RE-EXAMINING 'COMMUNITY' IN THE MODERN WORLD

THE ROLE OF BOUNDARIES IN THE INTENTIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF 'COMMUNITY' AT AN ECOVILLAGE IN ITHACA

Figure 1

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INTRODUCTION

"Ithaca is ten square miles surrounded by reality". (Local saying)

"To promote experiential learning about ways of meeting human needs for shelter, food, energy, livelihood and social connectedness that are aligned with the long term health and viability of Earth and all its inhabitants."(EcoVillage mission statement)

In the summer of 2013, I conducted fieldwork for approximately six weeks in an EcoVillage in Upstate New York, U.S.A. To further define an ecological cohousing community, or an EcoVillage, it has been suggested that these contemporary housing formations aim 'to recreate a sense of community and encourage an environmentally sustainable lifestyle' (Chitewere & Taylor, 2010:141). EcoVillage at Ithaca (EVI) is one of the first few cohousing type EcoVillages to be established in the United States.[1] The first neighbourhood named FROG (First Residents of Group) was constructed in 1996, the second neighbourhood in 2003 (SONG), with the third neighbourhood (TREE) being due for completion in 2013. It has been further noted that as of 2012, approximately one hundred adults and sixty children reside at EcoVillage excluding the further forty households that will be included in the third neighbourhood upon completion of its construction. This intentional community is not a commune as income sharing is not an established practice.

Within the context of social science it is has been noted that in a modern, capitalistic society the term 'community' can be deemed as 'a nostalgic, bourgeois and anachronistic concept'

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[1] The architects McCamant & Durrett are credited with bringing the cohousing type intentional community to the United States from Scandinavia in the 1980s and describe cohousing as "a new housing type that redefined the concept of neighbourhood by combining the autonomy of private dwellings with the advantages of community living" (Durrett & McCamant, 2011:5).

(Cohen, 1985:12). However it is further argued by Cohen, that indeed a reasonable interpretation of the term community is 'that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups' (1985:12). Deriving from Barth's concept of group and ethnic boundaries, it has been argued that a "boundary" 'is a particular conceptual construct that people sometimes impress on the world' (2000:19). Accordingly a 'boundary' can signify 'a syndrome of ideas ranging from an imagined line drawn on the ground, through various abstract separations and distinctions in realms of political and social organization, to a schema for conceptualizing the very idea of distinction' (Barth, 2000:20) as well as, importantly, physically dividing 'territories on the ground'(2000: 17). This dissertation therefore considers the role of physical boundaries at EVI, but however focuses on the argument that the conceptual boundaries which distinguish and define the intentional community of EcoVillage at Ithaca are *integral* to the continuity of this community's unique practice and culture[2].

I posit that this is because the creation of EVI is a consequence of and reaction to 'modernity'. The inexplicit inclusion and exclusion of peoples as well as the perceived differing values and practices that residents in this community hold, essentially creates a distinction or *boundary* between residents of EVI and the abstract "other". I argue that these conceptual boundaries which are present at EVI *are* necessary because of the intention to construct a unique and differing culture. The existence of EVI simultaneously critiques the surrounding culture by intentionally recreating a sense of 'community' as well as practising a sustainable, environmentally conscious lifestyle (Brown, 2002). This dissertation explores the

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[2] Here, I define the notion of culture from the interpretive standpoint and argue that culture is 'a pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which 'men' communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1973:89).

challenges that arise from living in this community and argues that problems for residents in EcoVillage at Ithaca emerge when the conceptual boundaries between the culture of EVI and the surrounding culture become blurred or too prominent.

METHODOLOGY

Initially when I set out to complete my fieldwork in this EcoVillage, I aimed to further discover how the ideology of this community may relate to the practice of this community; in essence the ideology versus the practice of this intentional community. However I believe that it is integral to the fluidity of my dissertation here to note that the emphasis on the "versus" in my research proposal already laid a propensity to search immediately for the negative, or for the conflict in this community rather than discovering what overall fundamental tenets defined this community in both values and practice. In order to be able to research the overall values and practice of this community therefore I decided to focus on how this community is distinctive culturally by focusing on the role of boundaries in its construction and continuity.

For approximately six weeks in this EcoVillage, I obtained information from residents through twelve semi-structured interviews, casual conversation and participant observation. Bernard has defined a semi—structured interview as an interview which is 'open ended, but follows a general script and covers a list of topics' (2006:210). I found that in addition to participant observation, semi-structured interviews afforded me the opportunity to conduct more in depth and detailed research into the lives of EVI's residents within the constraints of my time limit here. In addition to this, I gained information through participant observation in this community by attending twice weekly common house meals, participating in work teams (i.e. the cook team), and attending community-wide events such as birthday celebrations,

community meetings and potlucks.[3] Moreover, I also rented a room with a family in this community, which enabled me to further understand the lifestyle that occurs here.

ETHICS

Throughout the duration of my fieldwork, I adhered to ethical guidelines outlined by ASA. However, one of the fundamental ethical dilemmas that I encountered was the question of 'anthropologist as friend and anthropologist as scientist?' (Hansen, 1976). In this sense, and because of the nature of participant observation which 'involves deception and impression management' (Bernard, 2006:342), I found that in order to build up rapport with community members it was often necessary to build a certain amount of trust with residents of EVI. As such, considering the short amount of time spent in this community, I believe that I was still considered by most to be very much 'the anthropologist as scientist' because of the limited amount of time in which I was able to build up trust.

However the ethical dilemma that I wish to posit is that the line between anthropologist as scientist and as friend often became blurred between some social relationships that I encountered in EVI. Owing to the fact that I lived with a family in this community, I often found myself in situations where my academic role became ill-defined as I participated in their family outings and activities. However in order to make my role clear here and in order to counter this level of slight deception, I held a community-wide presentation for all residents. This described my intention in this community, what the aim of my research was,

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[3] Bernard has suggested that participant observation 'involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives' (2006: 342)

and also described some of my personal background. I found that it was necessary to be

transparent and clear about my role in this community, so as to adhere to ethical guidelines.[4]

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[4] Additionally I anonymise all residents, including interviewees with whom I spoke. This is in accordance with the ASA regulations which suggest that there is a 'need for truthful and respectful exchanges between social researchers and the people whom they study.' (ASA, 1999:3)

CHAPTER 1 – THEORIES OF 'MODERNITY' 'BOUNDARIES' AND 'INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY'

"It's a community. One way to exemplify that is that we care about each other." (Lloyd, EcoVillage resident)

It has been argued that the term 'modernity' describes a period of time whereby 'time and space are separated from living practice and from each other', and where time and space cease to be 'locked in a stable and apparently invulnerable one-to-one correspondence' as was evident before the supposed advent of 'modernity' (Bauman, 2000: 8-9). Indeed it is this notion that due to this dislocation of time and space, that society has now entered a period of 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1991), 'where a tradition can no longer be taken for granted but must actively be defended vis-a-vis its alternatives' (Eriksen, 2010:8). It could be theorised, therefore, that in order to gain a deeper depth of understanding about the role of conceptual boundaries in the maintenance and creation of 'intentional community', the relationship between 'intentional communities' and the theoretical concept of modernity and its consequences need to be further analysed in this chapter.

This chapter will posit the theory that through the framework of the nostalgia for 'community' and the pressing threat of a changing global climate, EVI is in fact a product of 'modernity'. Furthermore, this chapter will argue that the inexplicit process of the inclusion and exclusion of peoples, and therefore the creation and maintenance of conceptual as well as physical boundaries, is intrinsic to the continuity of this intentional community in the modern

world. The ethnographic data that was collected during my time spent in this EcoVillage will be discussed in relation to these theories in chapter two.

1.1 MODERNITY

It has been suggested that one of the principle features of 'modernity' is that there is 'an increasing interconnection between the two extremes of extensionality and intentionality: globalising influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other' (Giddens, 1991:1). In regards to this view, it is apparent that in this stated period of 'modernity', there is an increasing disconnect between the individual and the local, and an extenuated connection between the individual and the global. This is arguably ascribed to a period of accelerated social change and globalisation throughout the period of the last century. [5]

 I consider how social changes and globalisation in the United States and the world have given rise to EcoVillage at Ithaca, and other similar movements. As Liz Walker, the cofounder of EcoVillage at Ithaca states; 'at the beginning of the 21st century, we face a world that is falling apart at the seams' because of the perceived breakdown of the environment and society (Walker, 2005:2). She argues that we need to go back to 'what indigenous people have always known' (ibid); in so far as we are all "connected". It becomes evident that through the idealisation of the "traditional" this EcoVillage has been created in a time of high uncertainty about the perceived threat of climate change, economic systemic collapse, and highlights a distinct lack of trust between individuals and larger, more powerful institutions.

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[5] For example, throughout the 1970s 'ten million Americans made sure that they would not have children' through self-imposed sterilisation (Yankelovich, 1981:xiv). This arguably caused unprecedented societal consequences through the change in the perceived norm of the "nuclear family".

To further define how EVI is related to 'modernity', Castells also postulates that the environmental movement since the 1960s has induced 'a new culture' (1997:111) insofar as it has instigated a reversal in the way that we think about the relationship between economy, society and nature. He defines 'environmentalism' as 'all forms of collective behaviour that, in their discourse and their practice, aim at correcting destructive forms of relationship between human action and its natural environment' (1997: 112). In this sense, EVI can be regarded as an aspect of environmentalism. However, importantly, I suggest that this EcoVillage signifies a reaction to the modern dislocation of time and space, with this intentional community *intentionally* controlling and preserving a "natural" piece of land with the aim of sustainably caring for the natural environment for the betterment of the global environmental system. Bunce has described that an inherent contradiction of 'modernity' is an 'ever growing nostalgia for the countryside and an abiding ambivalence towards the city' (1994:1) and argues that for the middle class who are uncomfortable in times of social and economic crisis, the idealised view of nature has 'a distinct appeal' (1997:26). In this sense, EVI could indeed be seen as a local reaction to the globalised effects of climate change through its pioneering attempts to create a culture of sustainability within this EcoVillage by additionally questioning its relationship with the economy and society.

Therefore it has been discussed how 'modernity' can relate to globalised environmental threats, and how 'environmentalism' has instigated the counter-cultural environmental movement which questions the relationship between nature, culture and society. It is therefore necessary to analyse another key component of EVI with 'modernity'; namely the social aspect of this community.

In order to discuss further how social relationships in this community are related to 'modern times', Putnam's (2000) analysis of the decline of civic engagement in the United States presents the theory that over the past half of a century, 'community' has diminished. He states that 'more than a third of America's civic infrastructure simply evaporated between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s' (2000:43). 'Community' in this sense does not represent so much as an abstract "sense of community" but 'community' as something which is located in civic infrastructure such as the competitive structure of the bowling league, hence Putnam's title of the book 'Bowling Alone'. [6]

Putnam uses the term 'social capital' to analyse the decline of 'community' and civic engagement over the last fifty years; essentially equating high levels of 'social capital' with high levels of 'community'. Therefore, in its basic definition Putnam states that social capital is 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them' (Putnam & Goss, 2002:3).[7] Correlating with the view that 'social capital matters' and therefore 'community' matters (Putnam R. D., 2000:6), I suggest that the intentional creation of community at EVI is due to the decreased participation in 'community' over the past few decades and an increase in social isolation. Furthermore, I theorise that it is because of the described decreasing levels of social capital and therefore participation in civic life due to social change in modern times, many individuals have to lead to seek to restore a structured level of connectedness with other individuals. In this case, a level of connectedness and trust with other like-minded environmentally conscious individuals in the community at EVI. Therefore, Putnam's

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[6] Putnam refers to the notion of 'social capital', citing that the first usage of the term was by Hanifan who states that 'the individual is helpless socially, if left to himself... if he comes into contact with his neighbour, and they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital' (Hanifan, 1916 cited in Putnam, 2000: 19).

[7] Whilst Putnam does not suggest that the decline of American civic engagement is inherently due to 'modernity', he cites technological advancements such as the rise of television as one of the reasons for the fall of social capital in the U.S, as well as suburbanisation, commuting and sprawl. He surmises that 'metropolitan sprawl has also damaged the social fabric of our communities' and that this has imposed 'heavy personal and economic costs' (2000:407).

societal analysis does not take into account the growing trend of the creation of intentional communities in the U.S, with specific consideration of EcoVillages and other cohousing type communities.[8] In this sense, Putnam's stated decline of social capital in the United States by Putnam has consequently led to a revitalization of participation in civic life and 'community' through the construction of EcoVillage at Ithaca and other intentional communities [9] (Wallace, 1956). Through this reconstruction of 'community', EVI additionally acts as a cultural critique of its surrounding culture (Brown, 2002).

1.2 BOUNDARIES

Deriving from Barth's work on ethnic groups and boundaries, I am in accordance with Barth's emphasis on how cultural and ethnic distinctions are formed not from 'an absence of mobility, contact and information' but instead from 'social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation' (1969: 9-10). In relation to my research at EVI, I argue that the process of the inclusion and exclusion of people forms conceptual boundaries through the distinct values held and the practices enacted, which in turn creates a sense of community at EVI[10]. I furthermore claim that the modern world can undermine or enhance these boundaries.

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[8] As of 2009, according to the Global EcoVillage Network there are 445 EcoVillages in the world. 102 EcoVillages in the United States, 27 in Canada, 22 in Africa, 163 in Europe, 72 in South America, 18 in Asia and 41 in Oceania. (Global EcoVillage Network)

[9] This correlates with Wallace's notion of "revitalization movements" which are defined as 'a deliberate,organized conscious effort by members of society to construct a more satisfying culture' (1956:265). Though Wallace does not consider the rise of intentional communities in his theory, I argue that the revitalization of a "more satisfying culture" can be linked with the creation of a community-based, sustainable culture at EVI.

[10] 'Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together' (McMillan & Chavis, 1986:4).

Moreover, I purport that a sense of community in EcoVillage at Ithaca is strengthened by its physical layout and that the structure of this community continually reinforces the community's environmental and social ideals. [11] My assertion here contradicts Cohen's (1985) theory which suggests that the structural, physical factors of community do not play a significant role in the construction of 'community' and its conceptual boundaries.

With the added claim that 'community' therefore cannot be measured by an objective assessment and that it is, instead 'a matter of feeling, a matter which resides in the minds of members themselves' (1985:21). In contrast to this, I concur with McMillan & Chavis where it is argued that a sense of community can indeed be measured objectively[12]. Where this abstract sense of community is measured, according to McMillan & Chavis it inevitably involves the creation of conceptual boundaries because 'that there are people who belong and people who do not' (1986:4). Boundaries are created, they argue from an abstract "sense of community", because they 'provide members with the emotional safety necessary for needs and feelings to be exposed and for intimacy to develop' and that in order to enhance the conceptual boundaries in this community, group members often use 'deviants' to reinforce their own membership in the community. In the case of EVI, I propose that the deviant of the "abstract other" are those who do not hold the same shared values about the importance of sustainable living, environmental harmony or 'community'. As such shared values here 'provide the integrative force for cohesive communities' and reinforce the conceptual boundaries of EVI. As it is perceived that the "abstract other" in the broader social mode does

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[11] Kasper has argued that the ideals of each EcoVillage 'are manifest in specific efforts to preserve green space, maximize energy efficiency, and make optimal use of space and materials' (2008:17). As can be also seen in the map (figure three), clustered housing, open space with cars delegated to the outside of the community ultimately encourages social interaction with neighbours.

[12] 1) Membership 'the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness 2) Influence 'a sense of mattering' 3) Integration and fulfilment of needs 'the feeling that members needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group' 4) Shared emotional connection 'the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences' (McMillan & Chavis, 1986:4).

not hold these values to the same extent, a distinction between "us" and "them" is ultimately made, which fundamentally creates a boundary or a marker for inclusion into this community.[13]

In consideration of how membership is marked at EVI, I suggest that members must have an interest in sustainable living and community living. However this interest must be fortified with the economic ability to be able to commit to this community, and as such explains why EVI is 'aiming to reach middle-class Americans' (Walker, 2005:57). Inherent in the existence of conceptual boundaries of membership at EVI therefore, are other social factors such as socio-economic status, lack of racial diversity, and a degree of homogeneity in political mindsets. Additionally when filtering on an interest in sustainability and community living, as well as having the economic capability to be able to invest in this community, these conceptual boundaries of membership, I argue, operate as a certain kind of social filter that inexplicitly excludes members of broader society who are in a lower socio-economic bracket.

1. 3 INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

Highlighting the long theorised debate over what constitutes the term 'community' and how it can relate to society and modernity, seminal scholars such as Durkheim (1893), have made such distinctions and connections between collective solidarity, individualism, community and modernity. Durkheim has suggested that social solidarity can be expressed in two ways; that of 'organic' solidarity and 'mechanical' solidarity. Equating 'mechanical' solidarity with low levels of individualism and 'organic' solidarity with high levels of individualism in a society where there is a large population and a complex division of labour. Durkheim

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[13] This was noted in a study of the Kibbutz intentional community whereby 'boundaries of membership were defined by being Jewish and by sharing the vision and symbols of these Jewish pioneers' (McMillan & Chavis, 1986:14).

presupposes that organic solidarity symbolises weaker solidarity and higher individual autonomy, ultimately suggesting that modernity and high levels of solidarity are incompatible. Durkheim essentially argues that 'as the division of labour intensifies, simple social cooperation is replaced by individuals performing separate and specialized functions' (Durkheim, (1893) 1984:183). I question this theory by arguing that the intentional community of EcoVillage at Ithaca experiences a high level of collective cohesion in what Durkheim would label as an 'advanced society'. This reinforces my hypothesis that EVI is fundamentally a consequence of and reaction to modernity because through the perceived globalised threat of climate change as well as a decline in civic community over the past half of a century, 'community' at EVI has been intentionally reconstructed.

However in the case of EVI, and in accordance with Andelson's definition of an 'intentional community', where members 'actively strive to forge such a shared identity' (2002:131), such an active pursuance of an environmentally sustainable culture will immediately filter out and select certain types of individuals. [14]This practice of inclusion and exclusion, however subliminal, is also found in other intentional type communities such as the Kibbutz. According to a study completed by Ruffle & Sosis, Kibbutz members 'cooperate more with members of their own kibbutz than with city residents' (2006:162) and note that this contradicts the supposed 'promise of a universally cooperative group' (ibid). Parallels could be drawn here between the Kibbutz and EVI, due to the global sustainable standard that EVI wishes to prove is possible by setting the example of an environmentally sustainable community, and the Kibbutz's universal cooperative aim. However it is apparent that even with the Kibbutz's universally cooperative aim, reciprocity does not occur to the same extent

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[14] As Huw, an EVI resident, mentioned that when people express an interest in this community "you're filtering on an interest in sustainability which naturally entails a whole set of attitudes that go with it socially".

outside the boundaries of the Kibbutz, as inside the Kibbutz, leading to the exclusion and inclusion of people through the levels of reciprocity that they receive (Ruffle & Sosis, 2006).

The relevance of 'modernity' accentuates the perceived supposition that that this type of lifestyle is fundamentally unattainable in broader U.S society, and that because of the distinctiveness of its culture, the inclusion of certain individuals and exclusion of others is crucial to the continuity of this intentional community. Furthermore, I suggest that, harking back to the traditional, nostalgic image of 'community', 'community' may be seen as a revitalization of a seemingly "lost" moral time. Etzioni, in describing the movement of 'communitarianism' has suggested that 'responsibilities are anchored in community' (1993:267), and that since the eighties America has elevated 'the unbridled pursuit of self-interest and greed to the level of social virtue' (1993: 24).

Equating the moral voice with the 'community' voice, Etzioni argues that societal reconstruction is needed so that the "spirit of community" may indeed be revitalized once more. This theoretical concept highlights the perceived and nostalgic need for 'community' in modern times, due to a perceived societal breakdown. Strongly critiquing the pervasive individualist culture that is interwoven into American society (Bellah, Madsen et al, 1985), Etzioni argues that the need for 'community' is now stronger than ever. I suggest that it is this perceived nostalgia and need for 'community' in the face of rapid social change and 'modernity' that have been fundamental factors in the formation of EVI, and that conceptual 'boundaries' are imposed upon the world by residents of EVI so as to maintain the continuity of this particular culture within the United States.

I also question to some extent the theory which suggests that 'intentional communities are nearly always liminal and their members in a state of "outsiderhood"' (Kamau, 2002:20).[15] Kamau suggests that distinctions and conceptual boundaries and a structuring of social relationships do not exist in intentional communities. This is because she argues that 'liminal life exists outside the normal institutions or structures of everyday life' (2002:19). However, in consideration of the intentional community of EcoVillage at Ithaca, I argue that this community is not in a state of 'liminality' because conceptual boundaries *do* exist in this community which structures this community and also its important yet volatile relationship with the "outside world". Social distinctions ultimately *do* apply to the residents of EcoVillage at Ithaca because this intentional community is not isolated from broader society; this community operates and connects to the world through its global mission statement, as well as some residents having to earn a living outside of the community, and therefore cannot exist outside of 'the structures of everyday life' (ibid). [16]

[15] Turner defines 'liminality' as liminal entities which 'are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial'(1969:95),

[16] Approximately 25% of intentional cohousing communities succeed in forming (Christian, 2003).

CHAPTER 2 - VALUES & PRACTICE OF ECOVILLAGE ITHACA

"What will happen when the sea levels rise?" (Erin, EcoVillage resident)

This chapter will examine the environmental and social values held by residents of EVI that were observed and expressed to me through the medium of interview and conversation, as well as the observed environmental and social practice exhibited by residents here.[17] In addition to this I will also discuss how this community presents itself to "the outside world" through the means of the internet, what this can entail when considering the large internal email system that EVI has produced, and how EVI aims to educate the abstract "other" about sustainable living practice. This is to ascertain the importance of conceptual boundaries in the intentional construction of 'community', so as to further theorise that conceptual boundaries formulate and enable residents to maintain the perceived differing social and cultural transactions that occur at EVI, in the face of and in contrast to wider U.S society, and indeed the world.[18]

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[17] Throughout this dissertation, when I use the term 'residents', I do not mean to imply that I speak for the whole community. When using the term 'residents' I only imply that these are the people whom I had contact with during my time here.

[18] Using Yankelovich's notion of 'value' he states that there is a difference between the sacred and instrumental value and argues that"sacred" is 'used here in opposition not to the secular or profane as in religious belief, but to the instrumental' (1982:7) and that 'for many Americans nature is a sacred object' (ibid). Yankelovich defines instrumental value as when a person or object is valued 'because he or she is a good worker, or provider' etc (ibid).

2.1 ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES

When I first arrived at EcoVillage Ithaca, one of the first observations that I made was that the road leading up to the community was named 'Rachel Carson Way'.[19] At the beginning of 'Silent Spring' Carson depicts a scenario where a community in America which lives in ecological harmony with its surroundings is suddenly and dramatically affected by a strange blight. She cites that the cause of this blight is the very people themselves and that 'the most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials' (1962:6).

Therefore, I argue that this depiction of environmental denigration at the hands of human beings is apparent in the values that some of the residents in EcoVillage hold. It was perceptible during my time spent here; that although there were strong values held by residents concerning the environment, natural variations occurred. 67% of interviewees mentioned concern about the global environment or cited solutions to these problems located at EVI. Dafydd, had previously never lived in an EcoVillage. He mentioned that living in California, he and especially his children did not get the same level of social connection that he experiences in EcoVillage with other families in their previous neighbourhood. He stated that one of the reasons that he moved to EcoVillage was because of ill health, stating that sometimes he was working "60/70 hours a week" and believed that by moving to EcoVillage he would be able to reduce his working hours, have a good income and also spend time with his family. However, Dafydd was also very passionate about climate change stating that it was another reason in his decision to move to EcoVillage. "It's a finite planet, you know,

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[19] Rachel Carson is the author of the book 'Silent Spring', which, it has been argued is the book that instigated the beginnings of the modern environmental movement.

something's got to give", "we can't all just be living like there's no tomorrow" "so people get that here". [20]

Jakob, a friendly man and also a prospective resident of the TREE neighbourhood, stated that one of his reasons for moving to EcoVillage was because he wanted to connect with more people as most of his family were no longer part of his life. However, when asked about what he envisioned for the future at EVI and also for the globe in terms of sustainability, mentioned that "We're (EVI) probably more a part of the solution rather than the problem."[21] "I think we're part of transforming human existence and just making it lighter on the planet and making it less of a drain on the resources." Jakob emphasised the dichotomy of worlds or cultures that he felt while endeavouring to create a more ecologically and environmentally sustainable world, "we're trying to go counter to the corporate world and create more of a human sustainable world". In the sense that living in harmony with the environment can be seen as a more "natural" way of living, many residents expressed to me that one of the most important reasons for their living in this community was so that their children could experience nature and "be free". Another resident, Cathy, stated that she wanted her kids "to have an unmediated experience of nature because I think that's really important"[22].

The presupposition that due to the continuing destruction of the environment because of the prevalence of an over consumptive U.S society and also "stupidity and greed", (Jakob), highlights the residents' notions that this type of lifestyle is fundamentally unattainable in

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[20] He cited that one of the reasons for him personally living at EcoVillage was "living lighter on the land, avoiding consumerism for a number of reasons, just psychologically, and how it's not good to be completely hypnotised by gadgetry and the latest product that's going to make you happy right?"

[21] Continued..."we have to start doing things with a long term view with food and energy and transportation, so yes we're living on the planet and yes we're using resources and yes we're creating pollution, but we're doing it at a much slower rate than the rest of the world so this is sort of a breeding ground for sustainability".

[22] "I love that our kids know that in May the toads mate and we can go out and go see what's happening and what the cycles of nature are".

wider U.S society. What was perceived to be a "natural" occurrence before the advent of technology, large corporations and unsolicited greed, now has to be *intentionally* constructed within this community, so that it can set a crucial example to the world that living a comfortable, middle class lifestyle is not incompatible with acting in an environmentally conscious way.

2.2 SOCIAL VALUES

"See that? That was a cohousing moment."(Joy)

Lloyd had never lived in an intentional community before and had made the decision to move to EcoVillage with his partner, after staying in a nearby B&B and then taking a tour of EcoVillage. He remarked that "people who come to EcoVillage are sort of divided into two groups, one type of people are the social groups, they want to be social with other people" and "other people are those people who are plant minded, they just want to garden". This section will now discuss the social values that residents held, in so far as how they defined the difference between the social relationships that they held outside of the community, and the difference in the community, and how these social values can correlate and connect with other values held at EVI.

One resident, Melgar, described his experience of living and working abroad, described this country as "so consolidated, so dense where the people live" with the society being "formed in a sort of community based way", and compared it to the frustration that he felt in trying to find a similar type of community based framework in the United States. Both he and his wife were not from the Ithaca area, however had been searching for 'community' before they

stumbled across Liz Walker's book (2005) about EcoVillage life. This consequently prompted their decision to move here.

An elderly resident, Elliott, described his experience of living in Brooklyn, New York, stating that "I lived on this fifth floor apartment building and I never saw, and I lived there for years, and I don't believe that I ever saw some of the people up there on that floor". He had been a part of EcoVillage along with his wife since the beginning and has been living at EcoVillage ever since. Similarly socially isolated, Lloyd remarked that "I was living in a city apartment on a busy street corner, and you didn't know anybody or maybe you knew the person downstairs", "It was a very isolated existence". This theme of social isolation in wider society, whether urban or rural, was in fact so prevalent within this community that 100 percent of interviewees perceived that there was a distinct lack of social connection and community in U.S society, and that this isolation was a motivating factor in the decision to move to EcoVillage. [23]

Lloyd also explicitly stated that he highly valued the social capital that he gains in this community. Asking me "where's your wealth?" he then further described his recent birthday party where he was "surrounded by about thirty people who were able to come at the time." Smiling, Lloyd said "I don't have money maybe, but I have all the wealth. Because I have a lot of people I can depend on and I can go to."

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[23] Lloyd further mentioned that he has conversed with his neighbours about the "suburban lifestyle" and its problems. "So you drive home from work and you have your garage, your big garage door open, you push the button, you drive your car into the garage, the garage goes down, and you go into your house. You never see anybody, you never interact with anybody and you go into your house. Totally isolated".

It is apparent that Lloyd highly values the social relationships that he has, placing this social capital in higher esteem than any economic capital he may possess.[24] The dichotomy of cultures with regards to what the residents' value and what the residents perceive wider U.S society values presents an intrinsic and challenging problem. As another resident, Flora, remarked, she doesn't "like money, money, money. But the other thing is we need money". These statements by Flora and Lloyd highlight my argument that EVI is a consequence of and reaction to 'modernity' through the analysis that 'social capital' is actively constructed and valued in this community over economic capital. A sense of community and trust is also created here due to the fact that most residents do not lock their doors, and I suggest that this trust fabricates social life here (Putnam R. D., 2000).

It is evident that through discussion of the resident's environmental and social values, it is naturally discernible that in order to comprehensively grasp how conceptual boundaries are produced and reproduced in this community, the actions and practice of the residents in this community will need to be further analysed.

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[24] This value type distinction between social capital and economic capital was also made by Melgar, who cited the challenge between the high value in the EcoVillage that is placed upon social interaction and connection, and the high economic value that he perceived is eminent in wider U.S society.

2. 3 ENVIRONMENTAL PRACTICE

"I've had enough 'community' today" (Joy, EcoVillage resident).

The location of EcoVillage at Ithaca is an important factor in the community's objective aim of being environmentally sustainable. EVI is located roughly two miles away from downtown Ithaca on a 175 acre site; however it is surrounded by farmland and countryside.[25] Additionally, residents will often, instead of driving individual cars to their respective jobs, car-share, so that overall, residents consume less fuel. Huw has been involved in EcoVillage since the beginning and has been an active community member, participating enthusiastically in many community meetings and discussions. Another resident exclaimed that she "just doesn't know where he gets it from!". Huw is employed outside of the community, and also owns a car, strives to take the bus every day to his place of work. In reference to the map (figure 2), another significant environmental factor in the community is the architecture and design of EcoVillage. With the basis of the design being centred around the architectural 'cohousing' design, houses are clustered closely together with the cars being delegated to park on the outskirts of the community in the car ports, leaving the houses to be clustered around an open, car free space in the centre. [26]

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[25] When deciding the location for the community, an important decision was made to build the community on the site 2 miles away from downtown Ithaca, instead of 10 miles away, because it keeps the 'transportation footprint relatively small' (Walker, 2005:126). Moreover, an important connection between downtown Ithaca and EcoVillage is made possible by a bus service which provides a bus route from this community into the centre of Ithaca.

[26] Having a "car free" open space was cited as an important factor for parents bringing up children in the community. One resident mentioned that "to me, one of the things that's absolutely huge is no cars". During my time spent in this community, I observed that many did indeed children utilise the open space here. Another resident mentioned that "one of the things I see is that it's safer for children of different ages to play together", "it's just amazing to me to have a community where you're not afraid, and this is what it was like when I was young. These kids are outside a lot, compared to the average kids and I feel lucky to live here because it's not common".
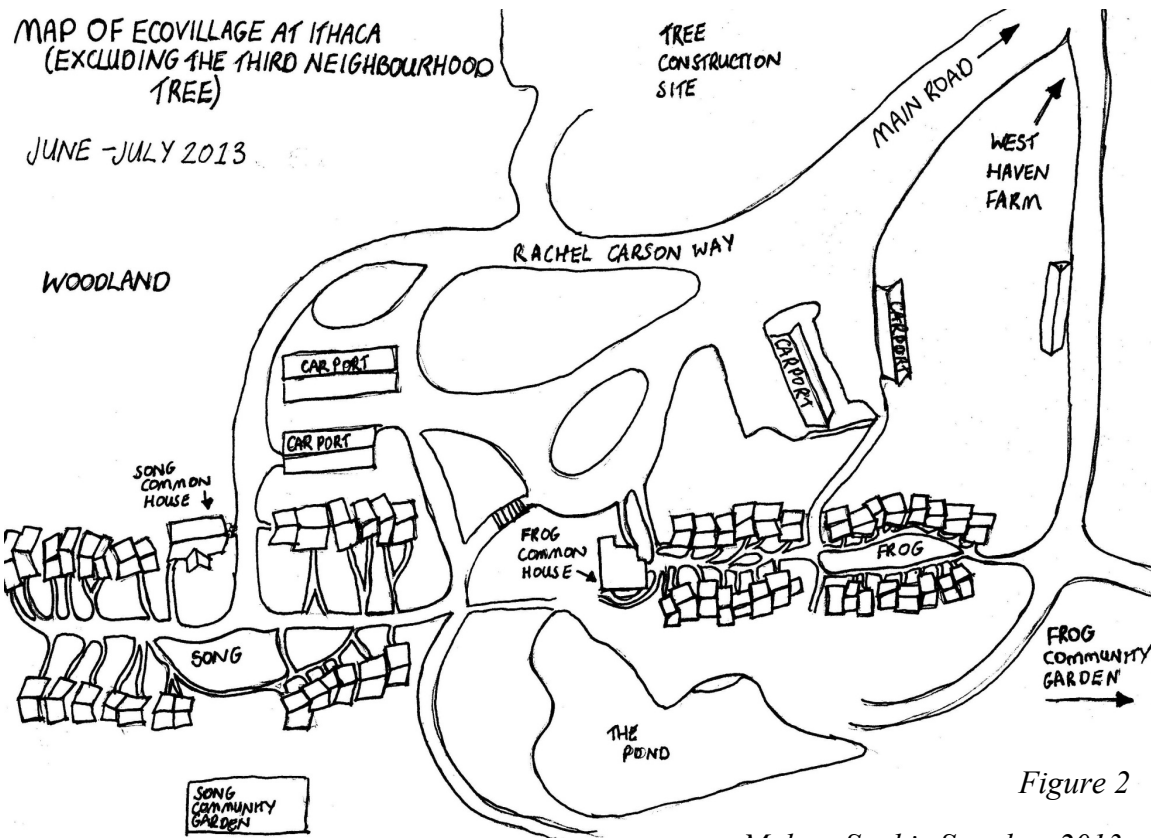
Figure 2

Maker: Sophie Standen, 2013.

Another environmentally sustainable feature of EVI is its land use. According to Liz Walker '

we conserve 90 percent of our 175 acre site as open space for organic agriculture, woods,

meadows and wetlands' (2005:128).[27] In terms of how EVI contributes to longer term food

and environmental sustainability, two farms on this piece of land connect with residents at

EVI through a scheme named Community Supported Agriculture.[28] In addition to two farms

being in close proximity to the residential area, as is shown on figure three, each

neighbourhood has a community garden where residents can grow food and garden. As an

amateur gardener, Joy often tried to grow her own food and tend to her garden every day, and

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[27] As such the residential area of EVI is surrounded by rural countryside, with the main road which connects to downtown Ithaca being a little over half a mile away from the residential plot.

[28]- "Community Supported Agriculture is a relationship that brings farmers and consumers together. By joining a CSA, people have the opportunity to enjoy seasonal eating and a close connection to their food source, while helping local sustainable agriculture flourish. Consumers who have become part of West Haven Farm CSA pay for a portion of the farm's expenses and receive a share of the harvest in return." "The cost for a single share in the CSA is $515 (sliding scale $415-$615)" (CSA & Shareholders).

remarked to me that she felt a great sense of satisfaction from growing her own food through the knowledge that it had not been "spoilt by chemical toxins".

Furthermore, a sense of self-sufficiency is constructed here due to the existence of solar panels in this community; however EVI is still reliant on fossil fuels such as natural gas, as well as facing requirements from the town to connect to the city water and sewers. However, according to Mckibben, this community has managed to consume '40% less gas and electricity' (2007: 155) than other comparative suburban neighbourhoods.

2.4 SOCIAL PRACTICE

In further discovering how the values of the residents contribute to the actions and practice of this community, I submit that through learning how to relate to neighbours and how to live in the 'sustainable culture' of this community, the act of learning and education is one of the most important features of social practice at EVI. Therefore this community is fundamentally a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

It is expected that both prospective residents and current residents should be able to contribute a high amount of their time to the management and progression of EVI, as well as proving to have a considerable amount of dedication here. Residents hold meetings each month in order to discuss any topic which a resident or a group of residents feel is necessary

to discuss.[29] In addition to this, a sense of community is ritually reinforced through common house community meals and also community celebrations. [30]

Residents are expected to contribute an approximate amount of three hours per week to assist with chores and other daily occurrences of the community. In order to ensure that the community cohesively functions together, all residents are expected to (but do not have to) join a work team. For example, if one is part of the "cook team", then it is expected that a resident will take part in the cooking of community meals more regularly than someone who is part of the "dishwashing team".[31][32] Additionally, there is a large internal EcoVillage emailing system which allows residents to communicate which each other and to the whole community. Emails would often be segregated into separate categories such as political or social, and would also be differentiated between each neighbourhood as well, so that each neighbourhood would have its own email listings also.[33]

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[29] I attended only one meeting which included both the neighbourhoods of FROG and SONG in June, as July's meeting was cancelled due to a lack of agenda.

[30] Residents' food tastes were honoured in all community meals. Whether residents were vegetarian, vegan, meat eating, or adopting the "paleo" diet, food tastes were accommodated for all. All food eaten was organic with a conscious effort to eat food that is sourced locally.

[31] Erin mentioned to me that she found it difficult to contribute to the community through the structure of work teams and as such does not participate in them. However she did hint that she often helped to clean the common room whenever she could.

[32] During my time spent in the field, I observed that there were also private businesses run onsite. I noted two B & B's and also a developing Gourd shop, which will also run workshops upon its completion.

[33] This is an email sent to the community to inform villagers that there will be a birthday party at EVI. "A private party and a sleepover (will happen) in the FRoG CH tonight, starting at 5:00 pm and ending at 11:00 am in the morning Sunday. The following spaces are signed out for this event: -Sitting room-Dining room-Mat Room-Kitchen
 I will be spending the night in the guest room there with them all night, if anyone is concerned about adequate supervision (pray for me).
 Please kindly inform all of your family members to re-direct their CH hang-out plans to another venue. Obviously laundry and things like food retrieval from the cooler, etc. are another matter. If you want to get a movie from the movie room, it might go better to do so before 5 tonight.
 We so appreciate your help in helping us manage this event and honoring the space needed for the party vibe. "

Furthermore, I believe that to analyse the practice of how residents learn *how* to connect with neighbours and live in this EcoVillage, it is important to understand how community wide decisions are made and how conflict between neighbours can be resolved. All decisions at EVI are based upon consensus agreement, with residents having to learn how to negotiate and mediate with each other in order to achieve a desirable outcome for all. While I was jokingly told that I had witnessed a very "calm" community meeting in June, Lloyd emphasised to me that "when we first got here, we had to get an outside mediator it was so violent, people were screaming and all kinds of stuff" further mentioning that learning to listen respectfully is "not automatic though, it's something that has been incorporated into part of the culture over time".[34] Moreover, EVI is a 'self-selecting community'. Incorporated in the concept of a 'self-selecting' community is that there is an inherent structured learning process that prospective residents must undergo before they can eventually become a permanent feature of the community by buying a share of it. As Lloyd again aptly described to me "it's a self-selecting community, we don't say that we don't like you, you can't stay here. You decide". [35]

In conjunction with the not-for-profit 'EcoVillage at Ithaca Center for Sustainability Education' which owns the land which the community of EcoVillage is built on, there is a certain degree of education which is aimed at the general public. In and among differing workshops and tours that are offered to non-members of the community which aim to educate

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[34] Lloyd further described the conflict resolution workshops that he had attended as well as "how to listen respectfully to somebody else, in fact there's a whole list to say what you think before you speak, so some of that's been put in over the years, because there was a lot of conflict, and we had people who are conflict resolution specialists and they put in a lot of paraphernalia"

[35] Lloyd- "But we got to know each other like meetings, the first ones, every weekend and then that was gone and a number of people were moving up here every 2 weeks, we stay in meetings all day and you talk and you discuss and you talk about this and that. So you got to know the type of characters who were there, what they were, what they were not, would we really want to be with this person over here. And some people who we had a lot of problems with didn't stay. So those who were mechanical stayed." 'The first steps in the learning process are: 1) Learning about EcoVillage by reading this website thoroughly 2) Taking a tour of EcoVillage 3) Visiting overnight and participating in community activities, neighbourhood meetings and work teams'. Contact information is provided on the EVI website.

about the fundamental social and environmental tenets of EcoVillage life, EVI also has a significant website in which it presents the key features of "community life at EVI" to the greater public around the world.[36] Through its global outreach EVI aims to present itself as a working model of how people are able to comfortably live their lives while synonymously preserving and enhancing the natural environment.[37] The practice of education in this community ultimately signifies that it is an open community for anybody who wishes to *learn* more about the key aspects of EcoVillage life.

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[36] EVI has also featured in numerous newspapers and magazine articles, most of which are referenced on their website.
[37] EcoVillage at Ithaca is part of the Global EcoVillage Network (GEN). Accordingly 'GEN serves as an umbrella organization for ecovillages, transition town initiatives, intentional communities, and ecologically-minded individuals worldwide' (Global EcoVillage Network).

CHAPTER 3 - CHALLENGES

"I think what I did not expect was how isolated I would feel when we moved here. We really did feel isolated" (Cathy & Hywel)

I postulate that challenges arise for residents in this community when the differing distinctions, conceptual constructs and therefore *boundaries* that the residents of EVI impress on the world and that subsequently set apart and define this community, become blurred, ill-defined or indeed too evident. Due to the ongoing construction of a sustainable, meaningful yet an intentionally constructed differing culture at EVI, and in using Bourdieu's (1977)notion of 'habitus', the necessary conceptual boundaries in this community can be undermined and reinforced in various ways, both from internal and external factors. Challenges experienced can lead to expressions of frustration, resentment and ultimately a lack of collective coherence amongst residents. I further examine the challenges that some residents associate with trying to construct an environmentally sustainable lifestyle in a social community context with other mitigating factors, such as time, affordability, expectations, judgements and homogeneity.

Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' is integral to the contribution of a further understanding of how this community's practices define the conceptual boundaries of the community at EVI. Bourdieu defines 'habitus' as 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations' (Bourdieu, 1977:72). I therefore postulate that EcoVillage at Ithaca is fundamentally a 'community of practice' and it exists 'because people are engaged in actions whose meanings they negotiate with one another' and that the 'practice' ultimately resides in the negotiated act of mutual engagement in the community setting (Wenger, 1998:73). Through the continued act of learning at EVI, and due

to the theory that social participation is 'a process of learning and of knowing' (Wenger, 1998:4-5), residents of this community ultimately learn how to live in this community. Essentially is it the continued *structuring* act of negotiation and learning in the social participation of this community that creates the perceived emphasis on environmental harmony, the importance of social connectedness and therefore the creation of social capital; in essence a differing culture.

3.1 ENVIRONMENTAL

However I argue that challenges arise when boundaries and barriers occur that inhibit the development of social relationships in this community and that therefore the structured structuring process of learning and negotiation can even be impeded by only one resident who is unwilling to negotiate or learn. As Lloyd mentioned to me: "They (the vegans) had been going to years of meetings, they came in and they said; you're cooking meat in the common house? With pans? Well we'll have different pans… I don't care! You're cooking meat. We're never going to the common house again".

Here I wish to emphasise the point that this community is not overtly homogenous is its opinions and viewpoints. While it is accepted that residents can have differing views and opinions, I argue that one of the fundamental values to have in this EcoVillage is to be willing to learn and negotiate with others. As Lloyd commented, challenges occur in the community because "of someone with a rigid viewpoint" who believes that this is "how utopia is going to be, because it goes with my vision and I am right at all times".[38] He spoke of another man "who moved here many years ago, bought a house, and he said we're just not

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[38] Aisling further commented that "I realised that at some point in that process a person with that perspective could read the EcoVillage mission statement and think "oh EcoVillage at Ithaca that's what it's about, everyone is going to be like me".

green enough, we're just not this, we're just not that way, and he really got on at the community for being what it was".[39]

I believe that challenges occur when, because of the emphasis on environmental sustainability and ecological harmony that has been broadcast to the wider world on the EcoVillage website for example, prospective residents and current residents often *expect* that because they are living in an *ecological* cohousing community, there will be no variation on the expected high standard of environmental values that some may hold. I argue that despite the presentation that this community orientates itself around environmentalism on the EcoVillage website and in magazine and newspaper articles written, it is however centred on a unique type of environmentalism, one that is fundamentally social in nature. I place emphasis on my conclusion that one can hold strong environmental values before living in this EcoVillage; however those environmental values need to be restructured around community life at EVI in order to cohere positively with neighbours.[40] In this sense, through the outreach of EVI in its commitment to further educate the abstract "other" about sustainability, conceptual constructs about the value of the environment at EVI can be placed upon the community by prospective residents that ultimately causes conflict and challenges to the cohesion of the group.[41][42]

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[39] Another resident, Dafydd, confessed to me that "when I've been living here, I've been driving my family nuts by what they're buying or what they're doing, you know, "that's wasteful". I've had to learn to just back off on that". He further described that there had been a neighbourhood dynamic too "where all of a sudden someone just is really really adamant about composting or what kinds of products you're buying, and they're giving people lectures on emails and things".

[40] As has been previously mentioned, EcoVillage is one of the best studied EcoVillages in the world. During my stay another anthropologist who had completed her dissertation in EcoVillage told the story that "people would hurriedly put away their plastic bags whenever she entered their houses", for the fear that she would perceive them as against the environmental ethos of the community.

[41] Maria recounted the story that, in a community meeting one resident stood up and pointed to each of them, stating what was wrong with each individual and how they weren't doing enough for the community. (Here, you need to talk about the "learning" process of self-selection- Jim's interview is good for that. Also Aileen's quote –"you're not buying a house, you're buying a community and you happen to have a house to live in while you're doing that")

[42] Castells has argued that inherent in the term 'environmentalism' there are fundamentally five types of environmental movements. I argue that aspects of all of the five types described can be found in EcoVillage at

I argue that in critique of the pervasive consumerist culture in the United States, some of the residents to whom I spoke perceived that in order to contribute toward the EcoVillage mission of environmental sustainability; the consumerist culture was detrimental to their environmental cause. As Jakob mentioned to me "what's happening here runs counter to what corporate powers would like to see, they want to be able to control things, to sell things and manipulate us into doing certain things". Emphasised by the regularly spoken comical catchphrase of Ithaca; "Ithaca is ten square miles surrounded by reality", it was evident that residents saw not only EVI but the town of Ithaca as being particularly unique to the "norm" of the United States.[43][44]

Figure 3 Maker:Sophie Standen, 2013

Ithaca, however EVI does not correlate exactly with each one. The differing types of 'environmental movements' that exist according to Castells, I argue essentially can cause tension and problems within EcoVillage at Ithaca because of the differences in the aims and expectations of the varying environmental movements described. Due to a lack of a clear, collective definition about the aim of EVI, including what it's adversary is and the goal that it aims to achieve.1) TYPE –Conservation of nature EXAMPLE- Nature lovers ADVERSARY – Uncontrolled development GOAL- Wilderness. 2) TYPE- Defense of Own space EXAMPLE- Local community ADVERSARY- Polluters GOAL- Quality of life/health 3)TYPE- Counter-culture/deep ecology EXAMPLE- The Green self ADVERSARY –Industrialism, technocracy GOAL-Ecotopia 4) TYPE- Save the Planet EXAMPLE- Internationalist eco-warriors ADVERSARY- unfettered global development GOAL- sustainability 5) TYPE- Green politics EXAMPLE- Concerned citizens ADVERSARY- political establishment GOAL- counter power. (Castells, 1997)

[43] 83% of interviewees perceived the culture of EVI to be fundamentally distinctive in its character to that of broader society.

[44] Pat added that "Ithaca is very sustainably minded" and "very unique" because of this, telling me that "you've picked this kind of weird alternative reality from most of the rest of the United States to come visit".

3.2 SOCIAL

I now further argue that the physical and conceptual boundaries that exist in this community do *not* isolate and alienate residents from the pressures and rules that exist outside of this community. Rather, in consideration of Cohen's notion of boundaries, which suggests that 'boundaries are relational rather than absolute' in so far as' they mark the community *in relation* to other communities' (1985:58), I suggest that the relationship between EVI and broader U.S society is complex and multi-faceted and defines its community in relation to the "outside world". I argue this because residents of EVI perceive EVI as intrinsically different to the abstract "other". However in the absence of the relational notion of the abstract "other", EVI's conceptual boundaries would become irrelevant as the perceived difference of this community would diminish. In essence I argue that it is imperative that a relationship occurs between EVI and "the outside world" so that a sense of identity yet also differentiation can be formed by residents which are bolstered by the conceptual boundaries of this community.

Inherent in this statement is my postulation that challenges are created and exist at EVI because of the distinctiveness of its culture and the associated pressures that affiliate themselves at the conceptual boundary of this community. I suggest that this cultural difference increasingly puts a significant amount of pressure on individuals and families alike to contribute in a meaningful way to the social aspects of this community i.e. work teams, whilst also negotiating the time to earn a living outside of the community. Pressures such as time management, financial problems, parenting styles and childcare soon express themselves in unique ways in this community. Challenges also arise from the residents' adaptation to

community life by the reformulation of their initial expectations and the withholding of judgements.

One of the major challenges in living at EVI for Aisling and Hywel was the management of their time; balancing commitments to 'community life' on the one hand and dedicating time to their children on the other. Additionally, as busy working parents, Aisling commented that "It's really challenging as a family to have the rest of everything encroach on our life the whole time".[45]While it is apparent that one of the reasons *for* moving to EcoVillage for some residents was to get away from the isolation of the nuclear family, it is also evident that demanding time factors such as commitments to the community, can dissolve the structure of the "nuclear family" which causes problems with the role of parenting and childcare in the community. [46]

Another challenge that Melgar mentioned was coming to terms with the lifestyle choice that he had made. "One of the things I did was to throw my career away before I came here", "it wasn't I came here and then threw my career away". Melgar further described the corporate world which he had left as "you're making money, you're part of the rat race", "you're talking about more money, more possessions", however said that "I decided at one point, you know what? I'm going to try and *not* deal with that, and live a life where you use your time to do things that are fulfilling", "don't put an emphasis on making money", "and holy canoly I came here and it's a real good place to try and do that".

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[45] Further mentioning that "we went on vacation once and came back and while we were on vacation we were like "oh my god", we've actually had a conversation with each other for more than fifteen minutes because we didn't have someone knocking on the door".

[46]While this couple expressed that being a child here is "ideal" because of its safety, with Aisling stating that her child gets to "go out and run around after dark at like 10.30p.m and play catch", she further admitted that "I'm kind of a more strict parent, I require more of my kids than it seems other parents require of their kids", "so it feels challenging to enforce on them something that nobody else is forcing on their kids".

Melgar emphasised that for him personally he felt that the lifestyle of EVI and his former "money-making" lifestyle were incompatible. Melgar stated that this is because he felt that the EcoVillage lifestyle he had chosen was "fulfilling", but "the reality is we don't make that money now, so we feel pressured because of that". Equating living in EVI with living outside of the "system", Melgar stated his most fundamental question, which was "so you pull yourself out of the system and in some respects you're suffering because you can never pull yourself totally out of the system right? Or you live like a Luddite."[47]

Another challenge mentioned by some residents of this EcoVillage was the fact that there was a distinct lack of political and racial diversity in this community. Aisling commented that "everyone has the same political views; everyone has the same worldviews, socioeconomic status. So it feels a little bland, and it feels that there's definitely a culture here, a white liberal culture." However Hywel also mentioned that "I have never been in a place where the white people are trying to put so much effort into understanding race and dialoguing about it and trying to be sensitive, but on the flip side it's out of their experience".[48] Additionally, Melgar further mentioned that "one of the things that I don't like about this EcoVillage is that

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[47] Melgar further stated that he felt that he had to be very articulate about his lifestyle choice to his family, who do not live in EVI. Describing his family he said that "everyone is pretty much, unlike us, they're pretty much into the system, they're all successful, they're all making a lot of money, and they're looking at us going "so where do you losers live?""

[48] A racial incident which occurred before I arrived at EVI, but was still in dialogue by the time I arrived, highlights Hywel's statement that residents of EVI are conscientiously making an effort to understand racial problems within this community. EVI collaborates with a farmer training project named Groundswell. 'The long-term goal of Groundswell's New Farmer Training Project is to increase the number, diversity, profitability, and environmental sustainability of beginning farmers in our region.' (Groundswell). A perceived racial incident occurred when the boundary between EVI's educative mission statement and the private-dwellings of residents became blurred. Joy told me that an unknown black farmer who belonged to the Groundswell programme drove down the emergency exit road, which unbeknownst to the farmer was prohibited to drive down. A resident confronted the farmer, which led to heated discussions on a social media site. In resolution of this incident, an email was distributed to the whole community which said: 'The episode brought a major focus in the conversation on how Ecovillage is sometimes perceived in the larger community and how our combination of private residence and public education plays into our public perception. As a residential community that is also a living laboratory, we live with a dynamic tension between residents' varying needs for privacy, safety, and quietude and their different levels of acceptance and enthusiasm for the flow of visitors from near and far who want to experience *first hand* the way we live. The lack of clear boundaries and signage adds to the inherent tension in the situation.'

everybody is kind of the same mind-set, including myself. So there's that lack of political diversity".[49] Therefore, overall due to the perceived homogenous social atmosphere of EVI, some residents felt that they were living in isolation from the outside world. I argue that this presents a challenge to residents because the conceptual boundaries here define this community in so far as it isolates residents both geographically and ideologically. As Hywel stated "it's definitely a bubble. You have to make an effort not to be in a bubble." "It's only a couple of miles but I feel really isolated from town".

Therefore, it is apparent that challenges here for Hywel and Aisling appear because the conceptual boundary of EVI is too prominent, it, in essence, isolates them from "the outside world". With regards to 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977) and the practice of learning in this community (Wenger, 1998), the structuring cultural practices of this community further enhances the conceptual boundaries because EVI's distinct culture promotes self-sustainability and does not allow enough connection with outside localities such as Ithaca city. The challenge of time management was also cited as a problem. Echoed by Aisling and Hywel's sentiments, one couple distributed an email explaining why they were leaving the EcoVillage "we have realized we are more private people than we thought we were. Also, we would like to have a little more space for growing our family". Additionally, it is apparent that in Melgar's case, the conceptual boundaries of EVI became blurred as he struggled to separate the lifestyle of EVI with his former "corporate" lifestyle. In this sense, the conceptual boundaries of EVI do not act as a "buffer" to the "outside world", and pressures and challenges that residents would have found before they lived in EcoVillage express themselves in unique ways within this community.

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[49] Huw recounted the political atmosphere in the United States and also within EVI before the invasion of Iraq. Huw noticed that the EcoVillagers who were "for" the invasion "felt some discomfort" as "the majority of EcoVillagers were against it, but there were a few who thought it was a good idea, and they felt as uncomfortable at EcoVillage as the rest of us felt in the larger society which was generally for it".

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation has been to argue that inherent in the intentional construction of 'community' is the process of conceptual boundary-making. I suggest that these conceptual boundaries *are* necessary because of the *intentional* creation of a community which is intrinsically intertwined within the modern world. I suggest that it is the volatile relationship between EVI and "the outside world" which makes the conceptual boundaries of this community necessary because EcoVillage at Ithaca is ultimately a distinctive pioneering experiment in sustainable, community living. The continuing construction of 'community' at EVI and therefore the process of boundary-making infers a cultural critique onto the current societal mode in the United States (Brown, 2002).

Conclusively, it has been noted that 'community' is a complex and multi-faceted notion, its definition having long been discussed by scholars. (Barth, 1969) (Brown, 2002) (Cohen, 1985) (Etzioni, 1993) (Durkheim, (1893) 1984). Through the analysis of the environmental and social values that residents of EVI hold as well as the environmental and social practice that residents of EVI enact, it is apparent that a distinction is perceived by residents between the community at EVI and that of the "abstract other" who do not to the same extent hold the same social and environmental values. The emphasis placed in this dissertation on how learning is a vital part of living in this community, essentially argues that this community is a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

In evaluation of my research methodology, it is apparent that the methodology that I followed at EcoVillage at Ithaca could be improved upon. EVI has an extensive website and is one of the most studied EcoVillages in the world (Franke, 2012). I believe that this is due in part to

its pioneering educative stance on the practice of sustainable living, and also due to its close proximity to Cornell University, Ithaca College and other educational institutions. However due to the large amounts of students that frequently visit EcoVillage, it was often difficult to build trust with some residents of this community. Due to this high amount of interest and research invested in EVI by visitors, I perceived that time constraints for residents and for some, a certain indifference to researchers led to challenges in obtaining qualitative data here. I acknowledge that the limited time that I spent here hindered my capability to obtain more robust data, and warrant that if more time was spent at EVI, more conclusive evidence to my argument could be discussed.

Overall, in analysis of my findings here, there is encouraging evidence which suggests that conceptual boundaries do exist at EVI contributing to its success and continuity, and that furthermore this intentional community is a product of modernity. Indeed, further research could be warranted to discover if similar distinctions and conceptual boundaries are constructed in other similar intentional communities, so that it may be further understood how these intentional communities can be understood as a consequence of the globalised, modern world.

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APPENDICES

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In all of the interviews conducted I asked eight structured questions to all interviewees in order to gain a structured conclusion or hypothesis from these interviews:

1) When and how did you come to EcoVillage?
2) What do you think people expect when they move here?
3) What is the difference between here and other places you have lived?
4) What is the culture here?
5) Do you have any challenges living in this community?
6) What is the relationship like between here and the main town of Ithaca?
7) What would you like a student to study in the community?
8) What made you want to move here?

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST

COMMUNITY AS IDEOLOGY:
COMMUNITY AS PRACTICE.
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF
AN ITHACA CO-HOUSING
INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

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DISSERTATION PREPARATION
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CONTENTS PAGE

ABSTRACT

The desire for a close connection between one another is an inherent part of human society. Evidence of the occurrence of close-knit communities has been present, not only in anthropological literature, but throughout the duration of human history. Anthropologists have long studied the role of community in societies other than our own. However, increasingly anthropologists are viewing the establishment of intentional communities in our own modern, western society as a form of a cultural critique, as evidence suggests that the creation of many intentional communities tends to cluster around times of great social stress and change. It has been estimated that several thousand intentional communities now span the breadth of the United States, with many intentional communities having been long established in Northern Europe. My research therefore aims to understand what exactly makes these communities "intentional" through investigating the ideological discourses that create common denominators between individuals, therefore creating community. I aim to understand this in the context of the Ithaca cohousing community in Upstate New York, so that I am able to overall perceive how the ideology of this community relates to the practice of daily communal life in the Ithaca community.

INTRODUCTION

In a broad sense an 'intentional community' has been defined as 'a relatively small group of people who have created a way of life for the attainment of a certain set of goals' (Shenker, 1986: 10). According to Shenker, these communities have emerged as a 'result of a number of people consciously and purposefully coalescing as a group in order to realize a set of aims' (1986: 10). Considering these definitions, I therefore propose to research the relationship between the discourses of ideology and the purpose of the existence of Ithaca Co-housing intentional community in New York State, and compare these aspects to the practice and order of this community's alternative lifestyle. I research this topic ultimately in order to understand how the ideology of this community bears relation to its social order and the practice of its lifestyle, with the aim of also investigating how the existence of this community presents a cultural critique of modern, capitalist society.

The desire for community is understood to be an intrinsic part of human society (Shenker, 1986), and unlike the common perception that many intentional communities began with the peace movements of the 1960's, intentional communities have however, been recorded as existing before this time. It has been stated that in the United States 'communes, utopian communities, mutualistic societies, or intentional communities 'date 'as far back as 1663' (Zablocki, 1980: 3). With the aim of researching why and how the need for community has manifested itself over time, my research into the Ithaca cohousing community will provide an ethnographic account of this intrinsic desire. It has therefore been argued that many intentional communities are in fact created because of social change, and therefore 'constitute an important form of cultural critique' (Brown, 2002a: 153). My research question will aim

to build upon the work of (Turner, 1969), (Brown, 2002), (Durkheim, 1984) amongst other theorists, whilst also researching in further detail the ethnographic context of the Ithaca cohousing community, so that I may further understand the relationship between this intentional community and the ideology behind its creation.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF 'COMMUNITY'

The term 'community' has long been defined and distinguished from the term 'society' by differing scholars. Tonnies, in defining the term, states the difference of 'Gemeinschaft'(community) and 'Gesellschaft' (society) as, 'all intimate, private and exclusive living together, so we discover is understood as life in Gemeinschaft' and that 'Gesellschaft is public life – it is the world itself' (Tonnies, 1887/2002: 33). However, Tonnies' basic definition of what constitutes as society and community, does not consider the role of the individual, its place in society and community, and why there may be a need or drive for community in modern western society today. One response to this is the theory of 'collective consciousness' whereby 'the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society forms a determinate system with a life of its own' (Durkheim, 1984: 38/39). Durkheim argues that our emotions 'dominate us, they possess, so to speak, something superhuman about them. At the same time they bind us to objects that lie outside our existence in time' (1893/1984/: 56). Durkheim's theory emphasises the thought that 'we need to be emotionally bound to our culture' and that 'we act socially because it is moral to do so' (Allan, 2005: 109). Here, Durkheim's theory could be used to explain how an individual may try to bring his/her culture back to its moral basis in the creation of small scale, intentional community.

An anthropological study of intentional communities offers an opportunity to critique the culture that surrounds these communities, when the view that anthropology can bear a

critique of our own culture is considered (Marcus & Fischer, 1999). Brown (2002a) further exemplifies this point when stating that intentional communities are the product of large state societies and that therefore thee 'communities constitute viable units for the study of state societies and are also a powerful means of integrating the individual and society and providing a focus for the study of change' (Brown, 2002a: 153). Thus, when considering the role of the individual today, it is therefore necessary to research the ideology behind the need for community in society, in order to understand the occurrence and place of intentional communities in the modern world. It is the differing manifestations of the communal urge, or the search 'for cultural identity and personal identity' (Bennett, 1975: 63) which is 'intrinsic to human society' (Shenker, 1986: 4) that will be considered, when investigating how this bears relation to the phenomenon of intentional communities.

Andelson postulates that an intentional community is 'one whose members actively strive to forge such a shared identity' (2002: 131). This therefore distinguishes an intentional community from others that may be found in America, due to the nature of their common ideological identity and the deliberate desire to forge this within a community context. It is useful when analysing the notion of the anthropology of community, to use Victor Turner's (1969) theory of 'communitas' and 'liminality'. Turner uses the term 'communitas' as opposed to community in order 'to distinguish this modality of social relationship from "an area of common living" (1969: 96). Therefore Turner wishes to clearly define the distinction between structure and communitas (or anti-structure) as the desire or wish for community. Turner suggests emphasises that communitas is more of a transitional phase between structures. 'Communitas' therefore 'serves as a liberation from the normative constraints of structure because it relieves the contradictions that are inherent in structure' (Siegler, 2002: 42), however this liberation creates the need for a reclassification of the moral and social

boundaries that surround the individual. Turner describes the theory of liminality and defines it so, as a condition that eludes networks of classifications because liminal entities 'are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial' (1969: 95).

The notions of 'communitas' and 'liminality' can be used to analyse the existence of intentional communities (Kamau, 2002). She argues that western society is rigidly structured and that it sets 'boundaries around various aspects of social life through the use of distinctions' (2002: 17-18). This corresponds with Bellah et al's view that, American society is divided 'by race, by culture, by creed, by differing views of the national identity.' (1996: vi-viii). However these 'social classifications do not apply to people in liminal situations' (2002: 19), due to fluid and ambiguous identity boundaries. This, in essence, leaves a person free to 'express his or her interests, preferences, and abilities' and 'to be "authentic"' (Kamau, 2002: 19). Kamau notes that 'intentional communities' are a characteristic of liminal conditions (2002:19). She further explains that the rise of intentional communities is closely linked with the development of modern society, due to the paradox of the rise of individualism but also the increasing restrictions placed upon individuals in society. This paradox therefore, leads individuals into the transitional state of liminality as for 'some persons society itself is the crisis' (2002:20). It is therefore apparent that the phenomenon of intentional community can be found in the liminal stage between structure and communitas, as the disintegration of social boundaries of identity in the stage of communitas leads to egalitarian type communities being formed on free choice, 'rather than on social similarity' (Kamau, 2002: 24). It could therefore be questioned whether the Ithaca Co-housing community is 'liminal' because of its perceived "outsider hood", and whether this liminal outsider hood can relate to the ideological discourses of the community. If 'the liminal state is

always temporary' (Renfro-Sergeant, 2002: 98), then it is necessary to discover how the ideological discourses of the community contribute to this supposed characteristic of intentional community.

INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITARIANISM

It has been stated that 'the United States, in particular, has been the site for the founding of hundreds-possibly thousands-of utopian communities' (Kanter, 1972: 3). It is therefore theorised that there were four distinct periods of community building in the United States. According to Zablocki, (1980: 31-40) the first period of intentional community building occurred during the colonial period (1620-1776). These communities were particularly religious and sought to create new communities in America that were free from the religious persecution that was occurring in Europe at the time. It is then noted that "the shaker influx" from 1790-1805 caused the expansion of many already established colonies. The third stage of community building in the United States, was the Utopian Socialist Period from 1824-1848, where the establishment of many intentional, utopian communities was noted, such as Robert Owen's New Harmony community. According to Brown; 'these communities arose in response to economic and social upheavals within the United States as the country moved from an agricultural to an industrialized nation' (2002b: 7). Subsequently, the fourth period of Zablocki's (1980) theory is one that lasted from approximately 1890-1915, when a high immigration rate from Europe caused massive changes to an already diverse society. Brown (2002) then states that there is another, more recent stage of intentional community building, which began in 1965 and ended in the 1970s, which was created because it was deemed that social and moral values were disintergrating, due to war and civil unrest. According to Brown 'the number of communities in this period exceeds the total number of communities formed in all of the preceding periods of communitarianism in the United States (2002: 8). It could therefore be argued that the phenomenon of intentional community is by no means recent, as

the evidence of intentional communities throughout the history of the United States proves that this is so.

It can also be argued that, because communities are 'a naturally occurring phenomenon' due to an inherent human desire for connection (Brown, 2002a: 2); when there is an increase of community building in a society, this can afford the opportunity to analyse the desire for community in a culturally critical context. In this sense, intentional communities can be analysed in so far as that they form part of a cultural critique, and that the existence of intentional communities are in fact part of a movement for cultural revitalization (Wallace, 1956) (Brown, 2002a). According to Wallace (1956), persons who feel that their culture is unsatisfactory will begin the process of cultural revitalization. This is defined by Wallace as 'a deliberate, organized conscious effort by members of society to construct a more satisfying culture' (1956:265). Wallace connotes the term revitalization movements with the term "Utopian community" (1956: 264), however it is Brown who theorises that it is intentional communities, in responding to fast paced social change and stress, who represent a cultural critique through the reformation of social, political and ideological identities and boundaries (2002a). The critique according to Brown is the juxtaposition between the community and the larger society, as the new way of life contrasts with the old. According to Wallace, when an individual is under chronic stress and the surrounding culture 'does not lead to action which reduces the level of stress' (1956: 267), then the revitalization of culture will commence.

'Communitarianism' is 'an environmental movement dedicated to the betterment of our moral, social, and political environment' (Etzioni, 1993: 2). The study of the establishment of utopian communities and the subsequent place of communitarianism at the beginning of the

nineteenth century can give a deeper contextual understanding of the desire for community and the subsequent creation of intentional communities. Accounts of early nineteenth century intentional communities, such as Robert Owen's New Harmony community, as well as anthropological ethnographic accounts of the Israeli Kibbutz (Spiro, 2004)can be analysed in order to further study the Ithaca cohousing community. According to Fellman, 'utopian communitarianism, the most explicit formulation of the utopian sense of potential for perfected life, was the attempt to enact the perfect vision of truth through small model communities' (1973: xv/xvi). Fellman argues that, early nineteenth century intentional communities were not alienated from the larger American society at the time, the establishment of them however represented the possibilities of the reconstruction of social structure. These arguments suggest that the notion of communitarianism is a fundamental aspect of all intentional communities; however my research will aim to study whether the ideology of communitarianism is indeed present in the Ithaca Co-housing community.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF GLOBALISATION AND THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

It has been argued that the prevalence and existence of intentional communitarian communities is characterised through 'a major social or cultural innovation' which are because of 'fragmented prevailing systems of meaning and value' (Zablocki, 1980: 38). Intentional communities are therefore intrinsically connected with social change as their creation and existence tends to cluster around times of great social stress, and societal uncertainty (Zablocki, 1980). It could be stated that in contemporary times, globalisation has caused much social change through increased social and technological connectedness. Eriksen defines globalisation in its simplest terms as 'all the contemporary processes that make distance irrelevant' (2007: 16). In describing the consequences of globalisation and modernity, Giddens argues that 'the modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order, in quite unprecedented fashion' and that the changes that have occurred over the past few centuries have been so dramatic, that it has been difficult to interpret the consequences of the globalisation of modernity (Giddens, 1990: 4-5). Eriksen describes that with fast paced technological and economic changes, social and political consequences become apparent. He describes the consequence of 'disembedding', where this 'includes all manners through which social life becomes abstracted from its local, spatially fixed content' (2007: 8). However, he also postulates the theory of re-embedding whereby the features of 'disembedding' in localised contexts are counteracted 'through strong networks or moral commitment, concerns with local power, and community integration, national and sub-national identity politics' (Eriksen, 2007: 9).

Therefore, as a result of increased global connectedness and the delocalization of many communities, resistance to the consequences of globalisation have appeared in the form of grass roots anti-globalization movements, heightened nationalism and social movements which are connected, some have argued, to intentional communities (Price, Nonini, & Tree, 2008) (Schehr, 1997). However, ironically, it may also be worth noting that, 'anti-globalization protests themselves are a result of this connectedness' (Stiglitz, 2002: 4). While presenting a cultural critique of the modern, globalised world, the very formation of these intentional communities has been due, in part, to globalisation, because of increased access to travel, technology, economic resources and social knowledge. Gidden's theorises that 'the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1990: 64) now causes individuals to be concerned with the global implications of their actions. It could be questioned therefore how intentional communities, such as the Ithaca cohousing community, signify modernity in the globalised age today due to the revitalization of their social, political, moral and environmental ethics formed in a communal context.

However, it has been argued that the age of modernity is ending, which according to Albrow (1996) and (Castles, 2001) ultimately signifies a period of political ambiguity and social uncertainty. Whereas Castles (2001) postulates a theory of 'social transformations' which he states, signifies the antithesis of globalisation, defining these social transformations as an integral part of globalisation which seek to undermine its central ideologies, Albrow argues for the theory that we have actually surpassed the modern age today. Albrow further explains that we have proceeded into the global age because of the globalised consequences of our

actions. In the global age, he explains, weaponry has global destructiveness, there are global environmental consequences of human activity, communication systems expand across the globe, and globalised standards are now a framework for many people's beliefs. He states that this has created 'an overall change in the basis of action and social organization for individuals and groups' (1996: 4). Albrow further postulates that it is the denigration of the modern nation state that has created a loss of connection with wider society and that this erosion 'makes appeals to common roots more strident'(1996: 181).

According to Castells, social movements are 'symptoms of our society' (Castells, 1997: 70). He further postulates that cultural communes are a result of globalisation as it 'dissolves the autonomy of institutions, organisations, and communication systems' (1997:66), theorising that this defensive reaction is characterised by and against 'networking and flexibility' which blur boundaries of identities (1997: 66). Melson & Wolpe postulate that due to rapid social change, new culturally coded identities are forming in reaction to globalisation, with the case of communalism and social change being inextricably linked (1970). Linking these theories together, in connection with intentional communities, Castells further hypothesises that the communitarian outlook in the form of cultural communes 'may be the main potential source of social change in the network society' (1997:67), and defines the communitarian movement as a social movement being in 'explicit opposition to the new global order' (1997: 71).

Robert Schehr postulates that intentional communities have the characteristics of some social movements, however disagrees with Melucci's (1989) and Touraine's (1978) New Social Movement theories which state 'in order to qualify as a social movement, actors and organizations must express overt, typically state-directed conflict' (Schehr, 1997: 12).

Schehr suggests that unlike other social movements, intentional communities do not seek recognition as part of the nation state. He further theorises that intentional communities can vary in their form, and critiques social movement theorists for appropriating the modes of living characteristic to intentional communities throughout history to contemporary intentional communities. This view is also echoed by (Price, et al, 2008), whereby the argument for Grounded Utopian Movements is postulated (GUMs). Price et al propose that GUMs are "utopian" because they seek an 'ideal place' (Price, et al 2008: 128) and have such been treated as escapist or regressive, which according to the authors challenges Eurocentric concepts of activism. However they also argue for the inclusion of Grounded Utopian movements, such as intentional communities, into social movement literature. They theorise that GUMs are neglected as they do not seek to change larger society through conflict with capitalist institutions or nation states that is typically associated with contentious politics, despite being, like all social movements, ideologically against an aspect of the current world order.

CONCLUSION

Therefore in conclusion, I hope to have presented different theoretical approaches to the anthropological study of intentional community, its subsequent background and history and finally to have presented a wide range of theories on social change and globalisation. A background of anthropological theory regarding intentional community was shown to be varied; however considering Turner's (1969) theory of communitas, I will be able to grasp a deeper understanding of the Ithaca Co-housing community and further investigate its perceived liminal status. The literature regarding communitarianism and intentional community in the United States provided a contextual background to the establishment of intentional communities, with the literature on globalisation and social change providing a contemporary account of such communities. With such literature in mind, I therefore seek to apply this knowledge in order to further understand how the ideological discourses of the Ithaca Co-housing community relate to the practice of its daily life, in order to further ascertain what cultural aspects this community revitalizes, so that it may sustain itself in the future, despite times of societal uncertainty and social change.

METHODOLOGY

The methods that I will use to obtain data while I am in the field will be naturally varied. However, I aim to conduct my study of the Ithaca co housing community by considering the methodological theories and other fieldwork experiences that have been used and conducted by anthropologists in the field. According to the sixth edition of the book Notes and Queries on Anthropology which was written by a committee of the Royal Anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1951) 'for any given culture or area material must be collected by (1) direct, and (2) indirect observation; the two methods must be continually integrated'. The book argues for the ideal course of direct observation as this is the most informative way to collect data, as the questionnaire method only has a 'limited utility' (1951:36). Therefore, considering the statement above and in accordance with (Williams, 1967) discussion of the variety of techniques used in order to obtain anthropological data, I will also comply with the view that 'the setting of a study can affect the nature of all of the anthropologist's observation and interviewing' (1967: 22).

Therefore when I am collecting data in the Ithaca co housing community, I will aim to make most of my observations in a place where most of the community's activities tend to happen, such as a communal house. Therefore I aim to position myself in the community where I will be able to gather the most amounts of anthropological data.

In accordance with (Williams, 1967) second point of observing data, I will aim to make 'a regular routine of brief visits to the households in the primary social unit' (1967: 22/23). I

will however when completing this method of observation comply with the community's ethics of privacy and will only make these routine visits if the community allows me to do so. I may anticipate a problem in methodology as my study is only for a limited time of six weeks, which may mean that I do not have enough time to build up enough trust with community members so that I may obtain data in this way.

Williams's (1967) third method of observation 'is based upon a regular routine of walks through the community' (1967:23) with the times 'rigorously observed' (1967:23). I will adopt this method of observation as this will give an element of structure to my fieldwork and will enable me to build upon and work with people that I may see routinely at these times, in the hope that I can build rapport and trust with them. Williams also mentions a fourth method of observation when stating that these three methods of observation 'can be extended though observations of important special events such as harvest, funerals, house building, trials, and others' (1967: 23). Again, I anticipate a problem with this method of observation as six weeks in the field is not long enough to gain access to any special events that may occur in the community.

ETHICS

I will therefore consider the following ethical dilemmas in order to further investigate the ethical problems that I may encounter when conducting my own fieldwork. In accordance with ASA guidelines I will endeavour to protect research participants and honour trust, as this is because 'most anthropologists would maintain that their paramount obligation is to their research participants' (ASA, 1999: 2). I believe that this is particularly relevant to my project as I will be researching and living in a close knit community, and building trust will be essential in enabling me to carry out my research ethically and properly. I will aim when researching to play an active role in the community and maintain honesty throughout. I will do this by participating in group meals whenever possible and helping to complete daily chores within the community.

Another guideline set by the ASA which will be an integral part of my research is that of negotiating informed consent. This will involve issues such as privacy, the degree to which participants will be anonymous, the acceptance that renegotiation may have to occur throughout the period of research, as well as honouring the idea that 'the principle of informed consent expresses the belief in the need for truthful and respectful exchanges between social researchers and the people whom they study.' (ASA, 1999: 3). I will gain informed consent by asking the participants on tape as to whether it is possible for me to conduct an interview with them. This will be kept as evidence of their consent and I will not proceed with an interview if consent is not given.

As Hansen (1976) postulates the fundamental dilemma of the anthropologist is the anthropologist as the friend and the anthropologist as a scientist. This ethical problem will become apparent in a close knit community where I should hopefully inevitably make friends. In order to counter this problem I will be as clear and transparent as I can when conducting research in order not to betray trust which is a vital part of the community.

Practicalities

Access – Visitors regularly frequent Ithaca Eco-village/cohousing community to investigate alternative ways of living. I have been given access to the community through renting a room in a community member's house that belongs to Ithaca cohousing community.

Housing- I will be living with a member of the community in her house where I am renting a room. This will be available for the duration of my stay.

Travel – I will fly from London to New York (J.F.K). Upon arriving in the U.S.A I will seek alternative modes of transport, such as public transport in order to get to my destination. The family that I will be living with will provide me with transport from Ithaca city to the Co-housing site.

Finance - In order to be able to fund my trip I will use a small amount of savings and part of my student loan. I will also use my bank overdraft which will give me sufficient funds for the trip. The financial breakdown for my fieldwork is as follows:

Travel - flights from London to New York: £550

Overnight stay New York Ganas Community: £16

From New York to Ithaca: £39 single (bus)

Accommodation: £97 per week including 10 hours of household work.

Food and other essentials: This will be included in the price of rent.

ESTA access form: £12

Dictaphone: £30

Insurance: £150

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amin, A. 2004. Regulating Economic Globalization. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers Vol. 29, no. 2: 217:233.

The author considers the view that from a neoclassical viewpoint, globalisation can be seen as beneficial and that poverty is only caused from the diminished presence of the market in impoverished areas. However the author also advocates that globalisation has in some part contributed to the rise in inequality over the past 30 years and states that 'by the late 1990's the richest 20% of the world's population possessed 86% of world GDP' (2004:217). The author also advocates that 'excessive and financial liberalization coupled to punitive structural adjustment policies enforced on governments have fuelled unemployment, investment blight, poverty and indebtedness' (2004:218) and directs this as the fault and consequence of globalisation. However the author acknowledges that establishing a link between globalisation and inequality is fraught with difficulty. The intended audience is for geographers and is not a particularly anthropological piece of writing. The article however acknowledges that globalisation and inequality as well as many other malcontents are in fact intrinsically linked, and asks for solutions to these problems by more regulation of globalisation such as globalisation "with a human face" whereby the benefits of globalisation are received and the structure of the market is accepted without the unregulated aspects of neoliberalism. The author likens this solution to third wave globalisation movements in social liberalism and as the social responsibility ethic advocated by Tony Blair and Bill Clinton. This article gives a broader contextual background to the discontents and problems that are perceived to be the fault of globalisation. It helps to further understand the connection between global affairs and how they might affects local contexts, linking in with the idea that

intentional communities are both created for the local to also benefit the global. This therefore helps my research so that I may further understand why there may be a desire for community; due to the fast social changes that globalisation has wrought.

Nieuwenhuys, E., & Kort, J. d. (2006). The Challenges of Social Sustainable Globalisation. In E. Nieuwenhuys, Neo-liberal Globalism and Social Sustainable Globalisation (pp. 1-11). Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

The author comments on the philosopher and so called founding father of capitalism, Adam Smith stating that the best interests of the community is in the sum of the interests of its members. The authors state that globalisation is ultimately part of this pursuit whereupon it is built upon the invisible hands of the market and Bentham's utilitarianism whereby the individual is a free rational being. The authors highlight that the globalisation of capitalism has not solved problems in inequality and environmental issues, instead bringing discontent and poverty. The authors state that the advocates of free market capitalism 'expect a universal world order to arise in which the classical rights of freedom and the unfettered exercise of the rights of ownership' 'will one day provide humanity world-wide with greater economic wealth' (2006: 3). The authors' intended audience is varied, with problems with social justice, sustainability and globalisation being discussed. This chapter links in with the article above whereby discontents with neo liberal capitalism and the consequences of globalisation are highlighted. This is relevant to my area of study as I aim to discover why many intentional communities are being created with an ethos of "anti-globalisation" and why this may be viewed therefore, as a critique of western culture and capitalism.

Antliff, A. (2006). Breaking Free: Anarchist Pedagogy. In M. D. Cote, J. Richard, & G. d. Peuter(eds), Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neo-Liberal Globalization (pp. 248-265). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

This article summarizes different anarchist movements in Canada, ranging from educational and protest days, to communes and different workshops on different topics such as indigenous struggles and anarchist feminism. The author uses Michael Foucault's notion of "Parrhesia" which has been defined as "the articulation of truths that threaten, hurt or anger a more powerful opponent" (2006:249), and describes this as a key component of the anarchist movement in Canada. The author states himself in the chapter that he comes from a particularly political background, and that his academic and political life often runs parallel to one another. The intended audience is an audience of one that does not need to be persuaded about his argument, and is of one that already holds part of or all of his political beliefs. This illuminates my topic through the idea that he uses the notion of "parrhesia" when describing anarchist movement and has quoted Paul Goodman in saying that 'the word revolution means the process by which the grip of authority is loosed, so that the functions of life can regulate themselves, without top-down direction and coordination'(2006:248). It is therefore the idea and desire for utopia in modern, western society today which is intrinsically connected with cohousing and intentional communities. It is also noted how these communities may be viewed as anarchist as they do not comply with mainstream society's notion of power and hierarchy. Antliff notes in the case of intentional communities, society is sought to be changed through education, instead of direct conflict. This can be related to the article below when considering how, due to the fact that intentional communities to not seek to change society through means of conflict, they can often be ignored as part of social movement literature.

Price, C., Nonini, D., & Tree, E. F. (2008). Grounded Utopian Movements: Subjects of Neglect. Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 81, No. 1: 127-159.

The article argues that Grounded Utopian Movements (GUMs) have generally been overlooked by academics as they do not seek recognition from capitalist institutions or modern nation states. The authors state that 'all movements have a Utopian dimension because they imagine alternative futures' (Gusfield, 1994:69). The authors argue that GUMS have been overlooked as they challenge European and American conceptions of activism, and have been treated as escapist instead of progressive. The authors define the "grounded" feature of these Utopias as that they 'mean that the identities, values, and imaginative dimensions of Utopia are culturally focused on real places' (2008: 128). The authors state that "mobilization" or "social movement studies" have long been overlooked by anthropologists. They suggest that one reason for this is because again GUMS do not seek affirmation or recognition from capitalist institutions and do not demand anything unlike other social movements (e.g. the feminist movement demanded equal opportunities and pay for women, the revolutionist/anarchist movement seeks to replace the capitalist state). They also suggest that certain social movements have been overlooked as they act within the container of a nation state. The authors state that these two assumptions 'limit the range of social movements worth studying and implicitly privilege certain modes of acquiring knowledge about the movements' (2008: 132). The authors also note that the three case studies that they cite (the ghost dance of the Great Plains, Rastafari, and the Maya movement) were associated with prior state turmoil and social change (colonialism). The authors aim to provide an anthropological insight into GUMs and give reasons for the lack of academic anthropological writing post 1970's on this phenomenon as they authors state that anthropologists have labelled GUMs simply as the revitalization of culture. This essay is highly relevant to my bibliography and illuminates many of the key aspects of intentional

communities. It will be useful to consider this article when conducting my research into the ideological discourses and the enactment of these discourses in the daily life of the Ithaca Co-housing community, in order to discover how the Ithaca Co-housing community relates to capitalist institutions and the nation state in order to sustain itself.

Graeber, D. (2004). The Globalization Movement: Some points of Clarification. In M. Edelman, & A. Haugerud(eds), The Anthropology of Development and Globalization (pp. 169-172). Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

The author comments on the lack of academic text written by North American scholars about the anti-globalization movement, and claims that the essay is meant 'to clear away a few misconceptions'. The author states that the phrase 'the anti-globalization movement' is essentially a fight against neoliberalism; however this has been coined by the media in propagandistic terms as a fight against 'free trade' or the 'free market'. The author comments on many protests and movements of this type and its misrepresentation amongst the international press and academic literature. The author discredits academic theorists such as Slavoj Zizek for stating that the movement is 'plagued by generic opposition' and 'rooted in bourgeois individualism' (2005: 171). The author highlights that a consensus process amongst this movement is very new but also very important as 'one of the basic rules is that one always treats others' arguments as fundamentally reasonable and principled'(2005:172). The intended audience of this piece I believe is for critics of new age movements, and the author who comes from an anarchist/left wing political stance is attempting to correct academic theorists and students who may discredit the anti-globalization movements. Whilst this does not correlate exactly with my intended area of research, it highlights the fact that social change (i.e. globalisation) has created a new social movement, which is based upon

consensus decision making and egalitarian values, very much like the values that co-housing/intentional communities are founded upon. There is therefore a link to be drawn between the anti-globalisation movements and co-housing communities, due to the fact that social change has created a social movement. As the article above states, the theme of the desire for an alternative future is a commonality between these two groups. Both of these articles also acknowledge the lack of literature written about social movements, post 1970's.

Castles, S. (2001). Studying Social Transformation. International Political Science Review, Vol. 22, No.1: 12-32.

The author surmises that the last quarter of a century 'was a period of rapid growth in transnational linkages and flows affecting all areas of human life' (2001: 13) and that such global economic, cultural, environmental, interpersonal and political processes 'gave rise to major social transformations around the world' (2001: 13). The author defines this process of "social transformation" as 'an interdisciplinary analytical framework for understanding global interconnectedness and its regional, national and local effects' (2001: 15). The author postulates the fact that "social transformation" is not the same as development, whereby it is pre-supposed that in order to be developed a country would have to adopt the same economic and societal model as Western countries. However the author notes that in fact "social transformation" is the 'antithesis of globalization' in a dialectical sense as it 'is both an integral part of globalization and a process that undermines its central ideologies' (2001: 15). The author theorizes that the age of modernity is coming to an end. This is because the age of modernity began with the expansion of the European empire and the consequential discovery of the New World (The Americas), and therefore with the global diffusion of Western values and ideologies, in order to civilise the rest of the world, and it is now ending due to a number

of reasons. The most prominent of these reasons are that there are now no new countries to territorialise, human activity has global environmental consequences and the economy and communications systems now work on a global scale. The author states that these factors will inevitably result in a social and political crisis that affects everyone differently, albeit globally. This is because 'the principle of quantitative growth (based for instance on the indicator of GDP per capita) has to be replaced by qualitative growth (that is, sustainable environments and enriched livelihoods)' (2001: 16). The author criticises neoclassical development theory by stating that it was 'designed to make the world safe for global investors and corporations, while prohibiting policies to protect workers, farmers or consumers from the cold winds of market rationality'. (2001: 17). The author states that the problem of development in the eighties and nineties has highlighted the importance of studying social transformation in the modern world. The author states that 'studying social transformation means examining the different ways in which globalizing forces affect local communities' (2001: 18). The author overall summarises the problem with development theory and emphasises reasons to study and participate in social transformation. This article is particularly relevant to my area of research as it highlights the link between globalization and social transformation and provides evidence for why social transformation is particularly relevant now, and how a shifting tide is now present that turns again from the global to the local.

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective Identity and Social Movements. Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 27: 283-305.Price, C., Nonini, D., & Tree, E. F. (2008).

The authors describe the relationship between collective identity and social movements and define collective identity as 'an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with

a broader community' (2001: 285). The authors then go on to describe how collective identities can be expressed through cultural items such as names, narratives, and rituals. The authors argue that social movements are political through their collective identity however they 'are less likely to seek a redistribution of political power than to seek to change dominant normative and cultural codes by gaining recognition for new identities' (2001: 286). The authors distinguish between social movements of the past such as the labour movement or the civil rights movement, and oppose this to the new social movements that are being seen today as the previous social movements required access to full citizenship whereas most of the people who are involved in the new social movements today have full access to full of most part citizenship and are therefore free to express creatively their views and opinions. The authors also emphasise the fact that modern collective social identities and movements do not arise from fixed categories such as gender or class but however from 'common positions in networks' (2001: 288). The authors question why it is that people would join social movements when it is apparent that there is no individual benefit and appreciation for their efforts. They conclude that collective identity 'is shorthand for the affective connotations one has to members of a group that oblige one to protest along with or on behalf of them.'(2001: 290) this article is particularly relevant to my dissertation topic as it describes and theorises about contemporary social movements and how they are formed in today's world. A comparison could therefore be drawn between the social movement of the phenomena of intentional community and how their collective identity helps to sustain and identify them in the world today.

Casas-Cortes, M. I., Oserweil, M., & Powell, D. E. (2008). Blurring Boundaries: Recognizing Knowledge-practices in the Study of Social Movements. Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 81, No. 1: 17-58.

The authors claim that in order to understand contemporary social movements, it is necessary to understand that they are often important sites of knowledge recreation and diffusion, and to recognise this knowledge production as an important cultural practice, in order to understand the politics of contemporary social movements. In essence their argument is that 'knowledge-practices are a crucial component of the creative and daily practice of social movements' (2008: 19). The authors suggest that research into social movements need to change, so that scholars do not theoretically assume, but however they instead view social movements as their own sources of knowledge production and therefore culture, and so that the whole process of knowledge creation is viewed, including that of the academic theorists. The authors cite three case studies in their article; an indigenous environmental justice network in North America, Chicago's Direct Action Network collective, and a segment of Italy's alter-globalisation movement. The authors highlight the problem of anthropological research by highlighting the fact that to go into an area of study with preconceived ideas and notions, leads one to eventually mould the society/community into the shape of the specific theory. The authors reject the idea of rigid modelling, through the example of the Political Opportunity Structure which many researchers use when researching social movements. The authors describe how the Indigenous Environmental Justice network consisted of hundreds of people who had come to learn and about globalization and sustainable methods for the future, yet there was no direct confrontation with the state, and it would not appear that this was a social movement at all. The authors describe Chicago's Direct Action network, describing its origins as it formulated since protests at the 1999 Seattle WTO organisation meeting. They describe how the members of this group make decisions by consensus in order to equally value everyone's opinion. The authors conclude by describing how these social movements relate to knowledge practices and suggest that the researcher work alongside the people being studied rather than separately identifying themselves by emphasising the "them" and "us"

distinction. This article is relevant to my dissertation topic as it highlights how social movements can have preconceived notions about them, and how this poses problems for the people being studied and also the researcher. It is also useful as it gives three case studies which identify how intentional communities can be related to contemporary social movements, emphasising the fact that although many social movements are in the spotlight of the media, many are also not, and it is in the remaking of knowledge, and of these knowledge practices, that new political thought and action will begin.

Rose, F. (1997). Toward a Class Cultural Theory of Social Movements: Reinterpreting New Social Movements. Sociological Forum, Vol. 12, No. 3: 461-494.

The author poses the question of why it is that it is well documented that social mobilisation movements are predominantly created for and by the middle class. He also states that the reasons for this are poorly explained. He cites Marx & Engels when stating 'the history of all society… is a history of class struggles…' (1997: 462). The author argues for the fact that 'social class shapes distinct cultural subsystems that order consciousness, organize perceptions, define priorities and influence forms of behaviour.'(1997: 463). The author draws his theory from in depth ethnographic studies that he conducted in 'blue-collar building and metal trades unions and middle class environmental and peace organizations in Washington state'(1997: 463). Rose considers various theories for why social movements are created by the middle class, and highlights Gouldner's theory advocating that 'new class movements advance class interests in their emerging struggle for power against the capitalist class'(1997: 465). However the author states that to interpret social movements as sources of class conflict is too simple, as the aim of many modern social movements is an aim that cuts across all classes, to extend to the universal. The author draws his theory also from Pierre

Bourdieu's theory of habitus whereby it is 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions' (1997: 473) and uses this theory to state that working class and middle class persons are from two culturally independent systems, due to the fact that the goals of each class differ. The movements of the working class and the middle class vary in their aims, as the working class movement will be more focussed on winning power as they are naturally more repressed in capitalist society. Whereas the middle class movement will seek to change educational values, through expanding knowledge. This is relevant to my dissertation topic as it discusses further the demographic of intentional communities, and explains well why intentional communities are supposedly inhabited by middle class persons. It also uses Bourdieu's notion of habitus and applies it to contemporary social movements, which is particularly useful and relevant to anthropology.

Polletta, F. (2008). Culture and Movements. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol 619: 78-96.

Polletta poses the question; how does culture constrain political action? She states that 'to make a cultural argument in the sociology of social movements is to assert that culture constitutes the interests on behalf of which people mobilize' (2008: 78). The author acknowledges that culture has a significant role, and emphasises the fact that activists in social movements are not 'strategic dopes' (2008: 79). The author poses two questions asking when culture challenges existing social structures and cites Swidler (1995) when stating that 'social movements are evidence of unsettled times'(2008: 79). The author then reiterates the point as to how does culture constrain practical action when it is used to often to maintain the status quo? The author then surmises a brief history of culture in social movements, and briefly outlines the various theories attributing culture to social movements, with particular

reference to the sociological political process theory, critiquing the various movement theorists and outlining their lack of depth. She highlights one approach for the understanding of culture in social movements as that of viewing culture as 'institutional schemas' (2008: 84) whereby it is necessary to understand culture in social movements not from the world view that the people hold (however this is also cultural) but also by their views on how the institution/movement should be run. Polletta also poses highlights the view of culture as contention and asks 'when does culture become a counter hegemonic force?' (2008: 86). This article critiques, summarises and analyses different theories about culture in social movements and argues for more study into the sociology of culture and social movements. This is particularly relevant to my dissertation topic as I will need to understand how culture may affect and form a role in the creation of the institution of intentional communities in order to better understand the culture and society that the Ithaca intentional community lives in today.

Meyer, D. S., & Rohlinger, D. A. (2012). Big Books and Social Movements: A Myth of Ideas and Social Change. Social Problems Vol. 59, No. 1: 136-153.

The authors study the explanations of the origins of four of the main types of social movements today and state that 'explanations of the past both reflect and influence the way we think about the past and the future' (136). The authors name four books that are, according to them, the origins of large social movements and subsequent government action. 'The other America' (1962), The Feminine Mystique (1963), Unsafe at any Speed (1965), Silent Spring (1962), are these so called books and are in other words the origins of the anti-poverty, feminist, consumer and modern environmental movements. The authors study the myth of the "big book" and state that these big books vastly oversimplify 'the complicated

dynamics of social movement and social change' (2012: 137) and that the big books myth offers a simple account of the relationship between ideas and social change. The authors argue for the fact that the explanations for the idea that all social movements and their ideals originate from these books obscures the actual role that these books play in any campaign and that 'explanations that prioritize the power of ideas miss important political and structural factors that make an idea's time come' (138). Different arguments are surmised and the big book theory is critically analysed. It could be argued that this article does not have particular relevance to my dissertation topic however it could be worth considering how a shared sense of origins and identity can help to create large and successful social movements. When conducting my fieldwork I believe that this will be important in order to understand the full dynamics of the Ithaca community, as well as enabling me to further investigate whether the intentional community social movement arose out of this kind of literature in the United States.

Agar, M. H. (1996). The Professional Stranger: An informal Introduction to Ethnography. Academic Press.

Agar states that anthropologists can be categorised into two kinds of people, 'theory' or 'area'. Agar emphasises the fact that the "area anthropologists" have a cross cultural perspective and states that researching the area is a vital part of research before fieldwork. He proposes that you cannot understand humankind by studying one society, and emphasises the importance of a cross cultural perspective when doing fieldwork in anthropology. Agar also states that a theoretical interest 'can constrain the possible areas you might choose' (22). Therefore ethnography 'falls into the crack between area and theory interests' (23). Agar relates back to his own ethnographic study of heroin use and states that there was not enough

anthropological literature on the subject. He states that different ethnographers may differ over the study of the same group, and reiterates how important it is to keep in mind that areas change over time and subsequently so will ethnographies. It is therefore important to remain sceptical of literature on the chosen area and theory of chosen study.

Edelman, M. (2001). Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics. Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 30: 285-317.

The article describes the overall changing nature of the study of social movements, with 'four long stories in a short space'(2001: 286). These include 'an account of the post 1960's paradigm shift in social scientific studies of collective action' which according to the author is fundamental in understanding the field today. In this article the author also considers 'an appraisal of how ideas about periodization shaped competing post-1960's analytical framework'. The author considers the impact of identity politics within social movements and the 'disproportionate attention social scientists devote to movements they like, and their infrequent efforts to theorize right wing movements'(2001: 286) whilst also considering new developments in social movements, particularly from a transnational aspect. Edelman advocates the theory that New Social Movements 'emerge out of a crisis of modernity', and analyses other theories such as Resource mobilization theory with other such theories such as "political opportunity structure" being included in this theory. Edelman notes the rise of New Social Movements in Latin America and cites the 1993 Zapatista uprising in Mexico contrasting this with European and North American social movements. Edelman notes that peasant movements in Latin America have received relatively 'short shrift' (2001: 293), which he notes, is surprising as these social movements are often at the forefront of the campaign against neoliberalism and free trade. He also deduces that right wing social movements have

received much of the same treatment. Edelman notes Falk's (1993) phrase 'globalization from below' (2001: 304) whereby Falk states that this is 'transnational social forces animated by environmental concerns, human rights, hostility to patriarchy, and a vision of human community based on the unity of diverse cultures seeking an end to poverty, oppression, humiliation, and collective violence' (2001: 305). Edelman notes the rising bad mood in the nineties 'regarding transnational corporations and supranational governance institutions'(2001: 309). He concludes strikingly by stating that 'understanding today's mobilizations will require new conceptions of what constitutes ethnography, observation, participation, and certainly engagement. This article is particularly relevant to my dissertation topic because it discusses and critically analyses different theories on New Social movements, and includes relevant phrases and discussions on Social movements such as 'globalization from below'. The article also interestingly notes that a new paradigm is needed in order to understand modern social movements, and helpfully gives a history of the main kinds of theories that have been utilised in order to understand past and present social movements.

Wallace, A. F. (1956). Revitalization Movements. American Anthropologist, New Series Vol. 58, No. 2: 264-281.

The author proposes the theory of "revitalization". This theory is defined as 'a deliberate, organized conscious effort by members of society to construct a more satisfying culture' (1956: 265). Wallace further explains the concept of revitalization by stating that the persons involved in their culture 'feel that their culture is unsatisfactory' (1956: 265). Wallace uses an organic analogy when describing society and theorises that society will work just as homeostasis whereby if we treat society as an organism, society will work by 'means of

coordinated actions' in order to maintain itself(1956: 265). Wallace emphasises the functional necessity of maintaining a mental image of what society and its subsequent culture should look like, and calls the maintenance of this image "The Mazeway". 'The Mazeway' is defined as 'nature, society, culture and personality, and body image, as seen by one person'(1956: 266). Wallace suggests that revitalization movements revitalize these exact images that a society can hold when an individual is under chronic stress as he/she has received 'repeated information which indicates that his maze way does not lead to action which reduces the level of stress'(1956: 267). Wallace describes five stages of the revitalization process: 1) The 'Steady State' whereby there are culturally recognized techniques for dealing with chronic stress and that these are so efficient that stress is managed and contained within tolerable limits. Wallace states that if this stress is not managed well then "deviant" techniques may be employed such as the use of psychotics. The second stage is that of 'The period of Increased Individual Stress' where individual members of the population 'experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques'(1956: 269). Wallace suggests varying factors for the cause of the supposed stress such as economic distress, epidemics and also climate change to name a few. Wallace suggests that in the third stage 'The Period of Cultural Distortion' where culture is internally distorted and stress continues to rise as some persons turn to 'psychodynamically regressive innovations'(1956: 269) such as increased alcoholism and a variety of psychological disorders. In this stage there is disillusionment, symptoms of high anxiety due to the fact that there is a loss of a meaningful way of life, and an amount of apathy towards problems of adaptation. In the fourth stage 'The period of Revitalization', according to Wallace, if this process of deterioration continues then the death of the society may occur. Wallace notes that in religious revitalization movements he had studied, they have originally been conceived in visions by one individual, and that these visions express the 'wish for a satisfying parental

figure, 2. World-destruction fantasies, 3. Feelings of guilt and anxiety, 4. and the longings for the establishment of an ideal state of stable and satisfying human and supernatural relations'(1956: 270). Wallace also notes that many Utopian programs feel that their culture belongs to the future (1956: 276). He finally concludes interestingly by stating that 'the historical origin of a great proportion of religious phenomena has been in revitalization movements'. I believe this article to be particularly relevant to my study of the Ithaca cohousing community in New York State, as it theorises and structuralises revitalization movements. I believe that the phenomenon of cohousing/intentional community is part of a revitalization of culture that also has millenarian tendencies. This article gives a greater anthropological understanding to the phenomena of cohousing, however considering the time that it was written has not taken into account more politically based movements, instead it focuses on religious based revitalization movements.   This article gives a greater understanding for why intentional communities are created, however doesn't specify or cite the phenomena of cohousing/intentional community.

Bennett, J. W. (1975). Communes and Communitarianism. Theory and Society Vol. 2 No. 1: 63-94.

This article summarises the communitarian movement and includes a brief history of the occurrence of intentional or Utopian type communities. It considers the problems and the fundamental characteristics of intentional communities, however recognises that the intentional type community has existed throughout the records of human society as it appeals to the idealistic aspect of humanity whereby ideals of perfection are strived for. He states that some of the problems in intentional communities is the problem of leadership, as most of the communities are egalitarian in nature. Bennett argues that intentional communities need a

strong or charismatic leader otherwise they will inevitably fail. He also states that there is a problem with the raising of family in the community, as there is quite often the case of communal childrearing in the intentional type community. The first creators of intentional community are people who were 'raised in a world of individualism and private property' (1975: 75). The author cites a problem with the family, and cites Margaret Mead when stating that there is, in modern times, a huge cultural gap between parents and children. Bennett states that 'America may have the most acute problem of identity of all the large nations' (1975: 91). 'The commune is not heaven on Earth; it is human on Earth'(1975: 91). This paper is dated, and the author states that all communities will inevitably end. He does not consider that intentional communities will continue on into the future, and uses ethnographic details from communes in the 60's, leading to a slight bias of demographic data. This is because he does not consider that elderly people would have a need for community and relegates the hippie community experience of the 60's as belonging to younger members of society.

Stiglitz, J. (2002). Globalization and its Discontents. The Penguin Press. Chapter 1.

In this chapter Stiglitz describes and gives a background to the current discontents of globalisation. Stiglitz describes his background of chief economic advisor to President Bill Clinton and describes his important role and part of the World Bank. Stiglitz in this chapter criticises the role of the IMF and its structural adjustment policies that have led to many people being left in more squalor and poverty, and especially the role that these policies have had in developing countries. Stiglitz notes that there has been a growing anti-globalisation movement in recent times, with the most obvious example of such social rage at the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle. He however also notes that many benefits have

been brought about by globalisation and that in fact the anti-globalisation movements are a result of this connectedness. Stiglitz describes globalisation 'as the most pressing issue of our time' (2002: 4). In order to understand what went wrong with globalization, Stiglitz states that it is necessary to look at the three main institutions that govern globalisation 'the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization'. Stiglitz mainly focuses on the IMF and the World Bank as the have been the main focus of economic issues, and gives a brief history of them in this chapter. He heavily criticises the IMF as being ideologically led by the mantra of the free market, and not dealing with practical solutions to many global problems that affect the local and leave many individuals exposed to the fluctuations of the market. This chapter relates to my research proposal as it considers the discontents that have been created because of globalisation, and it also notes that many anti-globalisation movements have now been created because of the way that globalising forces have affected our lives. Despite this chapter being focused on describing the discontents of globalisation and bearing a critique of the International Monetary Fund, it provides an account of the problems of globalisation and acknowledges the significance of social change in an uncertain time.

Clifford, J. (1997). Spatial Practices: Fieldwork, Travel, and the Disciplining of Anthropology. In A. Gupta, & J. Feguson(eds), Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science (pp. 185-222). University of California Press.

The author questions what "actual" fieldwork is. He discusses recent developments in social anthropology, the renegotiated boundaries between what constitutes as the difference between anthropology and other journalistic values, as well as what counts today as 'acceptable fieldwork'(1997: 186). Clifford postulates about the spatial practices of anthropologists and compares Malinowski's fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands to Brown's

(1991) fieldwork in Brooklyn, New York. Clifford questions whether Brown's field work can be constituted as "real" fieldwork as she did not live amongst the community that was the object of her study, and left every night to return to her home in lower Manhattan. Clifford states that the field has been constituted by a 'historically specific range of distances, boundaries, and modes of travel' (Clifford 1990: 64 cited in Clifford 1997:190). He notes that fieldwork normally involves leaving home, whether it be exotic places or a local neighbourhood. He further states that at this present time, fieldwork is a critically important part of anthropology. He also notes that fieldwork is a mixture of travelling and dwelling and aims to distinguish anthropological fieldworkers from journalists or travel writers, as well as colonial administrators and missionaries. Clifford also notes the changing tradition of anthropology from "out" or "down" to more of an inwardly societal study. These theories can be considered relevant to my research as is may be deemed to be important when considering what constitutes as "fieldwork", when conducting my own fieldwork in the United States. Due to the short timeframe of my anthropological fieldwork, this will be a consideration when conducting my research, as well as acknowledging beforehand that the nature of fieldwork has changed, and that my intended research is more of a modern inwardly societal study.

Brown, S. L. (2002). Community as Cultural Critique. In S. L. Brown (ed), Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective (pp. 153-179). New York: State University of New York Press.

This chapter provides a useful insight into how the existence of intentional community may be analysed as a form of cultural critique. In order to analyse the form of Intentional community as cultural critique, Brown uses Wallace's (1956) theory of cultural revitalization,

and combines Zablocki's (1980) timeline of the occurrence of Intentional Community in the United States with Wallace's theory of cultural revitalization to postulate her theory that the formation of intentional community tends to cluster around the time of great social stress and change. She uses these two concepts to understand 'the way in which people in state societies not only respond to change but through those responses critique their own societies and sometimes change them' (2002:158). Brown cites ethnographic examples of other case studies such as Robert Owen's New Harmony community and the founding of the Ananda Cooperative Village in California. Brown builds up her argument by using Wallace's five stages of cultural revitalization with the suitable dates of community building throughout American history. She finally states that intentional communities constitute as one more important tool for analysing society and culture. This chapter is highly relevant to my research topic as it combines Wallace (1956) and Zablocki (1980) theories to constitute how intentional communities can critique modern western society through the revitalization of culture. It is the different expressions of cultural revitalization that is evident in intentional communities that I wish to research and study further in order to understand how the daily cultural expressions relate to the ideological discourses of the Ithaca Co-housing community.

Spiro, M. E. (2004). Utopia and its Discontents: The Kibbutz and its Historical Vicissitudes. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 106, No. 3: 556-568.

This article describes the cultural and social associations that comprise of the Israeli Kibbutz. The author defines Utopian thought and relates this to the changes that have occurred in the Israeli Kibbutz. The Israeli kibbutz is in a certain sense an intentional community, as it correlates with Kanter's (1973) notion of 'communitarianism'. Spiro describes the fundamental attributes of the Israeli Kibbutz that are inherently concerned with 'not only

their own salvation but also with the salvation of society as a whole' (2004:557). Spiro theorises that the foundation of the Israeli Kibbutz was inspired by young Jew's Zionist beliefs, and therefore established in Palestine instead of being established in America. Spiro also emphasises the idea that the Kibbutz was formed during a time of great social stress and change, and notes that it was the only viable option for survival in an inhospitable and socially undesirable region. This theory links in with Brown's (2002) theory of community as cultural critique above. Spiro also notes the inherent values of the Kibbutz such as the value of physical labour, and its moral values, and the notes the discontents that have arisen in the Kibbutz over time because of changes to its social, material fabric and its fundamental attribute of collective living, due to globalisation. Spiro also interestingly defines an ideology as 'like any cultural system' which 'acquires motivational power if and only it is internalized by social actors as a personal, emotionally salient, belief system' (2004:565). Spiro notes that from his ethnographic research into one Israeli Kibbutz (Kiryat Yedidim), without the strong belief in the ideology of the Kibbutz many of the community members would have left years before. He emphasises that 'living in a Kibbutz is based on ideological conviction, and its appeal only rests on its superior ideology' (2004:566). Spiro overall states that utopian communes are not without discontent and notes that persons who are born of the Israeli Kibbutz, create much discontent, through their individualist rather than collectivist ideals. This article is relevant to my research intents, because it notes the importance of the role that ideological discourses play in the formation of Utopian/communal communities, and how ideological discourses can bind community together despite the many discontents that community members face. This article will be useful to consider when conducting fieldwork into the ideological discourses of the Ithaca Co-housing community because it will be necessary to understand how 'communitas' (Turner, 1969) is created through the communitarian ideology.

Thornton, R. (1993). Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth Century Cherokees. Ethnohistory Vol. 40 No. 3: 359-383.

This article focuses on revitalization movements among North American Cherokee Indians, and discusses the conditions upon which these revitalization movements occurred. Thornton considers other theorists work on the Ghost Dance revitalization movement of the Cherokee Indians, and postulates that revitalization movements occurred with the Cherokee Indians because of great social and cultural decimation and change. Thornton discusses Wallace's (1956) theory of revitalization movements, and links this theory with the revitalization movements of the nineteenth century Cherokee North American Indians. Thornton notes that the social change that occurred around this time was to do with '1) the development of the formal Cherokee nation' '2) the removal to Indian Territory' '3) The U.S civil war and its aftermath' and finally '4) the beginning of the allotment of Cherokee lands' (1993:362). Thornton advocates his hypothesis that 'when group boundaries are in danger of dissolution in ways that are perceived as negative by the people involved, revitalizations are likely to occur'(1993:374). This not only fits in with the case of the Cherokee North Americans, but it could also be argued that this links in with the phenomenon of intentional community, as due to the advocacy of the individual in American society today, many individuals and groups perceive that their identity is under threat due to social change and globalisation. Thornton's hypothesis links in with how intentional community may be viewed as a revitalization movement.

Melson, R., & Wolpe, H. (1970). Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A theoretical Perspective. The American Political Science Review: 1112-1130.

This article describes and aims to theorise various formulations of elements that link modernisation and communalism. The authors intend for their theories to be applicable across all societies however use the Nigerian case as an ethnographic example. They define communalism as having three distinguishing characters whereby 'their membership is comprised of persons who share in a common culture and identity' they also 'encompass the full range of demographic (age and sex) divisions within the wider society' and thirdly 'like the wider society in which they exist, they tend to be differentiated by wealth, status and power' (1970:1112). This article relates communalism inextricably to social change so much so that it is deemed a persistent feature of social change. The article then further discusses the politics of communalism with fourteen propositions as to why communalism may occur, and link all of these propositions in with the factor of social change. The authors conclude by stating that culturally plural societies will not be necessarily threatened by communalism, however if nation states do not act to recognize communalism, then stability may, indeed, be threatened. Whilst this article does not mention intentional communities, an intentional community does link to the authors' definition of communalism here. The efforts that the authors have made in order to link communalism and modernization together, provide an explanation for a link between modernization, intentional community and social change. Despite the article being slightly dated, this article is therefore useful for theorizing about how social change is connected to the establishment of intentional community.

Hansen, J. F. (1976). The Anthropologist in the Field: Scientist, Friend and Voyeur. In M. A. Rynkiewich, & J. P. Spradley (eds), Ethics and anthropology : dilemmas in fieldwork (pp. 123-134). Wiley.

In this chapter, Hansen describes the ethical problems that she encountered when conducting her fieldwork in Copenhagen, Denmark. Hansen describes encountering the "front stage" and "backstage" (1976: 126) whilst conducting her fieldwork and follows Gerard Berreman's monograph of Behind many masks. She defines "front stage" as 'the behaviour that group participants engage in for "public benefit"' and defines backstage as 'the rockier terrain of everyday life, complete with bickering, violation of traditional or ideal rules of behaviour, and other human weaknesses, dominates the scene'(1976: 126). She further postulates the fundamental anthropological dilemma of the anthropologist as a friend, and the anthropologist as a detached outsider. She also theorises about another ethical dilemma, which is when participants willingly give information, and when participants give information without knowing that they have done so. Hansen therefore surmises that 'when the researcher's central concern entails explanation of the micro processes of human interaction' (1976: 132) then the ethical dilemmas of the anthropologist become apparent. Hansen therefore emphasises the importance of privacy respect and personal concern for those of whom anthropologists study. This chapter is useful to consider when and before conducting my fieldwork. Even though I will be completing fieldwork in the Ithaca Co-housing community for only six weeks, I will be primarily interested in the daily life of the community which will involve focusing on the micro processes of human interaction, which may lead to the ethical dilemmas that Hansen has considered occurring.

Etzioni, A. (1993). The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda. London: Fontana Press. Introduction.

In this chapter Etzioni outlines the fundamental values of communitarianism and defines this as 'an environmental movement dedicated to the betterment of our moral, social, and political environment' (1993: 2). Etzioni states that in the United States in the nineties there is an imbalance between a sense of entitlement and a sense of responsibility for the local and national community, whereby many feel that they are entitled, according to Etzioni, to receive the benefits of security from their community, and for this community to uphold their rights and services. However a weak sense of obligation to the local and national community is coupled with this. Etzioni advocates communitarianism as the solution to contentiousness and states that it will enhance social cooperation. This chapter introducing the notion of communitarianism particularly links in with my research proposal as it helps to give a background of communitarianism in the United States, whilst clearly defining what the aims of the participants of communitarianism are. This chapter helps to better understand the notion of intentional community, whilst considering the actions of communitarians in America.

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