farm*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Kohn, Ammi, 2009 *Lama Genesis/ Lama Incarnations: A Staged Reading*. San Cristobal: Lama Foundation.,
- Komar, Ingrid, 1983 *Living the Dream: A Documentary Study of the Twin Oaks Community*. Norwood: Norwood Editions.
- Kopecky, Arthur, 2004 *Journals From a Taos Commune*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
- , 2006 *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Kopp, James, 2009 *Eden Within Eden: Oregon's Utopian Heritage*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.
- Lama Foundation Website, 2008 Electronic document, http://www.lamafoundation.org/schedule__ways.htm, accessed February 16, 2008.
- Lama Foundation Fact Sheet, 2007 *Lama Foundation Fact Sheet*, p. 3.
- Lama Foundation Newsletter, 2008 *Lama Foundation Guidelines and Community Life*, Pp. 6.

- Lama Master Plan , 1990 Lama Master Plan, p.1.
- Lerman, Liz, 2008 The Spiritual Connection: Ruminations and Curiosities from a Dance Artist. *Journal of Dance Education* 8(2) Pp. 39-44.
- Lim, Soo Kyung, 1998 Eric Wolf. Electronic Document, <http://www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/wolf.htm>, accessed April 10, 2009.
- Low, Setha M. , 2000 *On the Plaza: The politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University Of Texas Press.
- Marini, Stephen A., 2003 *Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- McGuire, Michael, 1990 The Rhetoric of Narrative: A Hermeneutic, Critical Theory. *In* *Narrative Thought and Narrative Language*. Bruce k. Britton and A.D. Pellegrini, eds. Pp. 219-236.
- McLaughlin, Corrine, and Gordon Davidson, 1986 *Builders of the Dawn: Community Lifestyles in a Changing World*. Massachusetts: Sirius Publishing.
- Melville, Keith, 1972 *Communes in the Counter Culture: Origins, Theories, Styles of Life*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Miller, Timothy, 1998 *The Qwest for Utopia in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- , 1999 *The 60's Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Mills, Barbara J., 2008 How the Pueblos Became Global: Colonial Appropriations, Resistance, and Diversity in the North American Southwest. *Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 10(1007) Pp. 218-232.
- Mol, Hans J. , 1976 *Identity and the Sacred: A sketch for a new Social-Scientific Theory of Religion*. New York: The Free Press.
- Moore, Henrietta L., and Todd Sanders, 2006 "Anthropology and Epistemology" *In* *Anthropology in Theory: Issues in Epistemology*. Henrietta L Moore and Todd Sanders, eds. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. Pp.1-21.
- Moore, Thomas, 1995 *Utopia*. George M. Logan, Robert M. Adams, and Clarence H. Miller, eds. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

- Morgan, Arthur E., 1971 The Uses of Utopia. *In* Utopias: Social Ideals and Communal Experiments. Peyton E. Richter. Ed. Pp. 41-42.
- Nichols, John, 1974 The Milagro Beanfield War. New York: Henry Hot and Company.
- , 2000 Whatever Happened to Eldorado? *In* Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie. Iris Keltz, ed. Pp. 200-205. El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press.
- Niman, Michael I., 1997 People of the Rainbow: A Nomadic Utopia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Nordhoff, Charles, 1966 The Communistic Societies of the United States. 2nd edition. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Noyes, John Humphrey, 1966 History of American Socialisms. 2nd edition. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- , 1973 Inquest on New Harmony. *In* Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, ed. Pp. 450-455. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Oral History Interviews, 2008 Lama Foundation Library of Oral History and Memory. San Cristobal, New Mexico.
- Oved, Yaacov, 1988 Two Hundred Years of American Communes. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Parker, Matin, ed., 2002 Utopia and Organization. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Paulnack, Karl, 2009 We Need Music to Survive. The Christian Science Monitor, June 7.
- Peck, Willie, 2008 The Sacred Geometry at Lama Foundation. Electronic Document, <http://www.lamafoundation.org/sacred-geometry.htm>, accessed March, 1.
- Pickering, W. S. F., 1984 Durkheim's Sociology of Religion: Themes and Theories. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Plath, David W., 1966 The Fate of Utopia: Adaptive Tactics in Four Japanese Groups. *American Anthropologist* 68(5):1152-1162.
- Popenoe, Cris, and Oliver Popenoe, 1984 Seeds of Tomorrow: New Age Communities that Work. San Fransisco: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Reich, Charles A., 1967 The Greening of America. New York: Bantam Books.

- Richter, Peyton E., 1971 *Utopias: Social Ideals and Communal Experiments*. Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc.
- Roberts, Ron E., 1971 *The New Communes: Coming Together in America*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Robbins, Thomas, 1988 *Cults, Converts, and Charisma: The Sociology of New Religious Movements*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rodriguez, Sylvia, 1969 *The Aquarians: A Focal Study of the American Psychedelic Movement During the Nineteen-Sixties*. Senior Essay, Department of Anthropology, Barnard College.
- Rothchild, John, and Susan Berns Wolf, 1976 *The Children of the Counterculture*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Rowley, Peter, 1971 *New Gods in America: An Informal Investigation into the New Religions of American Youth Today*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.
- Rudnick, Lois Palken, 1996 *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Saward, Jeff, 2003 *Labrinths And Mazes: A Complete Guide to Magical Paths of the World*. New York: Lark Books.
- Shenker, Barry, 1986 *Intentional Communities: Ideology and Alienation in Communal Societies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Shey, Thomas H. , 1977 *Why Communes Fail: A Comparative Analysis of the Vialbility of Danish and American Communes*. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 8: 605-613.
- Siegler, Gretchen, 2002 *In Search of Truth: Maintaining Communitas in a Religious Community*. *In Intentional Community an Anthropological Perspective*. Susan Love Brown, ed. Pp. 41-66. New York: State University of New York.
- Smelser, Neil J., 1962 *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: The Free Press.
- Solomon, Shay, 2006 *Little House on a Small Planet*. Connecticut: The Lyons Press.
- Sosis, Richard, and Bradley J. Ruffle, 2003 *Religious Ritual and Cooperation: Testing for a Relationship on Israeli Religious And Secular Kibbutzim*. *Current Anthropology*, 44(5):713-722.

- Sreenivasan, Jyotsna, 2008 *Utopias in American History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc.
- Stein, Barry A., 1973 *The Internal Economics of Communes*. In *Communes: Creating and , Managing The Collective Life*. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, ed. Pp. 264-276. New York:, Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Sutton, Robert P., 2003 *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732-2000*. Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- Taylor, Bron, 2010 *Dark Green Religion: Nature Spirituality and the Planetary Future*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- The Yellow Book, 1974 *The Yellow Book*. San Cristobal, New Mexico: The Bountiful Lord's Delivery Service.
- Thies, Clifford F., 2000 *The Success of American Communes*. *Southern Economic Journal* 67(1):186- 199.
- Turner, Victor, 1964 *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage*. Symposium On New Approaches to the Study of Religion, Pp. 4-20.
- , 1969 *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New Brunswick: Aldine Aldine Transaction.
- , 1982 *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*. Victor Turner, ed. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press.
- , 1996 *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- , 2006 *Symbols in Ndembu Ritual*. In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, eds. Pp. 299-317. Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Turner, Victor, ed., 1982 *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press.
- Turner, Victor, and Edward M. Bruner, eds., 1986 *The Anthropology of Experience*.
- Twoikov, Helen, ed., 1989 *Zen in America: Five Teachers and the Search for an American Buddhism*

- Van Wormer, Heather, 2006 The Ties That Bind: Ideology, Material Culture, and the Utopian Ideal. *Historical Archaeology*, 40(1): 37-56.
- Wagner, Jon, 1982 *Sex Roles in Contemporary American Communes*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wallace, Anthony , 1956 Revitalization Movements. *American Anthropologist* 58: 264-281.
- Walsh, Patrick John, 2001 *Boosting Bohemia: Counterculture, Development, and Identity in the American West, 1900-1990*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Philosophy, University of Texas at Austin.
- Weber, Max, 1947 *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, trans. Glencoe: The Falcon's Wing Press.
- , 2006 The Sociology of Charismatic Authority. *In Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D Murphy, eds. Pp. 80-85. Canada: Broadview Press.
- Werbner, Pnina, 1996 Stamping the Earth with the name of Allah: Zikr and the Sacralizing of Space Among British Muslims. *Cultural Anthropology* 11(3) Pp. 309-338.
- Welch, Christina, 2002 Appropriating the Didjeridu and the Sweat Lodge: New Age Baddies and Indigenous Victims? *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 17(1) Pp. 21-38.
- Werblowsky, R.J. Zwi, 1982 Religions New and Not So New: Fragments of an Agenda. *In New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*. Eileen Barker, ed. Pp. 32-46. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Whiteford, Linda M., and Robert T. Trotter II, 2008 *Ethics for Anthropological Research and Practice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Williams, Drid, 2004 *Anthropology and the Dance: Ten Lectures*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Wolf, Eric, 1972 "American Anthropologist and American Society." *In Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymes ed. Pantheon. Pp. 251-263.
- 1982 "Materialist vs. Mentalist: A Review Article." *In Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*. Herbert H. Lehman College. Pp. 148-152.

- 1982 "Europe and People Without History." *In Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, eds. Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press. Pp. 535-485.
- Wuthnow, Robert, 1982 World Order and Religious Movements. *In New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*. Eileen Barker, ed. Pp. 47-65. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Yaswen, Gordon, 1973 Sunrise Hill Community: Post Mortem. *In Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, ed. Pp. 456-472. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Zablocki, Benjamin, 1971 The Joyful Community: An Account of the Bruderhof—A Communal Movement in its Third Generation. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- , 1980 Alienation and Charisma: A Study of Contemporary American Communes. New York: The Free Press.
- Zicklin, Gilbert, 1983 Countercultural Communes: A Sociological Perspective. London: Greenwood Press.

APPENDIX A

Survey for Lama Membership

July 25, 2009

Please Provide the Following Background Information:

Age_____ Gender_____ Married or Single_____ Ethnicity_____
Current State of Residence (if in New Mexico what City)_____
Last Year of School Completed _____ What Degree or Area of Study_____
Hobbies or Interests_____
Political Leanings (liberal or conservative)_____
Religious Affiliation of yourself or Parents in your Childhood Home._____
Current Religious Affiliation or Leanings if any_____

Please Provide Information Regarding your Participation at Lama:

Have you ever been in any leadership roles at Lama? If so, please list and describe for what time periods. _____

Have you been a Visiting Steward? If so, please list dates of visits and times of service. _____

Please list the number of times **per week** on average that you participate in the following activities (assuming that all of the activities are offered. Write no if you usually do not participate.

Group Meditation _____ Heart Club _____ Women's or Men's Lodges _____
Tea Ceremony _____ Shabbat _____ Zikr _____ Sweat Lodge _____
Sauna _____ Ashram in Taos _____ Daily Tuning _____ Other Daily or Weekly Group Practices (Please List) _____

When you attend a religious service that includes dancing, playing instruments, or singing what percentage of the time do you participate versus sitting out and watching:

Dancing _____ % Playing Musical Instruments _____ % Singing _____ %

Since your first introduction to Lama, what percentage of your life has been spent in residence and or working for Lama versus other activities or involvements in your life?
_____ %

On average how many hours of Seva do you do each day, week, or month at Lama?
(Please specify which one) _____

What types of service do you enjoy? _____

What types of Wheel duties do you dislike or avoid?

What has changed in your participation of Lama over time has it increased or decreased,
and how do you predict your level of participation in the future? _____

Please Answer Questions about how Lama Influences your Life off the Land:

How does your experience at Lama influence your life outside the community in regards
to interpersonal relations, work, family, social networks, religious practices, etc...?

What organizations are you involved in outside of the Lama community that perpetuates
a similar or different ideology as you find at Lama, and how does your experience at
Lama expand into other areas of your life? _____

Is the interaction between the Lama community and the outside community generally
compatible or adverse, and what does Lama do to serve the outside community and vice
versa? _____

What is your perception of the major problems in modern American Culture? _____

Please Answer the Following Questions about Governance, Rules, and Organization:

Have issues of power and interpersonal conflict been dealt with effectively from your
perspective?

How do you perceive the balance between the need for privacy versus group association
and also the need for spontaneity versus order?

Does consensus decision making limit or enhance the progress of the community? Are
there too many or not enough meetings to effectively plan for the future? _____

How has the community dealt with schisms in the past and do you perceive the community is now better or less equipped to handle such schisms (explain why)?

Please Answer the Following Questions Regarding Ideology:

How has your personal ideology and convictions changed by your involvement in the community? _____

Has your identity shifted since coming to Lama, for instance do you have a new name in association with coming to Lama? _____

Even though Lama is an ecumenical center does it have leanings at times to one particular tradition? _____

Does Lama have an overarching ideology (if so please describe what that is) and what are the core values of Lama? _____

How has the community adapted to the changing world and traumatic events such as the Hondo Fire? _____

Please Answer the Following Question Regarding the Physical Plane at Lama.

What sacred spaces on the land do you visit most often and why (this includes shrines, physical structures such as the Dome, hermitages, natural features, etc...)? _____

How do these sacred spaces enhance your devotion to Lama and increase your energies toward preserving this place? _____

Answer the Following Questions Regarding Cohesiveness and Unity at Lama

At what moments at lama do you perceive the most cohesiveness and bonding amongst its members?

Do you perceive most of the other members of the community to be cooperative?

Do you perceive Lama to be a unified community in the past and in the present?

How does you time outside of Lama affect your reintegration into the community when you arrive on the land, and what does the community do to create cohesiveness with so many transient members and visitors?

How does circling and the importance of circles at Lama influence cohesion?

How will Lama survive into the future and continue to provide a unified community?

APPENDIX B

Comparison of Sub-Categories for Commitment Mechanisms Used by Rosabeth Kanter and Hugh Gardner, and Gardner's Commitment Scores for 13 Counterculture Communes

Sacrifice Mechanism

Definition: Sacrifice refers to members giving up something of value to be part of the community. According to cognitive consistency theories: the higher the cost to an individual to do something, the more valuable it becomes (Kanter 1972:77). Sexual abstinence, hard work, and austerity are common sacrifice mechanisms in communal experiments.

Kanter's Sub-Categories for the Sacrifice Mechanism (Kanter 1972:80):

Sacrifice Mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Abstinence</i>				
Oral Abstinence	7/9	78	11/20	55
Celibacy	9/9	100	2/21	9
Other Abstinence	5/7	71	4/14	28
<i>Austerity</i>				
Built own building	9/9	100	18/21	83

*N represents the number of communities for which the presence or absence of the mechanism was ascertainable; n represents the number in which the mechanism was present.

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocols for the Sacrifice Mechanism (Gardner 1978:260):

Sacrifice (Total _____)			
Abstinence (Subtotal: _____)			
		<i>Allowed</i>	<i>Not Allowed</i>
Oral:	Alcohol	___	___
	Tobacco	___	___
	Coffee	___	___
	Meat	___	___
Sexual:	Continence	No	Yes
	Preferred	___	___
Austerity (Subtotal : _____)			
Built Own Buildings:	None _____	Some _____	All _____
Utilities: Electricity	Hookup _____	Generator _____	None _____
Gas	Dwellings _____	Kitchen _____	None _____
Water 1	Some Pipes/Taps _____		All Hand Carried _____
Water 2	Storage Year Round _____		No Storage/Seasonal _____
Sewage	Tank _____	Outhouse _____	Neither _____
Winters:	Mild _____	2-4 Mos. Snow _____	5 Mos. Snow _____
Use Food Stamps:	All Do _____	Some Do _____	None _____

Investment Mechanism

Definition: The process of investment provides the individual with a stake in the fate of the community. He commits his “profit” to the group, so that leaving it would be costly. Investment can be a simple economic process involving tangible resources, or it can involve intangibles like time and energy. Commitment to continued participation in the community was further promoted in successful groups by emphasizing the irreversibility of investment (Kanter 1972:80).

Kanter's Sub-Categories for the Investment Mechanism (Kanter 1972:82)

Investment Mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Physical Participation</i>				
Nonresident Members Prohibited	6/7	86	7/17	41
<i>Financial investment</i>				
Financial Contribution for admission	4/9	44	9/20	45
Property signed over at admission	9/9	100	9/20	45
Group-assigned property received while member	4/7	57	6/14	43

<i>Irreversibility of investment</i>				
No records of contributions	4/8	50	4/14	28
Defectors not reimbursed for Property—official policy	3/7	43	5/12	42
Defectors not reimbursed for labor—official policy	2/6	33	0/6	0
Defectors not reimbursed for Labor—in practice	6/7	86	3/9	33

*N represents the number of communities for which the presence or the absence of the mechanism was ascertainable; n represents the number in which the mechanism was present

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocols for the Investment Mechanism (1978:261)

Investment (Total _____)

	<i>Don't Use</i>	<i>Use</i>
Physical Participation:		
Must Build Own Shelter	_____	_____
Nonresident Members Prohibited	_____	_____
Financial Investment:		
Fee or Contribution for Admission	_____	_____
Property Signed Over at Admission	_____	_____
Sign Over Property Received While Member	_____	_____
Turn Over Some Income While Member	_____	_____
Irreversibility of Investment:		
No Records of Contributions	_____	_____
Defectors Not Reimbursed for Monetary Contributions	_____	_____
Defectors Not Reimbursed for Property Contributions	_____	_____

Renunciation Mechanism

Definition: Renunciation is the process of foregoing relationships outside of the community and avoiding exclusive relationships within the community as a means to foster group cohesion. As part of renunciation, a community develops insulating boundaries from the outside world. These boundaries include geographical isolation; self-production of all commodities and needs for the community; separate dress, language, identity, and customs; controlled movements into and out of the community; and regulation of intimacy and family relationships (Kanter 1972:89).

Kanter's Sub-Categories for the Renunciation Mechanism (1972:92).

Renunciation Mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Insulation</i>				
Ecological separation	9/9	100	21/21	100
Institutional Completeness	7/7	100	10/18	55
Special Term for outside	4/7	57	0/17	0
Outside Concieved as evil and Wicked	2/7	28	0/19	0
Uniform Worn	8/9	89	5/17	30
Foreign Language Spoken	5/9	56	3/21	14
Slang, jargon, other special terms	2/9	22	2/19	11
Outside newspapers ignored	3/6	50	1/16	6
American patriotic holidays ignored	3/4	75	4/6	67
<i>Crossboundary Control</i>				
Average member rarely leaving community	2/2	100	0/7	0
Rules for Interaction with visitors	3/7	43	1/15	7
<i>Renunciation of couple</i>				
Free love or celibacy	9/9	100	0/7	29
Controls on free love, celibacy, Or sexual relations	7/9	78	1/21	5
<i>Renunciation of family</i>				
Parent-child separation	3/8	48	3/20	15
Families not sharing a dwelling unit	3/9	33	1/20	5

*N represents the number of communities for which the presence or absence of the mechanism was ascertainable; n represents the number in which the mechanism was present

Renunciation Mechanism

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocol for the Renunciation Mechanism (1978:261)

Renunciation (Total _____)

Insulation (Subtotal _____)

	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Ecological: Neighbor (+ or - .5 mi.)	_____	_____
Inc. Town (+or - 5 mi.)	_____	_____
City of 50,000 (+ or - 50 mi.)	_____	_____

	<i>Present/Common</i>	<i>None/Uncommon</i>
Media: Radio	_____	_____
Newspaper/Magazines	_____	_____
Movement Publications	_____	_____
Television	_____	_____
Telephone	_____	_____

Cross Boundary Control (Subtotal _____)

Average Member

Travels Outside: Daily _____ Weekly _____ Biweekly _____
 Monthly _____ Less Often _____

Vistation Rules:	<i>Don't Use</i>	<i>Use</i>
Fee Charged	_____	_____
Time Limits	_____	_____
Whom Visitors May Talk To	_____	_____
Limit to Number of Visitors	_____	_____
Areas Visitors Kept Away From	_____	_____
Certain Attitude or Purpose	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

Screening New Members:

Fee Required	_____	_____
Probation/Insturction Period	_____	_____
List of Required Reading	_____	_____
Formal Oath/Agreement	_____	_____
Unanimous Acceptance	_____	_____
Particular Skills	_____	_____
Particular Religious Beliefs	_____	_____
Particular Family Situation	_____	_____
Probationary Sponsor	_____	_____
Have Formally Blackballed Before	_____	_____
Have Ejected Member Beforre	_____	_____

Communion Mechanism

Definition: The emphasis of communion mechanisms is on group participation, with members treated as homogenous, equal parts of a whole rather than as differentiated individuals. Communion mechanisms develop equality, fellowship, and group consciousness, which lead to the formation of a cohesive, emotionally involving, and affectively satisfying community (Kanter 1972:93)

Kanter's Sub-Categories of the Communion Mechanism (1972:104)

Communion Mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Homogeneity</i>				
Common religious background	8/9	89	10/20	50
Similar economic and Educational status	7/8	88	10/16	63
Common ethnic background	6/9	67	3/20	15
Prior acquaintance of members	8/8	100	17/20	85
<i>Communal Sharing</i>				
Property signed-over at admission	9/9	100	9/20	45
Group assigned property received				
While member	4/7	57	6/14	43
Land owned by community	8/9	57	16/21	76
Buildings owned by community	8/9	57	15/21	71
Furniture, tools, equipment				
Owned by community	8/8	100	15/19	79
Clothing and personal effect				
Owned by community	6/9	67	5/18	28
Legal title in name of community	7/8	88	18/21	83
<i>Communal Labor</i>				
No compensation for labor	8/8	100	7/17	41
No charge for community services	7/7	100	9/19	47
No skills required for admission	7/8	88	13/17	77
Job rotation	3/6	50	8/18	28
Communal work efforts	7/7	100	7/14	50
<i>Regularized group contact</i>				
Communal dwellings	3/9	33	14/21	67
Communal dining halls	5/9	56	15/19	79
Little opportunity or place for privacy	2/9	22	2/16	13
More than two-thirds of typical day				
Spent with other members	5/8	63	3/13	23
Regular group meetings	9/9	100	13/16	81
Daily group meetings	5/9	56	1/16	6
<i>Ritual</i>				
Songs about community	5/8	63	2/14	14
Group singing	7/7	100	8/1	73

Special community celebrations	5/6	83	5/10	50
<i>Persecution Experience</i>				
Violence or economic discrimination	5/8	63	10/20	50

Communion Mechanism

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocol for the Communion Mechanism (1978:262)

Communion (Total _____)

Homogeneity (Subtotal _____)

Age: Many Over 5 years Apart; Some Over 10 _____
 Few Over 5 Years Apart; None over 10 _____

Prior Acquaintance 6 Months or Less _____ 1 Year or Less _____
 Most members: 1-2 Years _____ More Than 2 Years _____

Communitistic Sharing (Subtotal _____)

	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Property signed Over on Admission:	_____	_____
Income or Fee Turnover Required:	_____	_____
Community as a Whole Owns Land:	_____	_____
All Bldgs. Except Land	_____	_____
All Bldgs. Including Dwellings	_____	_____
Some Tools, Furniture, Autos	_____	_____
All Tools, Furniture, Autos	_____	_____
Land Title in Community's Name,	_____	_____
Not Individuals':	_____	_____
Single Community Garden	_____	_____

Communitistic Labor (Subtotal _____)

Communal Dwellings: None _____ Some _____ All _____
 Communal Dining: Weekly/Less _____ Daily/Once _____ Daily/More _____
 Inviolate Private Places Yes _____ No _____
 % of Day Spent with Others 50%/Less _____ 51-75% _____ 76%/More _____
 Fixed Daily Routine: No _____ Yes _____
 Group Meetings: Monthly/Less _____ Bimonthly _____ Weekly _____ Daily _____
 Group Meetings: Spontaneous _____ Scheduled _____
 Diameter Enclosing
 Dwellings: 100 Yards/More _____ 100Yards/Less _____
 Ratio Acreage/
 Population 1.0/More _____ .5 to .99 _____ .49/Less _____

Ritual (Subtotal _____)

Group Meditation/Ceremonies: None/Seldom _____ Weekly _____ Daily _____
 Group Singing/Dancing Monthly/Less _____ Several/ Mo. _____ Daily _____
 Mealtimes Prayers No _____ Yes _____

Persecution Experiences (Subtotal _____)

Incidents of Legal Harrassment
 (Last 12 Months): None _____ Once _____ Twice/More _____
 Vigilante Harrasment

(Last 12 Months): Harrasment Previous History:	None _____	Once _____	Twice/More _____
Percieved Negativity Locally:	None _____	Once/Twice _____	Several _____
	25%/Less _____	25-50% _____	
	50-75% _____	75%/More _____	
Percieved Economic Descrimination Locally	Not Serious _____	Somewhat _____	
	Serious _____		

Mortification Mechanism

Definition: Mortification processes provide a new identity for the person that is based on the power and meaningfulness of group membership; they reduce his or her sense of a separate, private, unconnected ego. Self-esteem comes to depend on commitment to the norms of the group and evaluation of its demands as just and morally necessary. In communities, unlike coercive systems such as total institutions, the use of mortification is a sign that the group cares about the individual, about his thoughts and feelings, about the content of his inner world. Mortification processes induce what today's encounter group culture calls "openness," "trust," and "regaining one's sense of basic humanity (Kanter 1972:103).

Kanter's Sub-Categories of the Mortification Mechanism (1972:112)

Mortification Mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Confession and mutual criticism</i>				
Regular confession	4/9	44	0/20	0
Confession upon joining group	4/8	50	0/19	0
Mutual criticism or group confession	4/9	44	3/19	26
Mutual Surveillance	2/7	29	0/17	0
Surveillance	3/7	43	1/17	6
<i>Sanctions</i>				
Public denouncement of deviants	6/9	67	3/16	19
Removal of a privilege of Membership	2/8	25	2/16	12
Participation in a community Function prohibited	3/8	38	2/15	14
Deviants punished within Community more often than Expelled from it	4/6	67	2/5	40
<i>Spiritual Differentiation</i>				
Members distinguished on moral grounds	5/9	56	3/20	15
Formally structured deference to those of higher moral status	4/9	44	1/20	5
No skill or intelligence distinctions	9/9	100	15/17	88

Instruction in Community Doctrines	3/8	38	2/11	18
New members segregated from old	2/8	25	0/17	0
Formal probationary period with Limited privileges for new Members	5/8	63	8/15	53
<i>Deindividuation</i>				
Uniform worn	8/9	89	5/17	30
Communal dwellings	3/9	33	14/21	67
Communal dining halls	5/9	56	15/19	79
Same meals eaten by all	3/7	43	4/10	40

Mortification Mechanism

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocol for the Mortification Mechanism (1978:263).

Mortification (Total _____)

Mutual Criticism (Subtotal _____)

Meetings Devoted to Encounter, Mutual Criticism	No _____	Yes _____
As Part of Business Meetings	Yes _____	Sometimes Special _____
Informal Encounter	No/Seldom _____	Yes/Irregularly _____ Yes/Regularly/Daily _____

Spiritual Differentiation (Subtotal _____)

Members Distinguished on Moral Grounds	No _____	Yes _____
Formally Structured Deference to Those of Higher Moral Status	No _____	Yes _____
Formal Probation Period, Limited Privileges for New members:	No _____	Yes _____
Formal Instruction in Community Doctrines	No _____	Yes _____

Transcendence Mechanism

Definition: Transcendence appears when an individual feels that there is a moral “rightness, certainty, and conviction” in belonging to the community and influences a submission to the

supremacy of social institutions, shared ideology, or charismatic leadership (Kanter 1972:114). This “felt connection” of “institutional awe” reinforces individual commitment to a greater cause. Communes that had hierarchal governing structures, myths about past leadership or community traditions, ideological conversion and selective recruitment, supernatural or mystical qualities to the community, and specific guidance to monitor behavior achieved greater transcendence and were subsequently more successful (Kanter 1972:111).

Kanter’s Sub=Categories for the Transcendence Mechanism (1972:124)

Transcendence mechanism	Successful Communities		Unsuccessful Communities	
	n/N*	%	n/N*	%
<i>Institutionalized awe(ideology)</i>				
Ideology explained essential nature of humanity	9/9	100	16/19	84
Ideology a complete, elaborated philosophical system	8/9	89	15/20	75
Power invested in persons with special, magical characteristics	7/9	78	4/20	20
Demands legitimated by reference to a higher principle	9/9	100	11/19	58
Special, magical powers imputed to member	8/9	89	3/20	15
Possession of special powers as evidence of good standing	6/8	75	2/19	10
Ideology related community to figures of historical importance	8/9	89	5/21	24
Values formed ultimate justification for decisions	6/7	86	7/17	41
<i>Institutional awe(power of authority)</i>				
Authority hierarchy	4/9	44	8/20	40
Top Leaders were founders or were named or groomed by predessor	9/9	100	10/20	50
No impeachment or recall privileges	7/8	88	7/12	58
Special leadership prerogatives	7/9	78	3/18	16
Separate, special residence for leaders	6/8	75	1/15	7
Special forms of address for leaders	6/9	67	2/19	10
Irrational basis for decisions	4/7	57	3/20	15
<i>Guidance</i>				
Fixed daily routine	6/6	100	8/15	54
Detailed specification of routine	4/6	67	2/15	13
Personal conduct rules	5/8	63	6/19	31

Kanter’s Sub-Categories for the Transcendence Mechanism Cont.

Ideological conversion

Commitment to ideology required	5/9	56	4/21	19
Recruits expected to take vows	7/8	88	6/21	29
Procedure for choosing members	6/8	75	13/17	77
Prospective members often rejected	3/6	50	6/11	54
Tests of faith for community children to receive adult membership status	7/9	78	5/21	24

Tradition

Community derived form prior organization or organized group	7/9	78	13/21	62
Prior organization in existence at least ten years before	5/9	56	1/21	5

N* represents the number of communities for which the presence or absence of the mechanism was ascertainable; n represents the number in which the mechanism was present.

Gardner's Sub-Categories or Protocol for the Transcendence Mechanism (1978:264)

Transcendence (Total _____)

Institutional Awe (Ideology) (Subtotal _____)

Ideology Explained Essential Nature of Man	No _____	Yes _____
Ideology Complete, Elaborate Philosophical System	No _____	Yes _____
Magical Powers Imputed to Certain Members	No _____	Yes _____
Ideology Specifically Relates to Great Teachers		
Figures of Historical Importance	None Specifically _____	
	Several, None in Particular _____	
	One in Particular _____	

Institutional Awe (Power and Authority) (Subtotal _____)

Single Person Embodies Community	No _____	Yes/Secular _____	Yes/Sacred _____
Authority Hierarchy	No _____	Yes/Secular _____	Yes/ Sacred _____
Impeachment or Recall Privileges	Yes _____	No _____	
Special leadership Prerogatives	No _____	Yes _____	
Special Residence for Leaders	No _____	Yes _____	
Top Leaders Founders or their Named Successors	No _____	Yes _____	

Programming (Subtotal _____)

Fixed Daily Routine	No _____	Yes _____
Detailed Specification of Routine	No _____	Yes _____

Ideological Conversion (Subtotal _____)

Commitment to Ideology Required	No _____	Yes _____
Recruit Expected to Take Vows	No _____	Yes _____
Procedure for Choosing New Members	No _____	Yes _____

Tradition

Community Derived from Prior Organization or Organized Group	No _____	Yes _____
--	----------	-----------

Gardner's Commitment Scores for 13 Counterculture Commune (* religious communes)

<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">1. Ananda Commune*:</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Total Scores</td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">22</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">16</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">17</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">73</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	1. Ananda Commune*:	Total Scores		Sacrifice	9		Investment	5		Renunciation	22		Communion	16		Mortification	4		Transcendence	17		Total	73		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">8. Maharaj Ashram *</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Total Scores</td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">15</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">14</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">22</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">20</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">80</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	8. Maharaj Ashram *	Total Scores		Sacrifice	15		Investment	4		Renunciation	14		Communion	22		Mortification	5		Transcendence	20		Total	80	
1. Ananda Commune*:	Total Scores																																																
Sacrifice	9																																																
Investment	5																																																
Renunciation	22																																																
Communion	16																																																
Mortification	4																																																
Transcendence	17																																																
Total	73																																																
8. Maharaj Ashram *	Total Scores																																																
Sacrifice	15																																																
Investment	4																																																
Renunciation	14																																																
Communion	22																																																
Mortification	5																																																
Transcendence	20																																																
Total	80																																																
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">2. Crook's Creek Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">17</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">25</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">63</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	2. Crook's Creek Commune			Sacrifice	8		Investment	7		Renunciation	17		Communion	25		Mortification	3		Transcendence	3		Total	63		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">9. Morning Star East Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">12</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">24</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">20</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">50</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	9. Morning Star East Commune			Sacrifice	12		Investment	3		Renunciation	7		Communion	24		Mortification	1		Transcendence	20		Total	50	
2. Crook's Creek Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	8																																																
Investment	7																																																
Renunciation	17																																																
Communion	25																																																
Mortification	3																																																
Transcendence	3																																																
Total	63																																																
9. Morning Star East Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	12																																																
Investment	3																																																
Renunciation	7																																																
Communion	24																																																
Mortification	1																																																
Transcendence	20																																																
Total	50																																																
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">3. Drop City Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">6</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">19</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">0</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">34</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	3. Drop City Commune			Sacrifice	5		Investment	3		Renunciation	6		Communion	19		Mortification	1		Transcendence	0		Total	34		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">10. Reality Construction Co.</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">11</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">16</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">19</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">57</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	10. Reality Construction Co.			Sacrifice	11		Investment	4		Renunciation	16		Communion	19		Mortification	1		Transcendence	3		Total	57	
3. Drop City Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	5																																																
Investment	3																																																
Renunciation	6																																																
Communion	19																																																
Mortification	1																																																
Transcendence	0																																																
Total	34																																																
10. Reality Construction Co.																																																	
Sacrifice	11																																																
Investment	4																																																
Renunciation	16																																																
Communion	19																																																
Mortification	1																																																
Transcendence	3																																																
Total	57																																																
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">4. Guild of Colorado Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">33</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">58</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	4. Guild of Colorado Commune			Sacrifice	7		Investment	2		Renunciation	7		Communion	33		Mortification	2		Transcendence	7		Total	58		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">11. Saddle Ridge</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">21</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">41</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	11. Saddle Ridge			Sacrifice	5		Investment	3		Renunciation	8		Communion	21		Mortification	3		Transcendence	1		Total	41	
4. Guild of Colorado Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	7																																																
Investment	2																																																
Renunciation	7																																																
Communion	33																																																
Mortification	2																																																
Transcendence	7																																																
Total	58																																																
11. Saddle Ridge																																																	
Sacrifice	5																																																
Investment	3																																																
Renunciation	8																																																
Communion	21																																																
Mortification	3																																																
Transcendence	1																																																
Total	41																																																
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">5. Lama Foundation*</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">11</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">18</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">32</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">6</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">15</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">86</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	5. Lama Foundation*			Sacrifice	11		Investment	4		Renunciation	18		Communion	32		Mortification	6		Transcendence	15		Total	86		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">12. Talsalsan Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">10</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">20</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td style="text-align: center;">40</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	12. Talsalsan Commune			Sacrifice	4		Investment	1		Renunciation	10		Communion	20		Mortification	3		Transcendence	2		Total	40	
5. Lama Foundation*																																																	
Sacrifice	11																																																
Investment	4																																																
Renunciation	18																																																
Communion	32																																																
Mortification	6																																																
Transcendence	15																																																
Total	86																																																
12. Talsalsan Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	4																																																
Investment	1																																																
Renunciation	10																																																
Communion	20																																																
Mortification	3																																																
Transcendence	2																																																
Total	40																																																
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">6. Libre Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">11</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">17</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">16</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">6</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	6. Libre Commune			Sacrifice	11		Investment	2		Renunciation	17		Communion	16		Mortification	2		Transcendence	6		<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">13. Wheeler Ranch Commune</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sacrifice</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Investment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renunciation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">10</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Communion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">19</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mortification</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Transcendence</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	13. Wheeler Ranch Commune			Sacrifice	9		Investment	4		Renunciation	10		Communion	19		Mortification	1		Transcendence	9							
6. Libre Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	11																																																
Investment	2																																																
Renunciation	17																																																
Communion	16																																																
Mortification	2																																																
Transcendence	6																																																
13. Wheeler Ranch Commune																																																	
Sacrifice	9																																																
Investment	4																																																
Renunciation	10																																																
Communion	19																																																
Mortification	1																																																
Transcendence	9																																																

Total	53
7. Lila Commune	
Sacrifice	9
Investment	4
Renunciation	14

Total	51
Lila Commune Cont.	
Communion	24
Mortification	2
Transcendence	6
Total	59

APPENDIX C

Lama Foundation Bylaws

August 26, 2007

Since we were not able to reach consensus on Art. 3 Sec. 9 and, as agreed at the 2006 Annual meeting, we reverted to the old bylaws which did not have an Art. 3 Sec. 9.

A Bylaws Committee has been reformed with Surya (trustee), Varda (continuing member), and Kathy (resident) on board. Please contact them for questions and input.

Article I—Purpose and Function

The Purpose of the Lama Foundation is to be a sustainable spiritual community and educational center dedicated to the awakening of consciousness, spiritual practice with respect for all traditions, service, and stewardship of the land.

Article II—Members

- (a) Each member shall agree to uphold and adhere to the statement of purpose set forth in Article I of these Bylaws.
- (b) There shall be three classes of voting membership in the Foundation: (1) Participating Members, (2) Caretaking Members, and (3) Continuing Members. Participating and Caretaking Membership categories shall refer to individuals who are currently in residence at the Foundation and are limited to the period of residency. Continuing Membership shall be a non-resident category.
- (c) Participating Members shall be those who have lived in the community for one month or more consecutively, engaged in work and service on behalf of the Foundation, and who have been elected to membership by the consensus vote of all Participating and Caretaking Members present at any Regular meeting. Participating membership shall be conditional upon residency on the premises.
- (d) Caretaking Members shall be those persons who have lived in the community for six months or more consecutively, engaged in committed and long-term work and service on behalf of the Foundation, and who have been elected from the class of Participating Members to Caretaking membership by the consensus vote of all Caretaking Members present at any Regular, Seasonal, Annual or Special meeting. Caretaking membership shall be limited to the period of residency at Lama for at least one year following said election and training in the consensus process and mediation.
- (e) Continuing Members shall be those who have lived in the community as a member for twelve months or more consecutively and who intend to continue engaging in work and service on behalf of the Foundation beyond their time of residency. Work and service may include any or all of the following: (1) direct service at or for the Foundation, (2) prayer or inner dedication to the good of the Foundation, (3) embodiment of the statement of purpose of the Foundation in one's life. Continuing Members shall be elected from present or past membership classes by the consensus vote of those Continuing and Caretaking Members present at any Annual or Special meeting. At

each Annual meeting Continuing membership shall be renewed for each Continuing Member who indicates his or her wish to remain so, wither at the Annual Meeting or by written or email request submitted during the ninety-day period prior to the Annual Meeting. Continuing Members who do not indicate their wish to continue shall be dropped from the roll of Continuing Members, but may be reinstated upon request by the consensus vote of the Continuing and Caretaking Members present at any Annual or Special meeting.

Section 3. Withdrawal

Any Continuing member may withdraw from the Foundation by written notification to the Board of Trustees stating the intent to withdraw from the Foundation. Such withdrawal shall become effective upon receipt of such letter by the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. Regular and Seasonal Meetings

- (a) There shall be Regular weekly meetings of all Caretaking and Participating Members for the purpose of (1) considering application for and/or renewal of staff positions, (2) considering applications for and/or renewal of Participating and Caretaking membership, (3) electing Caretaking Member representatives for the Lama Council, (4) transacting regular business of the Foundation, and (5) all other matters except those determined by the Officers to be long-term policy and reserved for the Lama Council or Annual, Seasonal, or Special meetings.
- (b) In addition, there shall be two Seasonal meetings of all Caretaking and Participating Members every year, one near the time of the spring equinox, one near the time of the fall equinox, for the purpose of determining (1) membership and housing, (2) community practices and schedules, (3) work priorities and assignments for the coming six months, (4) the evaluation of Caretaking and Participating Members, and (5) the election of Caretaking Member representatives for the Lama Council.

Section 5. The Lama Council

- (a) The Lama Council shall consist of representatives of Caretaking Members, Continuing Members, and Trustees. The Lama Council shall be responsible for making all long-term decisions including, but not limited to: (1) siting buildings and other major land improvements, (2) major financial commitments and expenditures (\$5000 or above), and (3) mediation of any issues which cannot be resolved by the Caretaking and Participating Members.
- (b) Lama Council meetings may be called quarterly, or as needed, by the Coordinator or by any Lama Council representative.
- (c) Each category of membership shall elect its own representatives, to serve for one year. Continuing Member representatives shall be elected at Annual meeting. Caretaking Member representatives shall be elected at Annual Meeting. Caretaking Member representatives may be elected at any Regular or Seasonal Meeting. Trustee representatives shall be elected at the summer meeting of the Board of Trustees. Each group shall also elect alternative representatives.
- (d) The number of voting representatives on the Lama Council shall be:
 - Board of Trustees—2
 - Continuing Members—2
 - Caretaking Members—3
- (e) Officers who are not council representatives shall be encouraged to attend council meetings whenever possible. Council meetings shall be open to all Members and Trustees.

Section 6. Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of members shall be held on the premises of the Foundation in the month of June, July, or August, ideally at the time of the summer solstice, at such time and date as the Coordinator shall designate. The purposes of the Annual meeting shall be (1) to elect Trustees for the ensuing year, (2) to renew Continuing membership and elect new Continuing Members and/ or Free Associates, (3) to elect Continuing Member representatives to the Lama Council, (4) to present annual reports for the sake of informing all members and trustees in the affairs of the Foundation, (5) to consider the manner in which the purpose and function of the Foundation is being implemented, and (6) to connect and reunite the different levels of membership.

Section 7. Special Meetings

- (a) Special meetings of members may be called at any time by the Coordinator, a majority of the Board of Trustees, a majority of the Continuing Members, or by a majority of the Caretaking Members. Such meetings may include all classes of membership or the class of membership by whom it is called. Special meetings shall be held on the premises of the Foundation, unless another location will increase member attendance, at any time and date specified in the notice thereof.
- (b) Decisions made at a Special meeting shall be for recommendations, advice, and consent, and shall be within the powers of the membership bodies attending.

Section 8. Minutes of Meetings

Minutes of meetings shall be recorded at all the above meetings and Foundation committee meetings. All minutes shall be filed by the Secretary of the Foundation in such a manner that for any proper purpose, at any reasonable time, they shall be available to all Members and Trustees of the Foundation.

Section 9. Notice of Meetings

The Secretary of the Foundation shall cause written notice of each Lama Council, Annual, and Special meeting of the members to be (1) posted on the premises of the Foundation in a conspicuous place at least 30 days prior to the date of a Lama Council or Annual meeting and at least 10 days prior to the date of a Special Meeting, and (2) mailed or emailed to members not present on the premises of the Foundation at the time of such posting.

Section 10. Quorum

- (a) Quorum requirements by classification shall be:
 - Participating Members—a majority of all Participating Members;
 - Caretaking Members—a majority of all Caretaking members;
 - Continuing Members—the body of Continuing Members who attend a duly scheduled meeting.
- (b) Quorum requirements for specific meetings shall consist of:
 - Regular meetings—Participating and Caretaking Members;
 - Seasonal meetings—Participating and Caretaking Members;
 - Annual meetings—Caretaking and Continuing Members;
 - Special meetings—All classifications invited to a duly scheduled meeting;
 - Lama Council meetings—All seven representatives or their alternatives.

Section 11. Organization

The Coordinator, or a person designated by the Coordinator, shall call meetings of members to order and shall act as chairperson at such meetings. The Secretary of the Foundation, or his/her designee, shall act as secretary of all meetings of the members.

Section 12. Voting Rights

Consensus of spirit shall be sought in all meetings and decision-making. Caretaking Members shall be required to seek training in the consensus process and mediation training.

- (a) Regular meetings: Caretaking and Participating members shall seek consensus in all matters, including issues relating to daily operational procedures.
- (b) Seasonal meetings: Issues relating to the seasonal operating procedures, the election of Caretaking and Participating members, and the election of Caretaking Member representatives to the Lama Council shall be decided by the consensus vote of the Caretaking and Participating Members.
- (c) Annual meetings:
 - (1) Election of Trustees, reinstatement or election of new Continuing Members, and the election of Free Associates shall be the consensus vote of the Continuing and Caretaking Members present.
 - (2) Election of Lama Council representatives shall be by the consensus vote within each category in regard to Lama Council.
- (d) Special meetings other than Lama Council meetings: Issues brought before the meeting shall be decided by consensus.
- (e) Lama Council meetings: Decisions shall be made by the consensus vote of all seven representatives or their alternatives. In emergency situations only, one representative per category may vote in absentia.

Section 13 Residency

- (a) Long-term residency at the Lama Foundation shall be encouraged. All levels of residency shall be subject to review at Seasonal meetings. At any time, a resident member may be dismissed by the consensus vote of Caretaking members. Periodic sabbaticals by long-term residents shall be encouraged and may be required by the Lama Council or the Board of Trustees at the request of the Caretaking members.
- (b) A Continuing Member who wishes to reinstate his/her residency may reintegrate by returning as a summer steward. When a positive working relationship with the Caretaking and Participating Members is established, the Continuing member may be elected as a Caretaking Member and vote as a Caretaking Member only. Issues relating to the reintegration of Continuing Members and long-term residency which cannot be resolved by the Caretaking and Participating members, shall be brought before the Lama Council.

Article III. Trustees

Section 1. Terms of Office, Duties and Powers

- (a) The Foundation shall have a Board of Trustees which shall consist of not less than three and not more than thirteen members, as determined by the Continuing and Caretaking Members at the most recent Annual or Special Meeting at which Trustees are elected. Each trustee shall hold office until the next Annual meeting of members of the Foundation.

- (b) The Board of Trustees shall be legally responsible for the welfare and general management of the affairs of the Foundation. The Board of Trustees shall: (1) elect the Officers of the Foundation and prescribe the duties of the Officers, (2) assure the financial accountability of the Foundation, (3) advise and counsel the member of the Foundation, and (4) authorize revisions of the Bylaws of the Foundation.
- (c) Issues relating the management of the Foundation or the residency of its members, which cannot be resolved by the Lama Council, may be brought before the Board of Trustees for arbitration and/or resolution.

Section 2. Nomination, Election, and Discontinuance

- (a) A nomination to the Board of Trustees may be made by any member or Trustee of the Foundation with the consent of the nominee. Nominations shall be required for any person wishing to become or to continue as a Trustee. Each new nominee shall submit a letter of intent and a brief description of hi/her/ qualifications to the Secretary two weeks prior to the Annual Meeting of members. Nominations, letters of intent, and qualifications shall be available on request prior to the Annual Meeting and posted during the Annual Meeting. At the Annual Meeting, all new nominees shall be required to be present. Nominations shall be seconded before discussion and/or vote can occur. Trustees shall be elected individually.
- (b) Any Trustee may withdraw from the Board by written notification to the Board of Trustees stating the intent to withdraw from the Board. Such withdrawal shall become effective upon receipt of such letter by the Chairperson of the Board. The secretary shall cause notice of said withdrawal to be given to the membership.
- (c) Any trustee, elected or appointed, may be removed by vote of the Trustees, Continuing and Caretaking members whenever, in their judgment, the best interest of the Foundation will be served thereby. At any Special Meeting and Caretaking members may be called in accordance with Article Ii, Section 7(a) in order to discuss and vote on the removal of a Trustee.

Section 3. Regular and Special Meetings

There shall be two Regular meetings of the Board of Trustees. One in the winter months for the purpose of electing the officers and guiding the resident body, and one in the summer months in conjunction with the Annual meeting of members for the purpose of transacting the annual business of the Foundation. Regular and Special meetings of the Board of Trustees may be held by conference telephone and recorded by electronic device. Any Trustee connected to such a conference telephone shall be deemed present at the meeting.

Section 4. Notice of Meeting

Regular meeting of the Board of Trustees shall be scheduled and notice posted and sent by mail or email at least 60 days prior to the date of said meetings. Special meetings may be called with 10 days notice but 60 days notice is preferable whenever possible.

Section 5. Quorum and Voting

- (a) At all meetings of the Board of Trustees, two thirds of the total number of Trustees shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Each Trustee present shall be entitled to one vote.
- (b) Election of Officers and amendment of the Bylaws shall be by consensus. For all other matters which may be brought before the Board, the consensus of the Trustees present at any meeting at which there is a quorum shall be the act of the Board of Trustees. Acts of the Board of Trustees shall be in accordance with Article Ii, Section 1, and Article IV.

- (c) All acts, elections, and decisions by the Board of Trustees shall be recorded and placed on file with the records of the Foundation and made available to all members. Acts not so recorded shall be considered invalid.

Section 6. Compensation of Trustees

No Trustee shall be entitled to receive from the Foundation any compensation for service as a Trustee. In order to avoid any semblance of conflicts of interest, when compensation for other services to the Foundation by Trustees may be granted, the process of choosing those services and their compensation shall be documented. This shall exclude reimbursements for out-of-pocket expenses documented in the books of account.

Section 7. Organization

- (a) A person designated by the Trustees present at the summer meeting of the Board of Trustees shall act as Chairperson of the Board for the following year.
- (b) The Board of Trustees may appoint a Secretary for the Board of Trustees who shall act as secretary at all meetings of the Board of Trustees and assist in any organizational duties deemed necessary. In the absence of a Secretary for the Board of Trustees, the Chairperson shall appoint any person present to act as secretary of the meeting.
- (c) The Board of Trustees shall designate a person to act as financial liaison with the Treasurer of the Foundation to ensure the financial solvency of the Foundation and legal compliance with state and federal regulations.

Section 8. Action by Consent

- (a) Any action required or permitted to be taken at any meeting of the Board of trustees may be taken without a meeting if, prior to such action, a written or faxed consent thereto is signed by the required number of Trustees of the Foundation and such written consent is filed with the minutes of proceedings of the Board of Trustees.
- (b) No statement by an individual Trustee shall bind the Board. No Trustee shall speak on behalf of the Board unless specifically authorized by an act of the Board as defined in Section 5 above.

Article IV—Officers

Section 1. Officers

The Officers of the Foundation shall be a Coordinator, a Treasurer and a Secretary. All such Officers shall be nominated by the Caretaking members and elected by the consensus vote of the Trustees present at the winter meeting of the Board, and, except in the event of death or resignation, such Officers shall hold office until the next succeeding winter meeting of the Board of Trustees. Any of the above-named offices, except those of Coordinator and Secretary, may be held by the same person, but no such officer shall execute, acknowledge or verify any instrument in more than one capacity if such instrument is required by law to be executed, acknowledged, verified or countersigned by two officers. In addition to the powers and duties of the Officers of the Foundation set forth in this Article IV, they shall have such authority and perform such duties as from time to time may be determined by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Powers and Duties of the Coordinator

The Coordinator shall be the chief executive officer of the Foundation and, subject to the control of the Board of Trustees, shall have charge of all its business and affairs, unless overruled by the Caretaking Members at a meeting of the members of the Foundation. The Coordinator or a designee shall preside at any meeting of the members of the Foundation and shall from time to time secure information concerning the business and affairs of the Foundation and shall promptly lay the same before the members, the Lama Council, and /or the Board of Trustees. The Coordinator may sign and execute any written contract or other instrument on behalf of the Foundation authorized by the Board of Trustees.

Section 3. Powers and Duties of the Treasurer

The Treasurer shall have custody of all the funds and securities of the Foundation which may come into his or her hands. The Treasurer may endorse on behalf of the Foundation for collection checks, notes and other obligations and shall deposit the same to the credit of the Foundation in such bank or banks or depository or depositories as the Board of Trustees may designate; s/he may sign all receipts and vouchers for payments made to the Foundation; s/he shall enter or cause to be entered regularly in the books of the Foundation kept for that purpose, full and accurate account of all money received and paid on account of the Foundation and whenever required by the Board of Trustees shall render statements of such accounts. The Treasurer shall, at all reasonable times exhibit the books and accounts to any Trustee of the Foundation upon reasonable request by such Trustee at the Foundation's office during business hours; and shall perform all acts incident to the position of Treasurer, subject to the control of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. Powers and Duties of the Secretary

The Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the members and of the Trustees in books provided for that purpose and oversee proper storage of said books. S/he shall attend to the giving or servicing of all notices of the Foundation; may sign with the Coordinator all written contracts or other instruments of the Foundation authorized by the Board of Trustees; shall have charge of such books and papers as the Board of Trustees shall direct, all of which shall at all reasonable times be open to the examination of any Trustee or Foundation member upon request at the office of the Foundation; and s/he shall perform all acts incident to the position of Secretary, subject to the control of the board of Trustees.

Section 5. Additional Officers

One or more assistant coordinators, assistant treasurers, and assistant secretaries may be nominated by the Caretaking members and elected by the Board of Trustees. Such officers shall have such authority and shall perform such duties as may from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees may from time to time by resolution delegate to any assistant coordinator appointed by the Board any of the powers and duties herein assigned to the Coordinator, may delegate to any assistant treasurer appointed by the Board any of the powers and duties herein assigned to the Treasurer, and may similarly delegate to any assistant secretary any of the powers and duties herein assigned to the Secretary. In the absence or inability of any primary officer to act, any assistant officer may perform all the duties and exercise all the powers of the primary officer, subject to the control of the Board of Trustees.

Section 6. Compensation to Officers

The amount, if any, which each Officer of the Foundation shall be entitled to receive as compensation for services shall be fixed from time to time by resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Article V –Free Associates

Section 1. Definition

Free Associate shall be an honorary status, non-voting class of membership for those who are to be acknowledged as having contributed significantly to Lama Foundation over a period of four or more years in time, service, and/or resources, or who have been recognized for outstanding contributions and connectedness to the Foundation. Free Associates shall be elected by the consensus of those Continuing and Caretaking Members present at any Annual meeting.

Section 2. Voting Rights

Free Associates shall be a non-voting, non-resident category of membership. However, if a Free Associate is serving on a Committee s/he may be vested by the voting members of that Committee with a vote for a specified time or issue, within that Committee only.

Section 3. Community Participation

Free Associates who wish to spend time at Lama Foundation shall be expected to go through all normal protocols and policies for doing so, and to participate in community life in ways required of all community members. Exception to this can occur only through a consensual vote of the Caretaking Members at a Regular or Seasonal Meeting.

Article VI—Checks, Drafts, Notes, Money, Etc.

Section 1. Obligations

All checks, drafts, bills of exchange, acceptance, notes or other obligations or orders for the payment of money shall be signed and countersigned by such Officers of the Foundation or such other persons as the Board of Trustees shall from time to time by resolution designate.

Section 2. Room and Board

Each person staying on the premises of the Foundation shall contribute room and board payments according to policy determined at a Seasonal, Annual, or Special meeting, unless a waiver is granted by the consent of the Caretaking Members at any regular or seasonal meeting.

Section 3. Cottage Industries

- (a) Each cottage industry shall serve the purpose and goals of the Foundation. The formation, management, products and operations of each industry shall be consistent with the purpose and goals of the Foundation.
- (b) Decisions regarding the formation, management, products and operations of each cottage industry shall be made in accordance with procedures and policies determined at a Seasonal, Annual, or Special meeting.
- (c) Each cottage industry shall (1) be capitalized and owned by the Foundation, (2) have more than one participant, and (3) include as one of its aims the earning of money for the Foundation.
- (d) Arrangements whereby a resident derives personal income from a cottage industry or other income-producing activity of the Foundation or in a manner that involves the use of a facility of the Foundation shall be approved at any legally constituted meeting.
- (e) Money earned by each cottage industry shall be distributed with the following priorities: (a) creditors shall be satisfied; and (b) capitalization provided by the Lama Foundation shall be paid

back if required, payment to be prorated subject to approval of the Foundation membership as described in paragraph (b) above.

Article VII—Miscellaneous Provisions

Section 1. Fiscal Year

The fiscal year of the Foundation shall begin on January 1 and end on the following December 31.

Section 2. Annual Report

The Coordinator and the Treasurer shall each annually prepare or cause to be prepared a full and true statement of affairs of the Foundation which shall be submitted at the Annual meeting of the members and filed within twenty days thereafter with the official records of the Foundation, where it shall during reasonable times be open for inspection by any member or trustee of the Foundation.

Section 3. Waivers of Notices

Whenever any notice is required to be given, a waiver of the notice in writing, signed by the person or persons entitled to the notice, whether before or after the time stated, shall be deemed equivalent to the required notice.

Article VIII—Amendments

These Bylaws and any Amendments may be altered or amended, or new Bylaws may be adopted by the Board of Trustees at any Board meeting by the consensus vote of the Trustees present at such meeting. Trustees shall receive, respect, respond to or integrate all input and recommendations from Caretaking or Continuing Members regarding Bylaws amendments.

Article IX—Lama Master Plan

The Lama Master Plan is intended to be a flexible policy arm of these Bylaws providing long-term land-use direction for the Foundation. Professional consultation shall be considered in order to meet these policies. The following principles shall be embodied in any current, detailed Master Plan, and any decisions affecting land-use shall be embodied in any current, detailed Master Plan, and any decisions affecting land-use shall be made with reference to the current Permaculture Land Use Plan.

Section 1. Location and Type of Structures

Replacement and remodeling of existing structures and new construction shall be aesthetic, serviceable, efficient and healthy year-round (when possible).

Section 2. Life Support Systems

Recognizing the need for living in right relationship with ecological responsibilities, the Foundation shall commit to utilizing natural and renewable resources for food and heating needs and other life support systems.

Section 3. Water and Wastewater

The Lama Foundation is committed to operating in a way which efficiently uses water resources and to dispose of wastewater so as to avoid pollution of the ground water.

Section 4. Operations and Maintenance

Social structure and operations of the Foundation shall be integrated with financial and physical considerations with this Plan.

Section 5. Soils

Land use decisions of the Foundation shall encourage re-vegetation and erosion control.

Section 6. U.S. Forest Vegetation and Wildlife

Land use decisions and activities of the Foundation shall seek to preserve and create wildlife habitat while minimizing fire hazards

Section 7. Local and Regional Relationships

The Foundation shall seek to broaden its relationship with the local and regional communities, observing the limitations set forth under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code or successor thereof.

Section 8. Bodily Remains and Burial Agreements

The Foundation shall consider requests for interment on Foundation property in accordance with the Lama Burial Garden Policy, and with religious traditions, while considering both ecological and community impact.