

Living our Values, Living our Hope:
Building Sustainable Lifestyles in Seattle Intentional Communities

Rebeca F. Rivera

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2012

Reading Committee:

Eugene Hunn, Co-Chair

Celia Lowe, Co-Chair

Stevan Harrell

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Anthropology

University of Washington

Abstract

Living our Values, Living our Hope:
Building Sustainable Lifestyles in Seattle Intentional Communities

Rebeca Rivera

Co-chairs of Supervisory Committee:

Professor Emeritus Eugene Hunn

Associate Professor Celia Lowe

Department of Anthropology

Sustainable consumption and the sustainable use of resources is a growing concern as negative environmental impacts such as carbon emissions, overuse of natural resources, and degradation of non-renewable resource stocks continue to rise. Disproportionate consumption by Northern countries and particularly the United States is the cause of both negative environmental impacts and environmental justice problems. Therefore changing consumption practices of the North is seen as a necessary solution. Unfortunately, most strategies to reduce consumption in the North have failed. Questions remain about what sustainable consumption looks like and how it might be implemented.

This dissertation examines the sustainable consumption practices of urban communities, in Seattle, Washington, USA. Through ethnographic case studies and the quantitative analysis of consumption in two intentional communities, this research examines factors that led those communities to consume more sustainably. Intentional communities are groups of people, including unrelated adults, who share their lives (and in this case housing) according to a shared set of values and goals. The communities in this study lived in single-family housing and shared the values and goals of environmental sustainability and social justice. Quantitative methods included weighing garbage, surveying consumption, and analyzing utility bills. Most notably the communities were able to reduce their consumption by 70-75% of US averages through choices made in waste reduction, water consumption, and miles driven. Ethnographic research methods included semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and participant observation such as attending community meetings and events and participating in the labor structure of the communities.

This dissertation demonstrates that intentional communities, as common property institutions, are effectively generating social structures that facilitate sustainable lifestyles through four major strategies: 1) adopting an alternative habitus and building more sustainable cultural capital; 2) creating new institutions, most significantly common property institutions; 3) working together to provide systems of provisioning through collective economics; and 4) founding individual, collective, and institutional practices on a very specific set of beliefs and values, or worldview, that emphasizes egalitarianism, social justice, and the environment. In conclusion, this analysis suggests that a biocentric paradigm alone is insufficient to produce sustainable practices.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank my reading committee--Gene Hunn, Celia Lowe, and Stevan Harrell--for reading multiple rough drafts and helping to sculpt my arguments.

I want to thank John Marzluff, a committee member and urban ecology adviser for all of his multi-faceted support.

My deepest thanks, appreciation, and respect for all of the community members who let me into their lives, sat through hours and hours of interviews. I've learned so much from all of you.

To all of the other graduate students for being there, listening, and offering valuable advice and support. There are more names than I can fit here but I want to thank my urban ecology team mates Michelle Kondo and Stan Rullman. I want to thank my fellow EA moms Jennifer Sepez and Amanda Poole. I want to thank Sam Yum for our weekly "work meetings" in our final year. Finally, I want to thank the other half of my cohort in environmental anthropology, Sara Breslow, I wouldn't have made it through the program without her.

I want to thank Veronica Berrocal and Pedro López Romero for their statistical assistance.

I want to thank my family. My parents for all their support and for surviving years of grad school along with me and Helen Frain and Jil Frain for their constant support.

I especially want to thank my partner Rob who has seen me through the many years of grad school and the last few months of finishing the dissertation.

And finally, I want to thank my daughter Isabella, for inspiring me to continue to try and understand how we might work towards a better world.

Table of Contents

University of Washington	i
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
A Story.....	1
Studying Consumption.....	2
Intentional Communities	16
Overview of the Dissertation Study.....	20
Methods.....	25
Chapter 2: My Background	29
Chapter 3: Description of the Communities	48
Intentional Communities	48
Seattle Area Communities	50
Introducing the Case Studies	52
Description of Rojo	53
Description of Violeta	72
Networks for Social Change in Rojo and Violeta.....	85
Living in Community.....	86
Conclusion.....	89
Chapter 4: Quantitative Analysis of Consumption Patterns	90
Methods.....	91
<i>Survey Methods</i>	93
Results and Discussion	96
Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 5: Collective Economics for Community and Sustainability.....	113

Chapter 6: The Practice of a (more) Sustainable Lifestyle	162
Practice Theory	163
Triggers for Alternative Habitus.....	168
Cultural Capital.....	187
Conclusion.....	208
Chapter 7: Urban Intentional Communities as Common Property Regimes	209
ICs as Common Property Institutions	217
ICs learning from the CP literature	243
IC's and Networks or Horizontal Enterprises	244
ICs and Unstable Populations: Turnover.....	245
ICs and Possibilities	249
Conclusion.....	254
Chapter 8: Worldview, Structure, and Practice	255
Worldviews	267
Perception of the Problem(s) and Solutions (s).....	296
Worldview, Structure, and Agency	302
Limitations of Individual Action	304
Increasing the Scope or Translating Up	305
Bringing It All Together (By way of a conclusion)	308
Chapter 9: Protecting the Idyll But Not the Environment: Second Homes, Amenity Migration and Rural Exclusion in Washington State.....	312
By, Michell Kondo, Rebeca Rivera, and Stan Rullman Jr.....	312
Preface by Rebeca Rivera.....	312
Introduction	313
Amenity Migration.....	315
Introduction to the Study Area	318
Methods and Participant Background	322
Results.....	327
Discussion.....	335
Chapter 10: Conclusion.....	339
Towards an Ethic of Care	340
Human Nature	341

Collective(ness) 342
Promoting Cooperatives & Sustainable Lifestyles 344
Re-Thinking What Is Possible 345
Next Steps 345
References 348

List of Figures

Figure 1 Some members of the Spadefoot Co-op in front of the house	32
Figure 2 Old and new members and friends in the Sherwood Living Room 2000	36
Figure 3 A house meeting at Rojo	57
Figure 4: 2nd Floor (Main Floor) of Rojo. Not to scale.	64
Figure 5. Rojo first floor, not to scale.....	67
Figure 6 Layout of the main floor at Violeta. Not to scale.....	79
Figure 7. A House Meeting at Violeta.....	83
Figure 8 Agenda for a Violeta Retreat.....	84
Figure 9 Seattle intentional community networks	85
Figure 10 My partner and I weigh a recycling bin.....	92
Figure 11 Curbside Solid Waste: Pounds per capita per week	96
Figure 12 Gallons of Domestic water consumption per capita per day.....	100
Figure 13 A Shared Photograph from Occupy Seattle's Facebook Page.....	113
Figure 14. Rojo printed and posted spreadsheet indicating quota hours.	126
Figure 15. Shortcut to the Gizmo on the house computer	127
Figure 16 Bulk food jars in the kitchen	138
Figure 17 Working in the garden at Rojo	145
Figure 18 Tomatoes with Grapes in the background at Violeta	147
Figure 19 Preparing to push the Geo to the shop about a mile away.....	150
Figure 20 Bikes at Violeta	151
Figure 21 Members of Violeta, friends, and the SPI, at the 10th annual LBD.....	156
Figure 22 Setting the table for a birthday dinner.	160

Figure 23 Bulk Jars with unique labels at Violeta.	187
Figure 24. Image hanging in the Rojo dining room.....	194
Figure 25: A stencil created by a member of Violeta	196
Figure 26. 3 rd Floor Bedroom Doors Painted With Birds and Sun.....	197
Figure 27 3 rd Floor Back Hallway and Entry Way	198
Figure 28 Rojo members in the kitchen.....	200
Figure 29 Violeta members in the kitchen.....	202
Figure 30 Member of Violeta making gifts for friends, a card	205
Figure 31 Rojo members testing for consensus at a meeting.....	230
Figure 33 Wordview, Structure, Practice Model	267
Figure 34 Map of San Juan County with regional location	319
Figure 35 Map of Okanogan County with regional location	321
Figure 36 Histogram comparing distances of primary and second homes	331

List of Tables

Table 1 Community and National averages for daily time spent shopping.....	103
Table 2 Types of stores visited by each community.....	106
Table 3 Types and frequency of trips made by community as a percent of total	106
Table 4 Miles traveled by automobile per capita per day	107
Table 5 Herbs, Fruit, and Vegetables grown	146
Table 6 Landscape Variables for San Juan and Okanogan counties	323
Table 7 Odds Ratios and Significance for Variables in the Okanogan County Model ..	329
Table 8 Odds Ratios and Significance for Variables in the San Juan County Model	329

Chapter 1: Introduction

A Story

It's midnight and everyone's awake when Emma gets home. It's a warm summer night and everyone, all eight communards, are lounging on the back porch talking and laughing while trying to keep their voices down. There are a few candles creating a warm, flickering, light. Emma smiles and joins her housemates on the porch. Everyone cheers: "Yaaay.... You're Home! Happy Birthday!" Usually they would all be asleep, but tonight they stayed up waiting for her. Someone went to get the chocolate cake they made earlier that day. Plates are passed around, as well as strawberries picked from their garden. Everyone's relaxed, and smiling, as they celebrate Emma's Birthday. People start to ask her questions. First about her day, but then about her wishes and dreams. They've all thought of something specific to ask her for this occasion. Susan feels warm, loved, and cared for. It was her birthday wish for everyone to be awake when she got home from working that night.

There weren't any decorations. There were no disposable plates, or paper napkins. No one was wearing new clothes, or even fancy clothes, for the occasion. In fact people were wearing old clothes—t-shirts and cut off shorts mostly, with some summer dresses thrown in. No one had gone shopping to get supplies for the party. No one bought any gifts, there wasn't any wrapping paper. There was no garbage. But for everyone, the night was a meaningful celebration.

Is another kind of life possible? A life where we reduce our consumption, work less, and have more time for people?

Studying Consumption

Critiques of the consumption of commodities in modern life has a long history within the social sciences. Marx's concept of commodity fetishism is a critique of the commodity form of goods that are created through market exchange. This exchange of commodities hides the social relations of goods, and especially the value of labor that produced them. Instead commodities are valued in relation to other commodities (Marx 1973). Veblen argued that within modern industrial society the lower classes are kept from saving and are forced to spend in order to emulate the conspicuous consumption of higher classes in order to maintain social acceptance (Veblen 1953). Influenced by Veblen and structuralism, Baudrillard argues that consumer "needs" are not biologically based but are produced through the capitalist system. Consumption then "is a social production, in a system of exchange, of a material of differences, a code of significations and invidious (*statuaire*) values" (Baudrillard 1981, 75).

The aim of anthropologists has been to study the act of consumption within a cultural context. Such work has concluded that the neo-classical economic ideal type of the rational individual who consumes to meet individual needs is a myth (Douglas and Isherwood 1996; D. Miller 1995). On the contrary, researchers have found that individuals consume to meet social needs and expectations (Bourdieu 1984; Appadurai 1986; Douglas and Isherwood 1996; McCracken 1990; D. Miller 1995; Wilk 1997; D. Miller 1998). This work argues against the traditional critique of consumption with a relativist perspective and attempts to show that modern day actors create meaning and identity through consumption practices. Current works in anthropology show that First World consumption practices are not necessarily so different from other societies' relations with goods (both historic and current) (Appadurai 1986) and that consumers are not as naive and pliable as they were previously thought to be. However,

anthropologists have only begun to link consumption practices to environmental problems (Heyman 2001; Heyman 2005; R. H. Robbins 2003; Wilk 2010; Wilk 2004; Isenhour 2010b; Isenhour 2011).

While there is a growing literature on sustainable consumption, few studies have empirically examined sustainable consumption as a social practice (Isenhour 2010b). Anthropological work on consumption demonstrates that consumption is a social act, rooted in learned practices. Therefore, sustainable consumption must be understood as a social act and cannot be understood exclusively by studying individual behavior and values—as is currently the case.

Environmental anthropology (EA) has much to offer in bridging the literature on consumption as a social phenomena and consumption as an environmental problem. EA offers the methodology of socio-cultural anthropology, a long history of studying human/environment interactions, and an interdisciplinary perspective from the humanities, and the social and natural sciences.

As an environmental anthropologist, my dissertation explores the link between the anthropological work on consumption as social practice and the research on sustainable consumption. By comparing groups actively seeking to consume sustainably we can test social factors and analyze an overall framework for sustainable consumption within a Northern urban setting. Through measuring consumption and analyzing cultural changes within two urban intentional communities I was able to understand multiple factors that lead to more sustainable consumption.

Sustainable Consumption

Among consumption scholars an accurate definition of consumption remains elusive (Graeber 2007; Wilk 2010). In English consumption has come to mean something eaten up or destroyed; however as Graeber (2007) and Wilk (2010) demonstrate, to use something or buy something doesn't mean to destroy it. For example, if you buy a guitar, you are not "consuming" the guitar every time you play it. Or one might watch a movie, but by watching the movie you are not destroying it.

However, there were resources that went into producing, distributing, traveling to, and sitting through a movie in a theater. The consumption involved with producing and distributing a film includes materials used for movie sets, catering, production of ads and posters, film, energy, etc. Viewing the film would include traveling to the theater (car), the theater experience (building, ambiance, air conditioning) and these would all be included as individual (as a portion of the total) or societal consumption. For example, in the making of the Matrix 2 and 3 an estimated 11,090 tons of material were used¹ to create 3 of the sets shared in both movies (Corbett and Turco 2006) which amount to almost one third of a pound of materials per ticket holder.² A definition of consumption needs to take into all resources used.

I will define consumption as the amount of resources used to enable a lifestyle including the total amount of natural resources and energy, plus the amount of waste re-entering the environment. A measurement of consumption may be made at any scale: individual, household, community, city, society, or global. This definition, inspired by ecological footprint analysis,

¹ According to Corbett and Turco (2006) most movie sets are not recycled--it's simply cheaper to throw them away. However, the majority of materials used in these Matrix scenes were recycled or reused (Corbett and Turco 2006).

² I estimated the number of ticket holders based on gross ticket sales (<http://www.imdb.com>) divided by the average ticket price in 2003 (<http://www.natoonline.org/statisticstickets.htm>), the release date for both Matrix 2 and 3.

accounts for the degree of use on the environment and is all inclusive of all potential impacts one's lifestyle may generate.

Sustainable consumption would need to refer to the rate of consumption, the quality and quantity of the waste, and to the distribution of resources. The rate of total consumption by the global population or nation state could not be greater than the ability of the resources to be replenished and allow ecological space for other species and future generations. The quality and quantity of the waste would have to be produced at a rate equal to or less than, the ability to absorb that waste into the environment without harm (including CO₂). Finally, sustainable consumption allows for the distribution of resources, consuming fairly so that everyone is able to meet their needs³. Thus I define sustainable consumption as a rate of consumption that allows for intragenerational, intergenerational, and to some degree interspecies equity.

What the sustainable rate of consumption is may be calculated through ecological footprint analysis. Ecological Footprint "accounts for the flows of energy and matter to and from any defined economy and converts these into the corresponding land/water area required from nature to support these flows" (Wackernagel and Rees 1996). An exact ecological footprint or the sustainable division of resources may be impossible to calculate. However, we can understand general numbers or relative amounts for the ecological footprint of a nation or the planet. The usefulness of Ecological Footprint analysis is not only as a tool to understand the impact of our consumption, but also as a way to measure relative consumption between different countries or regions. Ecological Footprint calculations may also be estimated at the per capita or individual level.

³ There is a body of literature that addresses human needs that argues that "basic" needs are not just physical needs, but a need for things like creation and imagination (Max-Neef, Elizalde, and Hopenhayn 1991).

Wackernagel et al (1997) estimated the amount of biologically productive areas, what an equitable and sustainable use of land was per person globally, and calculated the ecological footprint of nations. They calculated that there are 1.7 hectares (about 4.2 acres) available per capita for human use on the planet (Wackernagel et al. 1997, 5). On the other hand Americans have an ecological footprint of 8.4 hectares per capita (20.75 acres) (Wackernagel et al. 1997, 10)—we have overstepped our “fair share” by about 80%. Comparatively, Americans have larger ecological footprints than most of the world population, including those of our Western and North American counterparts. For example, the Canadian per capita footprint is 7.0 hectares and Mexico has a per capita footprint of 2.3 hectares (Wackernagel et al. 1997, 10).

It probably goes without saying that national wealth (calculated by GDP) and military power (military expenditures per soldier) predict ecological footprints. “Capital intensity, export dependence, and military technological power are structural driving forces of per-capita natural resource consumption” (Jorgenson 2005). The correlation between wealth, military might, and consumption speaks to the structural or infrastructural influence on the per capita distribution of larger consumption patterns, such as military and industrial footprints. Therefore, the structure elements minimize the ability of individuals within high GDP countries to achieve sustainable footprints without changes at the national level.

While Americans must reduce their material consumption by 80%, they also need to reduce their carbon emissions by 80% in order to reach sustainable levels. There is consensus that it is vital not to exceed 2 °C of global warming and ideally less than 2 °C (Richardson et al. 2009). In order, not to exceed 2.4°C of a global average temperature increase the IPCC conservatively estimates that we would need to peak total emissions between 2000-2015, decrease CO₂ emissions by 50-85% of 2000 emissions by 2050, and stabilize CO₂ concentration

between 350-400 ppm (Pachauri and Reisinger 2008, 67). However, since temperatures have already risen 0.7 °C and CO₂ concentrations are already at the upper end of that window, climate scientists now say that “if society wants to stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations at this level, then global emissions should, theoretically, be reduced by 60-80% immediately” (Richardson et al. 2009, 18). Only one country has passed policies to reduce their CO₂ emissions to the extreme needed. In 2008 the United Kingdom passed their Climate Change Act in which they agree to cut emissions to 80% of 1990 levels by 2050. (Department of Energy and Climate Change 2011).

The Bumpy Road

From ecological footprint analysis and carbon footprint analysis alone it is pretty clear that we in the North, and especially need to reduce consumption significantly. Given both analyses it also seems that we can estimate we need an 80% reduction. And yet, there remains a significant division with regards to sustainable development and sustainable consumption—between those who argue a need to pursue sustainability through economic growth and those who argue that sustainability through economic growth is impossible. Another way to label this argument may be to say that the argument is between efficiency vs. sufficiency⁴.

Solutions at the level of policy have been dominated by ideologies of growth and efficiency. From the growth/efficiency perspective sustainable consumption has focused on increasing ecological efficiency of production—using less energy and resources to produce the same amount of goods. The belief is that by increasing efficiency of the energy and resources used we can reduce the overall footprint of consumption without making any significant changes to the underlying processes—such as consumption and economic growth. Further, those focused

⁴ Another way the difference has been articulated is through weak and strong sustainability (Wackernagel and Rees 1996)

on growth and efficiency desire to alter consumer behavior in ways that would not jeopardize the status quo and instead focus consumption and growth on green choices such as goods made from recycled materials, energy efficiency (light bulbs) in the home, and services. Also within this framework, increasing the income of the poor through economic development is seen as the way to decrease global inequality (Schor 2000) and thus increase environmental sustainability.

On the other hand sufficiency scholars argue that strategies based on efficiency and growth will do nothing to solve environmental problems. A significant amount of research on sustainable consumption argues against solutions based on growth and efficiency or, to put it another way, on principles of neo-classical economics and techno-fixes (Murphy & Cohen 2001a, Princen et al 2002b, Rees 2000, Woollard 2000). These scholars argue that the problem, when framed with these paradigms, is disguised as overly simplistic, leading to easy and manageable solutions (Princen et al 2002a) and “that economic growth does not “decouple” from the growth in resource extraction and waste-sink filling” (Princen 2005, 27). Many researchers argue that the problem of overconsumption is, at its base, a social problem (Murphy & Cohen 2001b) which requires an alternative framing of both the problem and potential solutions. Instead, policy debates on sustainable consumption for the most part remain at the individualized level (Spaargaren 2011).

UN & Efficiency

At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 governments around the world signed Agenda 21, an agreement that aimed, among other things, to reduce the consumption of Northern countries (UNCED 1992). Chapter 4 of Agenda 21 establishes that the impacts from unsustainable consumption and production result in excessive demands on the environment by the wealthy that in turn aggravate poverty, imbalanced resource

use, and deterioration of the global environment. Measures to remedy the problem include the accounting of current imbalances in protecting the environment and a change in consumption patterns that would “require a multipronged strategy focusing on demand, meeting the basic needs of the poor, and reducing wastage and the use of finite resources in the production process” (UNCED 1992, pg. 4.3-4.6).

However, working to minimize consumption is contrary to the role of governments in fulfilling economic agendas. Governments (especially the United States) and organizations are in a predicament because sustainable consumption (as consuming less material resources) runs counter to economic growth (W. Rees 2000; Murphy and Cohen 2001; Princen, Maniates, and Conca 2002), the primacy of consumer rights (Murphy and Cohen 2001; Oksanen 2001; Princen, Maniates, and Conca 2002; Princen 2002), and the deeply rooted value, practice, and habit of current consumption practices in industrialized countries (Murphy and Cohen 2001; Hobson 2003, 150).

A major source of disconnect has been between the problem (needing to reduce and equalize resource use across the globe) and trying to find solutions within the dominant paradigm of growth (relying on greater and increasing consumption). However, mainstream discourse on sustainability has focused on a perceived lack of definition and measurement of sustainability. However, in terms of sustainability, sustainable consumption, and sustainable development—really all referring to sustainability in general—it is less a problem of definition and more a disconnect between the problem and solutions.

Even within the UN, the Brundtland Report, and Agenda 21 the disconnect between the need to reduce consumption and the primacy of economic growth is present. For example, the “long” version of the famous definition of sustainable development from the Brundtland Report

argues that we need to pursue sustainability through growth and technological development—all efficiency arguments.

Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth. The Commission believes that widespread poverty is no longer inevitable. Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).

Efficiency is the solution of choice at the policy level, although there isn't any proof that efficiency actually works to reduce consumption or generate greater equity. Efficiency comes naturally to corporate culture, however, gains in efficiency have ironically resulted in even greater overall consumption by making products cheaper (Manno 2002). For example gains in fuel efficiency in U.S. cars has not resulted in decreased fuel consumption. Instead, greater fuel efficiency has resulted in an increase in the miles driven—over a 60% increase since 1970 (Princen, Maniates, and Conca 2002). The fact that efficiency results in greater consumption is referred to as “Jevons’ paradox,” named after economist Stanley Jevons. In 1864 Jevons

pointed out “that efforts to conserve English coal by increasing the coal-use efficiency of British steam engines ended up making steam power cheaper compared to human and animal power, in the end stimulating increased coal consumption” (Manno 2002, 68).

On a national scale Jevons’s paradox is proving to be true. While the U.S. has increased the CO₂ efficiency of economic production (a decline in CO₂ intensity)⁵, still CO₂ emissions have nearly doubled between 1960 and 2003 (York 2010). So even while we’re producing less CO₂ per activity (like driving a car or generating electricity) we’re producing more CO₂ overall.

Likewise, the hypothesis of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) hoped to show a relationship between income and environment. Whereby as income increases from poor to wealthier there is an initial period of greater ecological impact followed by a decreasing ecological impact for even greater gains in wealth. Basically, the hypothesis is that higher income lifestyles result in lower environmental impact. On a national level EKC appears to be true (Dinda 2004) when measuring indicators like pollution. However, the EKC does not take into consideration ecological footprints in the form of global flows in materials and waste. For example, wealthier populations can afford to protect their surrounding areas, but withdraw resources and deposit waste in lower income areas.

Similarly, research showing the declining relationship between CO₂ emissions in high income countries is seen as a hopeful trend (M. Tucker 1995; Huang, Hwang, and Yang 2008), but calculations are problematic. Slowing the increase of GDP to CO₂ emissions at the national level does not mean that we are reducing our total carbon emissions, as carbon emissions are still increasing, nor do the calculations take into account global flows of CO₂. In fact, measuring CO₂ emissions and GDP on a national level are proving to be inaccurate. When the CO₂ emissions are based on consumption of resources and goods no matter where they are produced

⁵ Although some of the decline in intensity is due to an increase in nuclear energy (York 2010).

we see a large influx of carbon emissions into higher income countries. “On a per-capita basis, net imports of emissions to the United States, Japan, and countries in Western Europe are disproportionately large, with each individual consumer associated with 2.4–10.3 tons of CO₂ emitted elsewhere” (Davis and Caldeira 2010, 5689). Furthermore, not all research on the relationship between GDP and CO₂ emissions shows a decline in emissions or energy use with income. Researchers have found that this positive relationship between GDP and carbon emissions to be true in high income countries (Granados, Ionides, and Carpintero 2009; York 2010; Shanthini and Perera 2010; Raupach et al. 2007) and that “no region is decarbonizing its energy supply” (Raupach et al. 2007). For example, in the United States, York (2010) found that a 1% growth in GDP resulted in a 0.597% rise in CO₂ emissions. Similarly, Shanthini and Perera (2010) found that for Australia a 1% increase in per capita GDP results in a 0.7% increase in per capita CO₂ emissions.

In effect, the idea that we can maintain the status quo of consumption of goods and energy use through greater efficiency in production and consumption is unrealistic. Efficiency, or producing goods and energy with less, but allowing for current or increased rates of consumption, is the guiding idea and assumption behind ecological modernization. Efficiency also underlies the belief in technological solutions to environmental problems, i.e. that if we can just be smarter about how we produce goods and energy we can achieve sustainable levels of production and thus sustainable consumption. However, given that increasing efficiency has only, at best, slowed the growth of resource consumption, efficiency in itself is not the answer.

One answer, which runs counter to the needs of economic growth, is to reduce consumption.

However, economic growth implies increasing final consumption and does not reduce environmental pressures on the aggregate

level. Therefore, eco-efficiency strategies are insufficient en route towards sustainable development and they must be complemented with changes in consumption patterns as well as reduction of the levels of material consumption. Unfortunately, the latter not only requires personal moral commitment, but also threatens a variety of vested interests clashing with current political and economic strategies of promoting economic growth (Mont and Power 2010, conclusion).

Sufficiency sees the need for reduced consumption and as a consequence a re-thinking of our paradigms. An approach to sustainability through economic stability and sufficiency requires rethinking our economy, our institutions, and our worldviews⁶.

There are many different proposals for what an economically stable, more just, and sufficient economy might look like (Daly 1994; Magnuson 2008; Schor 2003; Daly 2005; E. Miller 2005; Coates and Leahy 2006; Seyfang 2009; Princen 2005), but these have many similarities. Alternatives take a holistic approach in understanding how people might produce, distribute, and consume goods based on real world examples. Proposed economic systems include: solidarity economics (E. Miller 2005), participatory economics (Albert and Hahnel 1991), new economics (Seyfang 2009), or the creation of a gift economy (Coates and Leahy 2006). While at first glance these ideas may seem out of reach, we can find examples of all of them already in existence. For example, a gift economy might seem unrealistic to the average American, but the reality is that we already have an industry based on the gift economy. The hi-

⁶ Dichotomizing growth versus non-growth is problematic (as all dichotomies potentially are) and there are certainly people who fall in between. For example James Gustav Speth, in his book *The Bridge at the Edge of the World*, on the one hand blames capitalism and economic growth for most of our ills, but on the other he makes generalizing statements like “I myself have no interest in socialism or centralized economic planning or other paradigms of the past” (Speth 2008, 11), sees growth and investment as the solution to inequality, and that “the creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship of business operating in a vibrant private sector are essential to designing and building the future. We will not meet our environmental and social challenges without them” (Speth 2008, 11).

tech industry has a healthy gift economy (Barbrook 2007) including products and services that people use every day such as Linux, Mozilla, Open Office, Wikipedia, and the variety of non-commercial “apps” created by people who just want to be helpful.

One conceptualization, new economics, was formed out of the 1960s and 1970s views of the human economy as dependent on the environment and social equity and “relies on a broader understanding of what we mean by *wealth*, a richer conception of *work*, new uses of *money*, and on integrating *ethics* back into economic life” (Boyle 1993, 5; emphasis in original, as cited in Seyfang 2009, 48). This articulation of new economics is useful in understanding the differences and underlying structures between a growth economy and proposals for a stable economy.

The question is what does an alternative economy, led by alternative ethics, with the goals of sustainability and justice look like? Stable economy and sufficiency advocates argue that an economic system needs to be based on the needs of the community and not for profit (*new uses of money and ethics*) (Daly 1994; E. Miller 2005; Seyfang 2009), that we need to focus on a quality of life (*wealth*) and meaningful *work* (Leonard 2010; Schor 2003), but that is based on (*ethics*) “respect for all life and natural processes” (Magnuson 2008, 407).

My work in this dissertation is part of a growing work on the sufficiency side of the efficiency-sufficiency dichotomy. In part this dissertation addresses aspects of new economics, focusing on factors that allow people or collectives of people to consume more sustainably.

Under the paradigm of efficiency, policy and practice based approaches to sustainable consumption are based largely on the belief that people, through their consumer choices, can create change for the social good. This belief or assumption about the power of individual behavior largely fits into a free-market logic (Hobson 2002). Thus, it’s better not to regulate consumption, but to educate consumers. Individual consumers have both the responsibility for

environmental woes and the ability to enact change, a belief Maniates refers to as individualization of responsibility (Maniates 2002a).

Therefore, within the logic placing responsibility on the individual, the natural outcome is to focus on educating consumers—as an educated consumer will make “correct” choices based on that new information. Thus we see a growth in social marketing (such as ads against smoking) aimed at changing behavior. However, increased education for most people does not lead to changes in behavior (Fransson and Gärling 1999; Hobson 2003) For example, when studying individuals participating in Global Action Plan (GAP) a project to encourage more environmentally friendly behavior through environmental education, Hobson (2002) found few made behavioral changes and those changes that were adopted were the easiest and cheapest—like covering a pot of boiling water and turning out the lights (Hobson 2002). In another example, Robbins (2007) found that the people most likely to spray their lawn with chemicals are also more likely to be aware of the environmental and health risks associated with it (P. Robbins 2007).

On the contrary, individuals have a limited ability to make changes on their own and are constrained by the structures around them. For example, participants in GAP felt that some of the suggestions were not realistic or even applicable to their situation, they expressed a distrust of both the information and the rationale of the program, and they felt that real solutions did not come from individual action, but from larger social change specifically addressing social inequality (Hobson 2002). In Robbins (2007) study people used lawn chemicals to fulfill expectations of what being a good neighbor means and to maintain market values of the neighborhood houses. Finally individuals who are working to reduce their consumption are limited by structural forces (Isenhour 2010b; Evans 2011).

Thus, to achieve sustainable consumption we need to address structural road blocks that deter or make impossible a change in lifestyle. Scholars of sustainable consumption argue that we need to look beyond either individual consumption choices or ecological modernization (focusing on production processes). We “need to see consumption not just as an individual's choice among goods but as a stream of choices and decisions winding its way through the various stages of extraction, manufacture, and final use, embedded at every step in social relations of power and authority” (Princen, Maniates, and Conca 2002, 14).

My dissertation research uncovers the balance between agency (as individual knowledge and practice) and structures. I examine the ways in which structures as institutions, social norms, economics, and worldviews influence processes of sustainable consumption in groups and how individuals operate within them. To understand the role of structure I worked with groups of people, living in intentional communities, who were trying to minimize their consumption.

Intentional Communities

The Fellowship for Intentional Community defines an intentional community as

a group of people who have chosen to live together with a common purpose, working cooperatively to create a lifestyle that reflects their shared core values. The people may live together on a piece of rural land, in a suburban home, or in an urban neighborhood, and they may share a single residence or live in a cluster of dwellings (Fellowship for Intentional Community 2011).

Similarly, Miller (2010) argues that in order to be considered an intentional community groups need to have four main characteristics:

1. A sense of purpose and distinctiveness, with deliberate intent to be a community
2. Some kind of shared living space
3. Some shared resources
4. Critical Mass (of at least five adults, not all of whom are related) (T. Miller 2010).

Although Intentional Communities are not a new phenomenon. Communes may have existed in China in the fifth century or even earlier in India (Zablocki 1980). In the West, the first recorded communes are thought to have occurred between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100 with the Galilean withdrawal from Roman Palestine (Zablocki 1980). In the United States over more than “three centuries there has not been a single year without at least one historically documented communitarian organization in the United States” (Zablocki 1980, 31). In the 1960s there were easily over 2,000 communes (Schehr 1997, 45), although many of these did not last. Since the 1980s we may be seeing a growing movement of intentional communities. For example in 2004 the Fellowship for Intentional Communities listed 600 intentional communities in the United States, in 2012 they listed 1,756 (FIC 2012), both are conservative numbers given that only a fraction of communities add themselves to the directory . Over the last four decades they have not only grown as a movement but have been become more sophisticated in their approaches to community building and decision making processes, advocating for social change outside of their communities (Schehr 1997) and have become more institutionalized by forming coalitions and associations, land trusts, and alternative economic systems.

Intentional Communities have been considered by researchers to be a great place for studying social phenomenon because of their small and experimental nature (Kanter 1972). Research on intentional communities in general explores these communities as critiques of mainstream culture and as areas of social experimentation. Many have written historical analysis

of American communalism such as: (Fogarty 1972; Fogarty 1990; LeWarne 1995; T. Miller 1998). However, research on intentional communities is broad and diverse and has focused on how they are built and maintained (Kanter 1972), as a tradition of American radicalism (Veysey 1973; Cornell 2011), the relationship between their built environment and social organization (Hayden 1976), collective decision making (Zablocki 1980), their critique and communal reframing of family relationships and hierarchies (Harrell 1997), their values and social structure (Zicklin 1983), as part of a new social movement (Schehr 1997), as forms of Western indigenous cultural critique (S. L. Brown 2002), as places that exhibit liminality and *communitas* (Kamau 2002), and environmentalism and sustainability (Lockyer 2010; Sennlaub 2005; Chitewere 2006; Kirby 2003; Nathan 2009).

Brown and Cameron (P. M. Brown and Cameron 2000)(Brown & Cameron 2000) have identified environmentally responsible communal groups as valuable places at which to study the phenomenon of sustainable consumption. Other research utilizes intentional communities as places in which to study alternative and potentially sustainable relationships with the environment (Anders 1990; Kirby 2003; Moos and Brownstein 1977; Chitewere 2006). Research on environmentally friendly behavior within intentional communities has shown that people living in these communal groups have been successful at changing their behavior. In a comparative study between urban and rural eco-communities in Copenhagen, Denmark found that 67% of urban community members adopted behavior that reduced their environmental impacts as a consequence of moving into an eco-community (Scheurer 2001).

However, there has been very little research specifically on the practice of sustainable consumption within intentional communities. Notable exceptions include Chitewere's research on an Ecovillage in New York (Chitewere 2006), Scheurer's research on eco-villages outside of

Copenhagen (Scheurer 2001), and Smith's research on Breitenbush (Smith 2011). My research fills this gap.

In addition, it is also very important to understand how urban populations may lower their ecological footprints. Urbanization is a global trend and it is estimated that more than 60% of the estimated world population in 2030 will live in cities (Alberti et al. 2003). Urban populations within the United States have the highest rates of consumption compared to any other population in the world. These urban centers extract resources and export waste to the global countryside (W. Rees 2000). Therefore, we need to find potential solutions to the problem of urban consumption in the United States.

My dissertation research explores the phenomenon of sustainable consumption within urban intentional communities in order to gain an understanding of successful practices and strategies that may lead to environmentally sustainable lifestyles within an urban American context. A particularly well-suited place to study sustainable consumption within urban intentional communities is Seattle, Washington. In addition to being characterized as the Voluntary Simplicity Movement's "ground zero" (Maniates 2002b), Seattle also has a vibrant and growing intentional community population. Seattle's intentional communities are groups of three to 60 people who share housing and resources and who come together with combined goals to foster community and engage in sustainable and socially-responsible livelihoods. To date there are more than 37 such groups within the city of Seattle.

Overview of the Dissertation Study

My Background

In Chapter Two I give my own account of how I came to this work. I give my own history that led me to the discipline of environmental anthropology as well as my interest in intentional communities and grassroots development. I also recount my own 10 years of experience living “in community.”

Description of the Communities

In Chapter Three I first briefly discuss the intentional communities movements in the United States and in Seattle. Then I give basic descriptions of the two communities I worked with for this dissertation research. I cover their membership, history, and basic operations.

Rates of Consumption

In Chapter Four I compare the consumption rates of the case studies to Seattle and American averages including waste, water, and automobile use. I wanted to understand whether, and to what degree, the practices of the intentional community members were sustainable. If we were to use the ecological footprint analysis as well as IPCC estimations regarding the reduction of consumption amounts, an 80% reduction in household consumption may be used as a general or rough guidepost for measuring the sustainability of their lifestyles. While community members did not reduce their consumption by 80% of national levels, they did come close. For example, on average community members drove 75% fewer automobile miles, used 70% less water, and created 66%-75% less waste than the American average.

Structure and Agency

Practice Theory tries to overcome the gap between two schools of thought: the belief that human behavior is a product of social structure versus the belief that human behavior is essentially determined by the agency of individual actors. Practice theorists such as Bourdieu, Giddens, and Ortner seek to overcome the divide. Ortner argued that practice theory, with more emphasis on human subjectivity, offers a way of understanding culture and the roles of structure and agency in social change in anthropology (Ortner 2006). Warde further suggests that practice theory is helpful in understanding consumption (Warde 2005).

All four of the analytical chapters (Chapters Five through Eight) in this dissertation deal with issues of structure and agency in different ways. Chapters Five and Six apply well-known concepts and models within practice theory and consumption research. Chapters Seven and Eight also relate to structure and agency in the creation, maintenance and evolution of common property institutions.

In chapter five I discuss the ability for communities as collectivities to create collective economies and thus self-provision in more sustainable ways. Economic systems refer to the ways in which people produce, distribute, and consume resources (including goods and services). I refer to collective economics as those developed and managed by a groups of individuals to meet their needs without financial profit for the good of the group and with larger goals for the collective good (people and the environment).

The two communities were creating and participating in collective economics. Examples include shared and affordable housing, food, household furniture and goods, hand-me-down bedroom furniture and clothing, alternative avenues for leisure, shared vehicle use for occasional or urgent use (allowing for less vehicle miles traveled). In fact, shared housing in large part

reduced their consumption and overall use of resources. Most obviously by living in a shared house these intentional communities were able to share more and need less “stuff.” For example, nine people only needed one toaster.

However, more than just sharing, these communities provide affordable living options in Seattle—a city plagued with high housing costs (even today), especially within the more walkable “smart growth” development. With a housing based on “the market” and investment even the middle class are getting priced out and having to move further from the city core which requires higher transportation costs and more carbon emissions. These communities are representative of what Matt Hern, calls “third tier” housing which includes housing cooperatives and limited or no equity housing land trust. Hern argues “third tier” housing is vital for more sustainable urban centers (Hern 2010). These communities offer affordable housing options in the city to those who wouldn’t otherwise afford it. Affordable housing for life-time activists, social workers, and non-profit sector workers is vital for their ability to live their values.

In Chapter Six I examine the role of habitus, or an alternative habitus, in allowing people to question mainstream beliefs about possibilities for different ways of life. Second I look at the role of cultural capital in creating, adopting, maintaining, and questioning tastes, new skills, and knowledge that facilitate more sustainable consumption. I argue that community members’ alternative habitus, in an alternative living space, puts them into the position of questioning their practices and collectively creating a new form of sustainable cultural capital.

Institutional Arrangements

In Chapter seven I argue that intentional communities as common property institutions adhere to Ostrom’s design principles for sustainable community governance of common-pool resources, thus expanding the range of institutions traditionally studied by common property

scholars. Second, I argue that while much of the literature on common property institutions focuses on their role in the sustainable management of natural resources, common property institutions may also have a role in maintaining sustainable lifestyles. Other research illustrates that participating in the management of common property leads its members to envision economic arrangements outside of the neoliberal capitalist “box” and may encourage more sustainable behavior. I argue that urban intentional communities offer alternatives to traditional housing and at the same time encourage members to participate and build alternative institutions and encourage more sustainable behavior.

Worldview, Structure, and Practice

In Chapter Eight I examine links between worldviews, structures and practice. In both communities the institutional arrangements, collective economics, and social practices are all informed by a very particular worldview. Primary components of this worldview are a critique of the dominant economic system, capitalism, and a belief in and value for egalitarianism, social justice, and community. My work supports other recent ethnographic research by Isenhour (2010) and Evans (2011) who found that those individuals who adopt the greatest sustainable lifestyles are primarily motivated by concern for social justice (Isenhour 2010b; Evans 2011).

Worldviews of community members influenced the way in which they approached their intentional community as an institution. These communities placed an emphasis on egalitarianism through a lack of hierarchy, consensus decision making practices, and the common property regime—all a part of their political ideology.

Political ideology is a set of beliefs around how societies (including the economy) should be governed. My research demonstrates a link between political ideology, practices, and institutional arrangements—an understudied link. A link between political ideology and

practices is also apparent in the larger population. In Gallup polls, Democrats were more likely than Republicans to be actively involved in the environmental movement, and to adopt major lifestyle changes.

While my research supports previous findings of social justice as an important motivator in adopting sustainable lifestyles, I think a radical political ideology based on direct democracy and egalitarianism may be necessary for the adoption of a more sustainable lifestyle (one that goes beyond buying “green”). Inherent in a radical political ideology includes a fundamental critique of our current political and economic systems and when acted on results in practices motivated by not harming others (such as buying used) as well as practices motivated by solidarity (such as supporting local cooperatives and social justice organizations through political actions and consumption practices).

Second Homes (Vacation Home) Development

In Chapter Nine I share research from my interdisciplinary team research in urban ecology. We examined the processes of second home development in two counties in Washington State. Using both spatial and qualitative analysis we demonstrate the second home owners develop housing near sensitive land such as shoreline and along undeveloped state land. In the process second home owners are driving development and creating negative environmental and social impacts. However, second home owners and urban intentional communities fall on opposite ends of the housing spectrum. Second home owners have a greater housing footprint in terms of space, travel, and resources use.

Methods

Case studies

I decided to select communities that had some shared environmental values. Second I, also wanted to use communities that had some degree of ownership rights to their property. There are many rental communities in the Seattle area, some of which have been around since the 1970s and 1980s. However, I wanted to find communities that had some sense of permanence and ownership that would allow them to have more control over how the structure of the house was maintained and how the grounds were used. Third, I wanted to use communities that were integrated into other community networks and organizations and that were looked favorably on by other communities.

The communities I selected, Rojo and Violeta, met the criteria. The communities I selected were both organizationally linked to other communities—Rojo through the Federation of Egalitarian Communities and Violeta through the Puget Sound Land Trust. In addition both communities were members of the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA) as well as the Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC), an international organization.

Originally, I was also planning to include a co-housing development in my research. Co-housing communities are larger intentional communities based on having a number individual family units (condo, townhouse, or single family house) combined with a number of common spaces such as a large industrial kitchen, dining rooms, meeting rooms, guest rooms, office, work rooms, and children's play areas. Co-housing communities are generally large—with possibly 10-25 families. I did court two different co-housing communities in the Seattle area, conducting some interviews and attending a few meetings and events. However, I was never able to gain complete consensus from those communities to conduct research. In both cases a small

percentage of members were uncomfortable with my presence. I think in part this was due to the larger populations of people compared with Rojo and Violeta. However, co-housing communities are yet another option for the community-minded. A few members of my study have since moved into co-housing.

Participant Observation and Interviews

“The foundation of anthropological research,” participant observation, involves placing oneself within a community in order to observe and write about social activities from an emic⁷ perspective (Bernard 1988) and is a “means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects” (Dewalt et al 1998) of culture. Participant observation 1) facilitates data collection of intimate social events and dynamics, 2) reduces the problem of reactivity, 3) helps to formulate culturally appropriate questions, and 4) helps in understanding the meaning of a researcher’s observations (Bernard 1988).

I did not live at either community, although I did spend a few nights at each in order to gain better insight. My original intent was to spend one to two weeks a month at each community, coming to the community daily during that time frame to conduct participant observation and interviews. While I did not formally live in the communities, I was granted unlimited access to both communities and I could come and go as I pleased. I was also integrated into the labor systems of both communities and assisted in a range of jobs and work projects on a monthly basis.

I conducted semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were based on an interview guide. The interview guide included a range of open ended

⁷ An emic perspective is to have an “understanding of cultural representations from the point of view of the native of the culture” Barfield T, ed. 1997. *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pg. 148.

questions and interviews both consisted of structured questions from the interview guide as well as further topics of importance to the interviewee or tangential but relevant topics that emerged.

In practice I quickly learned that my intention of focusing concentrated amounts of time over consecutive days in each community was not going to work. The main reason it didn't work is that not all members were available for an interview during my "chosen" week. I had to be more flexible, so I tried to arrange interview times over the period of a month that worked with our mutual schedules.

Secondly, if I did show up at the house randomly for participant observation it was frequently the case that no one was at home and I would find myself alone. I quickly learned that I needed to make sure I was at the community during times people would be there. These times included monthly meetings, work parties, helping someone with labor, dinners, committee meetings, and "fun" events such as birthday dinners or parties. So, in practice I was in and out of each community throughout the month scheduled around interviews, labor, or tasks.

Analysis

I analyzed interview and ethnographic notes in Atlas TI 6.2. I took detailed notes and audio recorded all interviews and meetings. During participant observations I either jotted down notes which I filled in later, didn't take notes at all, or in some cases I took notes and audio recorded during participant observation—for example if I was "hanging out" in the kitchen or helping cook dinner. I took very detailed notes but did not transcribe all of the interviews. Some interviews were fully transcribed, otherwise sections of interviews that were important to my analysis were transcribed. Interviews were uploaded into Atlas TI 6.2 in a few ways. Full transcriptions of interviews, typed notes of interviews, meetings, or ethnographic notes in Word were included as a primary document. For other interviews and some ethnographic notes I

scanned the notes and incorporated the individual images of each page or in some cases a .pdf. When transcribing sections of the interview, I either transcribed into the text document or as a memo attached to the image of the interview. Interviews were coded based on themes and almost all content was coded. In most cases I used hierarchal levels of codes. For example, all demographic and background information including stories of childhood were coded with a higher level code of “background” and then I coded each type of background information separately, for example “education” or “religion.”

Thus sections of interviews had multiple codes which allowed me to search and find all related content on a particular topic quickly. For example, in interviews I asked a series of questions on environmental and social values as well as conceptualizations of nature and the environment. I coded the answers to each question as “question 4” or “question 5,” but then also coded the content as “environmental values.” Whenever interview content related to environmental values I also used the code “environmental values.” Then, in Atlas TI I could search all of the interviews for the code “environmental values.”

I discuss my methods for measuring rates of consumption in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2: My Background

As an undergraduate I was interested in the relationship of people and nature—how did and do people relate to the environment? How do people use other species and how do those other species use us? What kind of environmental problems were we really causing? Were the proposed solutions only another part of the problem? Thinking that biology had the answers for me I signed up. It wasn't until I took an anthropology class on human ecology that I started to get some of the answers I was seeking and immediately changed my major.

As an undergraduate I never found “my community” and felt alienated. I was at times more radical or more conservative than the other students I met. I was critical of U.S. policies both foreign and domestic (especially international development), but also critical of the environmental movement with its internal infighting and its external focus on what I considered to be non-holistic solutions. I also felt like I was collateral damage of the racial divisions on campus—being a Mexican American who didn't speak Spanish I felt unwelcome at all Spanish speaking Latino meetings, I was too white for the African-American groups, but didn't quite fit in with Anglo-Americans either.

In my final year at school I encountered two communities of people with whom I identified. First was the student food co-op on campus that served as a hub for activism as well as an alternative food source and economic structure to the rest of campus. The food co-op was/is student run with a democratic structure and allowed students to volunteer making sandwiches in order to receive a free meal. The second community I fell in with was the student run recycling center on campus, students who collected, sorted, and found sources for the recyclable materials on campus. This was also a democratically run organization. I was hired and managed by other students. I drove a truck and picked up recycling on campus, I sorted

recyclables with the help of machines and worked side by side with men doing heavy lifting.

Both of these examples helped to solidify my perceptions that communities of people could do things for themselves with the support of governing structures.

My senior year I conducted ethnographic work that would also have a profound effect on my personal and academic life. As part of a class project I went “into the field” to study a group of straight edge punks called “Positive Force.” This was a group of young people—teens and twenty-somethings—doing activist work: setting up punk shows (for both larger names and local bands) in order to raise money for local organizations, volunteering to assist poor and homeless populations, and spreading knowledge about environmental responsibility and veganism. Positive Force also rented a house where many of its members lived and which served as a hub of information and activity around all kinds of social issues. Positive Force was a grassroots and democratic organization that empowered young people to tackle huge projects. Its members were encouraged to follow through and take the lead on ideas that they had for a wide range of activities including organizing, activism, and writing and printing “zines” as a way of sharing knowledge and creating non-profit endeavors, like a punk record label.

All three examples opened my eyes to the wider application of DIY (Do It Yourself) communities around social justice, environmental action and community building—all of which I was interested in pursuing personally and as a career choice. Academically, I was interested in gaining further understanding about the relationship between people and the environment. I saw a brochure on the University of Georgia’s graduate program in Ecological Anthropology and knew that was what I wanted to do.

After college and getting married I put both my career and activism on hold. However, I worked at a number of interesting jobs that would also be formative for me. I worked in Mexico

City helping small businesses in the United States and Mexico connect. I worked at “Biosphere 2” as a “science management intern” on a project to understand the impacts of climate change on agriculture. I was first a substitute teacher and then a student teacher within the Tucson school district and taught in High Schools where student population was predominately Mexican-American. I was an executive assistant with some of the largest corporations in the world—giving me an introductory course in business. I worked on GIS projects for the census and the city of Seattle.

After a separation from my first husband I decided to go back to some of my roots in community building and DIY endeavors. Since working with Positive Force I had always been interested in living in what I thought of as an activist community (or commune), but had never experienced living communally. I found a community in Tucson called the Spadefoot Co-op, went through their membership process and moved in. This is where I had the “communal experience” for the first time and found that collective work gave me a high (what might be referred to as a sense of “communitas”). The Spadefoot Co-op was a 20-25 person community with about 19 people living in the house and another handful participating with food sharing. Meals were shared almost every night and one of my jobs was to cook dinner one night a week. Within this community I also had my first real experience engaging with a diversity of artists as well as participating in activities that resembled culture jamming--such as setting up the “living room” outside to watch movies.

At the Spadefoot Co-op I began to learn about the history, networks, and the number of housing cooperatives and intentional communities in this country. The Spadefoot Co-op was a member of NASCO (North American Students of Cooperation), a large national organization that owns a number of student cooperatives and holds a membership base of cooperatives

throughout the country. NASCO, based in Ann Arbor, Michigan, also offered training sessions in cooperative living which a few Spadefoot members attended—returning with skills and knowledge to the rest of the community.



Figure 1 Some members of the Spadefoot Co-op in front of the house, I am on the bottom left

Living there I was able to learn about a range of communities and communal experiences. Many people at Spadefoot had lived in other communities and we also hosted people from other communities at our house. It is common for people living in intentional communities to stay in other communities when they travel. Through relationships I developed at Spadefoot I was also able to visit communities in other places.

However, I also experienced the downside of community living—conflict. At its extreme, I saw the power of conflict to divide and break up a community. I moved out of this community due to conflict and saw other people struggle with the same issues. It took years after I moved out for the community to resolve that particular issue and I learned that the best solution to conflict is preparation (through policy and written expectations) and process. The Spadefoot Co-op eventually ended for a couple of reasons. First, as happens with many communities renting property, the owner decided she wanted the use of the house for herself. At that time the members of the Spadefoot Co-op were seeking to relocate and potentially purchase

another property. However, there was unfortunate conflict within the community. While the community had saved thousands of dollars to either buy or rent another house for the community, the money had “disappeared” at the end and it was feared that a derelict sub-group had stolen the money. The community disbanded soon after.

A few years later I had moved to Seattle and was eager to try community living again. I moved into the Sherwood Co-op in Seattle, a student co-op which at that time included a mix of undergraduate and graduate students. The Sherwood Co-op got its start in the 1930s with a number of other student cooperatives associated with the University of Washington. These cooperatives were originally owned by a student run organization called the Student Cooperative Association (SCA). Unfortunately, all of the houses were sold in the late 1950s (<http://dailyuw.com/2001/5/16/cooperative-housing-puts-students-in-charge/>). After the SCA houses were sold, the Sherwood Co-op persisted as a rental house—subsequently renting two houses consecutively over 40 years.

I moved into the community in 1999 while the house was still renting and moved out in 2001. There were 13 bedrooms and 13 members. Rent fell around \$150.00 not including food—a super cheap find. Meetings were run by consensus. The house was vegetarian but practically vegan. We purchased mostly organic, whole foods (food without processing) from a local co-op.

While I had learned to cook for large groups of people at the Spadefoot Co-op, it was at Sherwood where I began to learn more of the art of cooking in general (and vegan cooking specifically) from a number of people including a natural foods chef who also lived in the house. I was one of the shoppers for the house, buying food for the large group. It was through the house that I got involved with the WTO protests—we housed community members from other areas of the country coming to Seattle to protest.

Through living at Sherwood, I learned about a number of other communities in the area. There were a few other rental communities within about a 15 minute walk that we had some relationship with. I met many people who wanted to live in community⁸ but didn't know how to find one and I learned of communities that needed members but didn't know how to find them. So, I was interested in creating an organization that would bring Seattle area communities together, be a resource for people interested in community, assist in the creation of other communities, and help us all to purchase our homes. I found a number of like-minded individuals (one of whom also lived at Sherwood) and we started CLOSe (Cooperative Living of Seattle) in 1999. We advertised our meetings and were surprised to find a full living room at our meeting times. We had big goals and no budget. In addition to those goals mentioned we were also interested in creating a website and housing board (which we did), creating a collective to share food (which happened years later through another organization), and coming together to obtain health insurance as a group.

So when Sherwood's landlord of almost 30 years decided to sell the house, it felt natural to me that we purchase the house. I stepped in and took a leadership role in finding a way for the community to buy the house. Significantly, this was the year I started graduate school—pursuing my dream of completing a graduate degree in environmental anthropology. Though the project took most of my time and energy, I had the support of some professors. It was through the experience of trying to purchase the house that I realized a number of issues faced by intentional communities—lack of ability to get bank loans, ideological differences between our

⁸ The phrase “in community” is used frequently by members living in community. It is used in part to identify oneself with the communities movement. Some people use the phrase as a salutation in a letter or e-mail. As a salutation it is a sign of solidarity with others in community or is used emphasize the value of being part of a greater community with others in the movement.

community and other organizations (including NASCO), and the difficulty (almost inability) to act quickly by relying on consensus.

Personally, I also learned a valuable lesson about social change—that not everyone is in favor of change. While it may be common knowledge, I was surprised to encounter resistance to change within the leftist, activist population in our house. While there was a core group of people in the community who believed in the project to purchase the house, a number of people were opposed to ownership. Arguments against buying the house included a belief that students couldn't own and manage a property on their own, that no one would live in the house with significantly higher rent (it would increase five-fold), and that we wouldn't find enough people (half the house was planning on graduating), that student housing was too transitional (meaning there wasn't enough institutional memory), that we should find another rental, or that we should buy a different house. It was a struggle to keep going. My perspective (and that of a core group within the house) was that we should buy the house even if it meant starting a “new community,” and that because we had lived in the house for so long we had as good a chance as we ever would to purchase. I felt as if I was under constant attack by people who did not agree with the purchase or who did not want to move so quickly.

Through this processes I met many people involved in organizing intentional communities at both the local and national level. I talked with banks that specialized in lending money to communities—including the National Cooperative Bank. I talked with folks at NASCO and their associated development team⁹, I talked with local community people including NICA (the Northwest Intentional Communities Association), PSLT (the Evergreen Community Land Trust), Homestead Land Trust and learned about a plethora of other intentional

⁹ I spent many hours talking with Jim Jones, the Director of Development at NASCO and learned that he stayed in Sherwood for the World's Fair in 1962. Sherwood was the first community he had ever stayed in.

communities in the area that either rented or owned their own homes. I was also contacted by a number of people interested in starting or joining a community. For a while I felt like a magnet for such people. I hadn't realized before how much interest was out there for community. But more importantly I hadn't realized how much infrastructure existed to support communities—banks, land trusts, membership organizations, periodicals, websites—all under the radar of mainstream society.

In the end Sherwood wasn't able to secure a bank loan to purchase the house. We had great finances but were denied a loan because 1) we were a non-profit and the banks felt they wouldn't be able to foreclose due to potential community outrage, 2) there were no statistics on the risk to the banks, 3) if we were to get a loan it would be at the business rate of 13%. However, as luck would have it, our real estate agent (and fellow communitarian) was a personal friend of the owner. So with our real estate agent's connection and the sympathy of the owner for our plight we were able to get owner financing. In addition, we got a secondary loan (for a down payment) from a person of yet another local intentional community where one of our members had grown up—yet another community connection. For my work in purchasing Sherwood I won an award—I was selected to be in the NASCO Hall of Fame.



Figure 2 Old and new members and friends in the Sherwood Living Room in 2000, I am on the bottom right

After we purchased the house the majority of members moved out--I think there were really only two of us who stayed the next fall. It was a scary time—would we find members? Would we be able to pass on the institutional memory? We also had more work to do: we had to do some remodeling; we started the processes of joining a local land trust, the Evergreen Land Trust (ELT); and we needed to secure a bank loan, as the owner had given us a five-year time limit for a balloon payment. By September (seven months after the purchase of the house) we had ten new members. Then the sewage line broke—of course—and there was no water and raw sewage in the basement. There was a defining moment later that night. Everyone was sitting at the table and we were planning what had to be done. Because there was no water everyone decided joyously to go out and brush their teeth together in the front yard—somehow I knew then that everything would be alright. That year was difficult, but we made it. At the end of the year I moved out---exhausted, in need of a break. Since I had such a huge role in the house I also wanted to pass on all the responsibility, in part because I felt I needed to make space for others to take ownership of the project. The house is still alive and doing well--years later the house officially joined PSLT and the owner re-financed her loan.

The summer after we purchased Sherwood I had my first stint in the field. I traveled to northern México to find a dissertation field site and to do some pre-dissertation research¹⁰. I visited two different *ejidos* in the state of San Luis Potosí—where some of my family originated. *Ejidors* are common property institutions, managed by the community. They were formed as part of the land reform promise of the Mexican Revolution in the early 1900s. Not only were the *ejidos* I studied common property systems, but the communities living on them had also started

¹⁰ I spent the previous summer in Chiapas and with family in Monterrey, México becoming practically fluent in Spanish—a skill which has unfortunately disintegrated since.

cooperatives—a food cooperative, a women’s cooperative making soaps and salves, and a cooperative to process some of the food produced on the *ejido* for sale in México and the United States. I was holding true to my interest in communal systems and self-governance. However, while I was in Mexico a number of things happened. First, I met with a number of Mexican anthropologists both formally and informally. I was told that anthropology is a very popular major for Mexican undergrads and that many Mexican anthropologists work with Mexican populations (the same is not true in the United States). Second, I met a number of well-meaning Mexican social scientists and Mexican development workers who were working to “modernize” rural farmers. There were already a number of folks working with the communities I visited. Third, these communities were pretty remote and neither had a wired phone system (although some residents had cell phones). One community was an easy one hour bus ride to a major city. The other community was even further away—one harrowing Land Rover ride over a mountain--using an unpaved road created through a process of blasting open the side of a mountain (I learned it was more comfortable to travel standing on the bumper instead of inside the cap)--followed by a two hour bus ride to get to a major city. How would I live? How would my partner live? Fourth, as a Mexican American (my dad moved from Mexico when he was 13) I always felt like returning to Mexico was like returning home—I could relax, I could fit in. I contemplated getting Mexican citizenship (a number of bureaucrats suggested it would be easier for me to do research with Mexican citizenship). However, as I started to get to know the system—interviewing government agents, talking with folks at the university, finding government maps and learning how water rights were distributed--I realized that I wasn’t as connected with the country as I had previously thought. I hadn’t gone through the school

system, I didn't understand how the government worked, and so forth. I really believed that the work in Mexico should be left to the people who lived there.

All those issues got me re-thinking about another one of my research interests—consumption. I had always thought that consumption was the elephant in the living room. Graduate school had only confirmed this opinion. I also knew that intentional communities were completely overlooked by mainstream media and researchers but that they were a major social force in many American cities. So I decided to look at intentional communities as places to study consumption, or more precisely, environmentally responsible consumption. Consequently, these communities would also fulfill two more desires—to do research in the United States and to “study up” (Nader 1972). When I got back to the United States I changed my research focus (not without some regret).

That fall I moved out of Sherwood and also entered into a second graduate program—the Urban Ecology Program which sought to study the interactions between people and ecological systems. This was an interdisciplinary and experimental Ph.D. program funded as part of the National Science Foundation's Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship (IGERT) program to develop more effective ways to train Ph.D. students with interdisciplinary training (www.igert.org). The Urban Ecology Program sought to train students in interdisciplinary team work to research urban ecological issues to help find solutions to problems.

I was assigned to a team of graduate students from different disciplines tasked to propose, conduct, and write about an urban ecological problem of practical importance to local planners and organizations. My team was composed of myself from anthropology and others from urban planning, social forestry, and wildlife sciences. Our goal was to use an interdisciplinary and

multi-method approach to tackle a problem while using the consensus method to make decisions. We decided to focus on the issue of second home development as this was a topic, as a group, we were most intrigued by.

This experience fit well into my values of community and democratic decision making as well as the practice of being transdisciplinary and thinking “outside of the box.” I thrived in the collaborative atmosphere.

After moving out of Sherwood, I lived for a year in an apartment with my partner, Rob. We created a community around us and frequently shared meals with a number of friends and neighbors. However, I was still connected to the idea of community. I was asked to be on the board of the PSLT and worked with a Sherwood member and another PSLT board member to create the trust documents for the Sherwood Co-op’s entry into PSLT. One problem that was a consistent topic of conversation was the lack of ability to obtain loans below the commercial rate of 13%. One idea discussed in PSLT board meetings as well as less formally with other members of intentional communities was to create a community bank. This bank would generate a pot of money through both housing the savings accounts of community members and offering low or no interest loans to communities in need either for remodeling or purchasing property.

The issue of money (or lack of capital) is pervasive within intentional communities. The PSLT board was not the only group floating ideas around. Like many ideas that were/are floated around within the communities movement, the idea of a community bank has taken a while to take seed. Many of the ideas from CLOSe have come to fruition as the right people hear about it and act on those ideas bringing along their own flavor. The idea of a community bank is not a new one, but the application of a community bank for Seattle area communities would be.

After a year of living on our own, my partner and I decided to move into a community together. For my part I felt the pull of community living—I wanted to live in close proximity with other like-minded people. In addition, I would be starting field work soon within Seattle intentional communities, and while I felt it wouldn't be practical to live in the communities I studied I wanted at least to live in another one. My partner wanted to experience living in community for himself—at least for a time. We chose a community based on our need for space for Rob's music equipment, our desire for children, as well as our need for a measure of autonomy. So we moved into PRAG House, a.k.a. either the People's Revolutionary Action Group or the Provisional Revolutionary Action Group, depending on the context.

PRAG House was established in 1972, purchased by a group of mostly faculty and grad students at the University of Washington to establish a commune based on ecological living. The community also created PSLT and placed the house into the trust—taking the house off the market to provide affordable housing and maintain a space for the growth of a community dedicated to leading the charge toward sustainability. It was hoped that the land trust would facilitate the interaction of rural/agricultural areas and urban communities. The community then purchased a farm of sorts named Pragtrees Farm north of Seattle where they could grow food and commune with nature. The PSLT is managed by a board of trustees made up of representatives from each community as well as “At Large” members from outside of PSLT.

When Rob and I moved in PRAG House, the community included 11 adults and one child. The ages of the adults ranged from the late twenties to late fifties. The house was actually a mansion built in the early 1900s. As at the Spadefoot Co-op and Sherwood food was shared collectively, but unlike Sherwood there were very few communal meals. Meetings were held once a month and decisions were made by modified consensus, that is, if one person disagreed

with a proposal it would still pass, but if two people disagreed a proposal would fail. House labor was shared by the members—with the exception that we paid someone to clean common areas of the house once a week, which alleviated a lot of discussion regarding divergent standards of cleanliness and created discussions around all of the implications of having someone clean the house for us.

Living at PRAG was challenging for me in a number of ways. First, being a graduate student in community was challenging. I probably spent about 20 hours working for the community a month and another 20 hours socializing and processing relationships with other community members. Second, as I started to conduct my fieldwork I met with another challenge—too many meetings. I was required to attend most PRAG meetings and while we technically had only one main meeting a month there were a number of other types of meetings—committee meetings, retreats, retreat preparation meetings, new membership meetings, special or emergency meetings. In addition there were also other time sensitive obligations such as work parties, birthday parties, house dinners or meetings with potential house members over conflicts or mis-communication. I was also one of the food shoppers at PRAG, which meant I had to make a grocery list, shop, put food away, and keep track of the food budget once a week. For a house of 12 + people (with guests and the occasional sublet) this was no easy task.

My obligations at PRAG were similar to the obligations of community members where I was conducting field work. I had a very complex schedule with many time conflicts as I was also trying to regularly interview the community members in this study and attend most of their major community events such as work parties, meetings, dinners, birthdays, etc., all the while

trying to meet my own community and graduate student obligations in the urban ecology program.

Through my experiences living in communities I saw many positive and challenging aspects of community living. On the positive side there was the experience of consensus decision making, participating in communal work projects, feeling empowered to start new projects as an activist or fix problems within the community, sharing food and labor, and simply having people around to “hang” with and learn from. I also learned about the power of direct communication, conflict resolution processes, as well as the power of community documents in making community life less conflicted.

However, there were downsides. The first is conflicts over values. It’s difficult to navigate multiple personalities and the personal baggage of others as well as your own. When living in close proximity with others—sharing a kitchen and bathrooms with 10-13 other people—you can’t easily get away. Privacy is an issue. To some extent it is valuable and necessary to share your most private concerns with the community. However what if there isn’t the trust or relationship there to make sharing safe?

I had two miscarriages while living in community. During my first miscarriage I didn’t share what was happening with everyone, but I also withdrew from my obligations and felt that I wanted privacy to get through the emotional and physical pain of losing a baby. But living with a number of other people under the same roof means you can’t just withdraw or have real privacy (you need to at least let people know what’s going on). Furthermore, if you don’t share what’s happening in your life, people won’t know to give you space. I remember having to go into the kitchen for some water while literally going through a long process of miscarrying. In the kitchen I was confronted by a housemate about why I hadn’t ordered the coffee that week

(we ordered our coffee from a local roaster who delivered to our house). I ended up just telling the individual I was miscarrying and the individual volunteered to order the coffee for me. The interaction in the kitchen was not the ideal time or place to share something so painful and private (not unlike sharing this whole story in my dissertation!). However, I feel this example is important because it speaks to the inability of people living in community to maintain private lives. When someone is going through any kind of emotional or physical problems individuals living in community just don't have the ability to keep things to themselves. More to the point, keeping things to yourself often causes rifts or conflict. During my second miscarriage I did tell the community what I was going through and explained I wanted as much privacy as possible. As a result, some housemates were hurt and felt it was wrong of me to isolate myself. Community members, myself included, join community to share our lives—problems included. However, I learned that there were times when I did not want to share or was not ready to share, which, given the environment can also be problematic.

I think my experiences in community were both an asset and a disadvantage for my research. Because I was familiar with community and had developed a number of community connections I gained easier access to the communities and their members as research participants. I had established relationships with both Rojo and Violeta five or six years before I started my fieldwork. I met Ryder, the founder of Rojo, at a Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC) meeting held at the now dissolved “Jolly Ranchers” community in Seattle around 1998 when I first moved to Seattle. In 1998 I lived in a shared house with some friends—the house had been previously used by a community—and was interested in finding some form of cooperative housing or intentional community to move into. I was lucky that the FEC meeting happened to be in Seattle (most FEC member communities are on the east coast)

and that I had been invited to attend. Looking back I am astounded that I, a stranger at the time, was able to attend. I met Ryder and his partner Raine through our work with CLOSe. At the time Ryder and Raine were living in a more informal community and contemplating a move into Rojo. When CLOSe was active we held a gathering at Rojo where I spent most of the day (and night) in their kitchen making ice cream. When I was looking for a place to live after Sherwood my partner and I decided to apply to Rojo. However, we decided early into the application process that it wasn't the best place for us.

I had visited Violeta a number of times from 2000-2002. This was the period that I was working at finding funding for Sherwood as well as working with the community to transition ourselves from renting to owning. Violeta at that time had these open house sessions to discuss community living and community building and answer questions about their community. In particular I had many conversations with Vance about our issues at Sherwood, his community and PSLT.

My community experience was also an asset because I already understood how many intentional communities functioned. I knew how communities made decisions and knew how to propose the research in the first place—I knew I needed to get on their meeting agenda by gaining the support of at least one member, I knew I would need to present my research to the community at a meeting, and I knew it would take at least a total of two or three meetings to get an answer. As I interviewed and conducted participant observation I had a general idea as to what would be acceptable behavior (although I would learn the nuances of each community later)—what kind of labor I could contribute that would be valuable to them, how to “hang out” during meals or in common spaces, etc.

My previous experience allowed me to identify with the joys and tribulations of community living. When people expressed or I observed the thrill of working as a group or solving a problem collectively I had experienced similar emotions. I knew why people wanted to eat more meals together and why they worked so hard to clear their calendars for community events. When I walked into an empty house at dinner time (also a frequent occurrence) I knew that living in an urban community also meant having a busy schedule with friends, events and meetings fitting those activities into days or times when there weren't structured events in the community.

I also could understand the hardships that people sometimes had in communities. When a woman described the community as taking up too much "brain space," I knew what she meant—the needs or problems of the community could be ever present in your mind. Even when you were trying to relax or work you might be thinking of how to solve a problem or about a conflict with another member. I could understand some of the difficulty couples had in community with maintaining their relationship and how to establish and maintain separate relationships with house members and the community as a whole. I could also understand the issues some had about breaking some house norms—wanting to eat food that may not be acceptable to the rest of the community or trying to explain why you didn't want to put on a happy face in the morning.

On the other hand I also imagine that being familiar with community life also hindered my research. For example, I think I may have made assumptions about certain kinds of behavior or activities in community. Or I think that without the prior experience I would have asked more questions, and this may have led to interesting conversations about some of those activities I may have taken for granted.

Altogether I lived in intentional communities—urban intentional communities—for almost 10 years, over ¼ of my life so far. I know that community life is not for everyone. It may not even be the life for me. I am currently living with my partner and my daughter in a single family home. However, I think there are many practices within communities that may help the larger society into building community in their neighborhoods as well as adopting more ecologically sound and socially just practices. Interestingly I have found that some community practices such as direct communication and labor policies are helpful in single family life as well.

Chapter 3: Description of the Communities

Intentional Communities

In the last 40 years Seattle has been home to a consistent and perhaps growing number of collective households that display some kind of intentionality beyond just group living. Violeta and Rojo, the two communities highlighted in this dissertation, were established in 1976 and 1996 respectively. Both communities are rooted in the local and national communities movement.

The Intentional Communities movement is an international effort to foster community through interpersonal connections (social capital) and to facilitate the creation of alternative economies, housing options, educational reforms, and livelihood strategies. This is a broad movement with organizations at the international, national, and local levels. Each community has some overarching theme that brings unrelated individuals together with an intention to live accordingly, such as a religious cause, to overcome the alienation of modern life in the formation of community, or to live by the values of social justice and environmentalism. “Intentional Community” is a relatively new term for what has been previously referred to as communal or utopian settlements.

While communal settlements in the United States have historically been quite large—from the hundreds to the thousands—current Intentional Communities are small, family style communities with populations ranging from 5 to 50. Communal activity in the United States has been a consistent theme within American life since the 1600s (LeWarne 1995, Miller 1998). Miller (1998) argues that “at no point since the early eighteenth century...has America been without communes...Indeed, it is entirely possible that communitarianism has grown rather than

dwindled with the passage of years in both numbers of communal sites and in membership.” (p xii)

The Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC) (1940-1961 and 1986-present) (Miller 1998) maintains a directory of contemporary communities. In June of 2012 the FIC directory contained 1,756 U.S. communities in their directory (FIC 2012). However, to be listed in the directory communities must also be registered with the FIC and pay annual dues. As a consequence, 1,756 communities is a conservative number representing only a fraction of the actual number of Intentional Communities. For example, although seventeen Seattle communities are registered with the FIC, I have found at least 37 within the city of Seattle alone and I believe there may be as many as many as 60.

While communal settlements have been part of American life for the last 300 years, today’s intentional communities are more sophisticated than their predecessors. Many previous communities lacked the sophistication necessary for maintaining themselves as an organization with a cohesive social structure that current communities have mastered (Schehr 1997). For example communities have developed and refined their internal processes: they have created legal documents including working with Federal non-profit statuses, membership processes, developed conflict resolution processes such as communication styles and mediation, and they have established methods of consensus decision making. Knowledge of alternative processes is passed on to other communities through gatherings and classes as well as through local and national publications. Communities have also begun to organize and institutionalize both within and outside of the movement. As an example many communities hold classes for the general public on organic farming, sustainable forestry, and permaculture; they host local community events and have created and funded social and environmental organizations. One of the most

well known examples is *Habitat for Humanity*, an international organization dedicated to providing homes to low income families, which got its start at Koinonia Farm, an intentional community in Georgia (Koinonia 2012).

Some communities have formed inter-community and activist networks in which they share information and resources in order to strengthen and grow the ICM as an alternative lifestyle and institutional framework within mainstream society. For example, at the national level the Federation for Intentional Communities (FIC) provides a directory of communities, workshops, conferences, and a periodical.

At the local level the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA) provides a newsletter, conferences, and a way for local communitarians to network in the Pacific Northwest. NICA was formed in 1992 by a coalition of Intentional Communities, including Seattle EOICs (Northwest_Intentional_Communities_Association 2004). Both Rojo and Violeta are members of NICA.

There are also groups of intentional communities in the Seattle area that have collectively organized in order to take advantage of an “economy of scale” by both collective purchasing and dumpster diving (searching through the dumpsters of grocery stores, other retailers, and institutions for food and other goods) for food and household goods. These include Cooperative Living of Seattle (CLOSe)—which I helped to found in 2000 and which operated through 2001—along with the Collective of Collectives, operating from 2005 through this writing in 2012, and The Community Pantry operating from 2004-2010.

Seattle Area Communities

The first intentional communities in Seattle to my knowledge were established in 1936 at the University of Washington by the Students’ Cooperative Association (SCA). The SCA owned

8 houses in Seattle’s University District (Hostetler 2001)¹¹ which provided housing and other resources for students at the University of Washington. In the 1950s these houses were sold and only one of these communities, the Sherwood Cooperative, continued by renting two different houses through 2001 (Hostetler 2001) when they re-purchased a house.

One famous SCA member and founder, Robert C. Scott, went on to help found Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound in 1946 (UW Libraries Special Collections 2007). The Group Health Cooperative is now an established health care provider in the region providing health care for state employees. Scott’s work helps to demonstrate a connection between the knowledge and belief in alternatives, and creating them (which I will discuss in Chapter Five).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was considerable national growth in the cooperative movement. Nationally groups such as the Movement for a New Society (MNS) started a number of collectives based on Quaker and anarchist principles of pacifism, consensus, and social change (Cornell 2011). In Seattle during the 1970s the Seattle Liberation Front (SLF), affiliated with the national group, the Weatherman, a radical group which organized against the Vietnam war, started many collective households in Seattle¹² (S. Stern and Browder 2007). A smaller but more well known group called the “Seattle Seven,” included Jeff Dowd, who recently received renewed fame after being the inspiration for the character of the “Dude” in the Cohen brothers film, *The Big Lebowski*¹³.

In the 1970s a group called the “People’s Revolutionary Action Group” (PRAG) collectively purchased a house and subsequently incorporated as a community land trust and

¹¹ I met a woman at a conference who had written a paper on the Student Cooperative Association, but I don’t have it. I think that Sherwood has a copy or else I need to get the paper from her.

¹² I am working on a citation for this reference most likely from the 1975 book by Susan Stern “With the Weathermen”.

¹³ Jeff Dowd hung out a lot at PRAG in the 1970s—I heard many stories. However, I also met other members of the Seattle 7 while living at PRAG as they would occasionally visit for specific events.

added four more communities to the trust (Evergreen_Land_Trust 2004). A number of other Seattle communities also formed in the 1970s, including Violeta, and a number of which are still operating today.

A famous PRAG member is, Nick Licata, a current Seattle City Council Member. He helped to start the land trust and lived in PRAG until about 2002. He recently wrote an article in Communities Magazine about his experience in community and how the lessons learned from community help him in public office (Licata 2008).

Introducing the Case Studies

I have identified at least five institutional types of Intentional Communities in Seattle: 1) Co-housing which is characterized by clustered single family condominiums or townhouses with shared communal areas for cooking and gathering; 2) houses or buildings owned by an organization made up of resident members; 3) houses or buildings owned by a land trust; 4) houses owned by one or two community members renting to the rest of the community; and 5) rental properties in which residents are renting from a landlord who does not live at the property. In addition to the purpose of facilitating community, other purposes in these communities are based in one or more of the following values and beliefs: religious beliefs, activism, social justice, and environmentalism.

I chose to work with two Seattle communities. Both communities resided in what might be called traditional single family housing—sharing a kitchen, common rooms, with a number of bedrooms. Both houses have non-traditional ownership. Violeta is owned by a community land trust and community members have a 99—year lease to live on and steward the property. Rojo was purchased by a group of members but is legally owned by one individual. Rojo and the owner have written documents specifying that the title of the property will transfer to Rojo once

the community is ready—either by establishing their own organization or a new community land trust.

A land trust is a non-profit organization that holds title (or easements) to and maintains stewardship over real property (land and/or improvements on that land). There are two main types of land trusts being used in the United States—conservation land trusts and community land trusts. Conservation land trusts protect what might be considered green space or environmentally sensitive land including agricultural land. Community land trusts protect what might be considered community assets, including low-income housing, community gardens and farms, and intentional communities. Once real property has been “donated” to a land trust it is then difficult (although not impossible) for the land trust to sell the property.

I classify both communities as common property regimes, which I discuss in detail in Chapter Seven. These communities maintain rights to the property and make collective decisions regarding the stewardship of the property as well as the management of the collective.

Description of Rojo

Community History

This community was founded in 1996 as an egalitarian community. In 1996 the community purchased the duplex which had been condemned and thus required a lot of renovation just to move in. Since 1996 the community has continuously been building and remodeling, first to make it habitable and then functional. They first worked on making the duplex into one large house and renovating the most necessary rooms such as the kitchen and some other living quarters. When they renovated the kitchen they were able to acquire many of the cabinets from another community. Over time they tackled additional rooms and areas of the

house. While I was conducting research they built an internal stairway from the second floor (main floor) down to the first floor. Prior to building this stairway they had to go outside to get to the first floor, which also houses the laundry room.

The house is located in a diverse neighborhood that has been traditionally home to new immigrants from Asia and Latin America and their descendants. Currently, the neighborhood is undergoing a process of gentrification. Members of Rojo have some interaction with the local community through neighborhood meetings and associations.

Rory was the original catalyst for the Rojo and only remaining co-founder living in the community when I conducted fieldwork. Rory had multiple experiences with communal living throughout his formative years, starting as a child and then living in a student cooperative as an undergraduate. He spent time in Central America in the mid 1990s volunteering in communities volunteering and political work in Guatemala and working as an international observer during the 1994 elections in El Salvador. There he was exposed to the results of U.S foreign policy.

I went and was physically present at one of these villages in Guatemala that were trying to assert their civilian status and the military considered them as gorillas. And they were essentially having this coming out party and they were inviting witnesses and the media and they were having this big, they were stopping running, they were stopping being undercover and having temporary villages. [They] were actually clearing some land and saying we're actually going to stay here and farm and we actually civilians and we need to be treated that way. And, this is really intense, and we are not going to cooperate with the military in terms of forced conscription and all these things. These are people that like, up until quite recently before we were there, actively being you know gunned down by helicopters and stuff. So it felt really, it was really intense to be invited and decide to go there and

not know what kind of danger that was going to be going to this semi-war zone place. And it was also right on the border of Chiapas and that was at the time when the Chiapas thing was happening and part of the time we were in Mexico and it was right up and down across this border. So that this sort of emotionally intense thing that sort of helped, or it kind of brought my politics to a different place. And it didn't maybe change my perspective really, at least on an intellectual level, but it raised my personal commitment level to making the question a little more real to me of "what am I going to do with my life relevant to this?" You know, here are people who have lived for ten years in a sort of an internal refugee status in the mountains, where they can't settle down, they can't, they're living in temporary encampments and on any second's notice flee further into the mountains when the military find where they are. What can I do? That question kept coming back and coming back.

(Rory)

Following his experience in Central America he came back to the U.S. and felt he needed to work for change in the United States.

I decided what I'd do is I'd go back and live in the United States and try to do something that is actually going to change how the United States is acting in the world. As opposed to going and living in a Third world country and trying to help people directly there. It felt to me like, not that that's an answer for my entire life. But at the time and still it feels like that's, you know being a U.S. citizen I have special rights and privileges to live here and to, that should come with a responsibility to try to change how, what kind of an actor we are on the world stage.

Shortly after returning he “got..serious about trying to start an intentional community.” However, given his recent experience he wanted to be part of something that was more overtly political than what he experienced in college. He moved to Seattle, initially staying at the Sherwood Cooperative, and made two failed attempts to start a community. He put up flyers, had meetings with interested people, but when it came to action the groups fell apart. Downhearted, he re-evaluated his goals but ultimately felt that a community was what he wanted to do. He took four months to visit a variety of communities, trying to find a good fit, but also taking notes on what he liked or didn’t like and what worked or didn’t work. He visited Twin Oaks in Virginia, Acorn in Virginia, Ganas in Staten Island, and a Catholic Work Community in Baltimore. He then moved back to Seattle, first subletting a room at the Sherwood Cooperative for a short period before moving into a smaller group house. Five years after moving to Seattle, he moved into Rojo.

Core Values:

Rojo is organized around the values of environmental sustainability, social justice and egalitarianism. As an egalitarian community they work to create a social environment without hierarchy making decisions by consensus and creating a system where everyone’s labor is equally valued and everyone has equal access to resources (house, healthcare, and financial). Within the egalitarian system all labor is worth equal hours—whether you work for a software company, do manual labor, or cook for the community. Rojo started off income sharing—meaning they collectively pooled their money and redistributed some of it back to members. Ryder and Raine, before becoming members, asked that the community revise its income sharing arrangement. They felt that the income sharing arrangement was unfair to people who did not already have significant savings and that it did not create enough “spending equity.” After many

consensus-based negotiations the community revised its income spending practices. Basically it changed from a system based on income, or money, to a system based on time. Currently the community uses a combination of required hours of labor to the house (either paid work outside or unpaid work inside) in combination with a cap on discretionary money.



Figure 3 A house meeting at Rojo

Home Ownership

A few of the founding members initially pooled their money to purchase the property outright. This initial investment is being paid back to the individuals by the rest of the community in monthly installments. The community plans to pay off the property by 2017. However, the house is technically owned by one of the founding members of the community, though she who no longer lives on the property. While this individual legally owns the property, there is an agreement that the community has ownership rights to the property and that formal ownership will be transferred once Rojo is ready—preferably when they either form a land trust or join one.

The issues with one person owning the property are many, including security for the community, protection of the house from market value inflation (maintaining affordable

housing), and the community's values for non-capitalistic ideals that housing should be a right and not subject to ability to pay.

By placing a house in a land trust Rojo protect the house from being sold—especially for individual profit or gain. They would establish a new institution within which to build additional communities and further their goal of a prefigurative revolution (meaning creating the world they would wish to live in now and without violence).

Rojo had considered joining PSLT (a local land trust protecting six intentional community properties). However, due to differences in social and political values, as well as differences in long term goals between PSLT and Rojo, Rojo decided to form its own land trust. Rojo desires to form a land trust more closely aligned to its egalitarian values and social justice mission while creating a trust framework that would allow for infinite expansion. During my fieldwork the community began working on writing the land trust documents. Work on these documents fell to a committee following the community's overall wishes.

Rojo wanted to design a land trust to ensure the protection of their community as well as to create an organizational structure that would allow for the creation of new intentional communities. The committee was working on creating trust documents that would allow for diversity of communities yet ensure the addition of communities within the Rojo value system promoting the “goal (a difficult thing) to create some kind of mechanism that guarantees that the communities who become part of it will enforce political and networking goals” (Ridley). We “have to balance the desire to enforce agreements with autonomy or the diversity of groups that might join—that might be culturally problematic.” The challenge is “how to create something with enough legal teeth with something that will allow autonomy and diversity” (Ridley).

In order to create a land trust, they first needed to create a federal non-profit 501 (c) which required articles of incorporation and bylaws which would be reviewed by a lawyer. Once these documents were completed they could apply for 501 (c) 3 status through the federal government. The whole process is time consuming in that multiple types of documents need to be created (trust agreements, use agreements, articles of incorporation, by-laws) and costs money (mainly in legal fees as creating trust agreements and use agreements can be time consuming).

The People

Rojo members are a relatively homogenous group. While I was conducting field work four people moved out and one person moved in. During that year, the average age was 34 and the mode and median age was 36. The oldest person living in the house was 53 (one of the people who moved out) and the youngest people were two 24 year olds one of whom moved in while I was conducting fieldwork. Overall, members were highly educated. Two members had some college, six people had bachelors' degrees, two members had completed some graduate work and one member had a Ph.D. Occupations included social work (2), nursing (1), the non-profit sector (4), and manual labor (3).

There were three couples living in the community at the beginning of my fieldwork. None of the couples were legally married, but all were in committed relationships, having been together for years before my field work. All are these couples are still together today. While the community had no formal expectations of legal marital status one way or another, the couples chose to reject legal marriage as a statement against state involvement in family relationships, as well as a sign of solidarity with gay couples who did not have the legal right to marry. While one of the couples had a "wedding" during my fieldwork, it was not a legal ceremony. However,

a legally sanctioned married couple would not be discriminated against by the community although there would probably be some “dinner” discussion on the issues of marriage.

All members considered themselves to be activists for social change. All considered themselves to be social activists first and foremost. They expressed environmental action as either background lifestyle choices, such as living in Rojo or personal choices. Members were active in organizations that supported affordable housing for the working poor and lower-middle class, worked with and advocated for homelessness, sex workers, and immigrants, worked with organizations supporting environmental and global justice, as well as organizations that provided news, information, and support to social justice advocates, including the independent media and internet networking support.

Membership:

There were between 8 and 11 residents in the house at any given time—however, the community has room for up to 12. Each adult resident has to have their own room in order to ensure members had enough private space. One member to a room also means that couples get two rooms and children also have a separate room. Residents may be temporary, undergoing the full membership process or full members.

There are a few methods by which new people meet the community. They may have a friend or significant other at the community, they may have visited for a specific event, have seen a flyer, heard about the through activist circles or may have found the community online. The process of getting accepted to move in and becoming a member can take anywhere from two months to a number of years. The membership process officially starts when a prospective member expresses an interest in moving in. If the prospective member (usually called “the

prospective” or “a prospective”) lives nearby, the process starts with a visit to the community. The prospective meets with individual members, comes to dinner, attends one or more meetings, and assists with community labor such as cooking dinner or renovating the house. The prospective member gets detailed information about the economic system, the labor system, the meeting process, the community’s values, etc. Because the economic system is complex and because it can be a “deal breaker” for potential members, Rojo members often (if not always) begin with a discussion of their economic system in order to save everyone time. During these initial visits prospective members assess whether they would like to live or could live in the community. Additionally, the members of the community analyze the prospective—are they responsible, do they share the community’s value system, are they good communicators, would their personalities fit with the community, do they have any skills, are they active in activist organizations, do they have lifestyles that might be difficult to live with in community?

If the prospective member does not live nearby they may first have conversations with members over the phone and by e-mail. For example, Ridley was living on the East Coast when he first approached the community. He remembered being e-mailed an initial list of 30 questions. If after long-distance conversations there is still interest on both sides, a first visit will be scheduled. A prospective member will come and stay at the community. While there they will observe meetings, attend house dinners and other functions, and contribute labor to the house (cleaning, cooking, maintenance).

After the initial period of getting to know the house, the community and the prospective member discuss their interest in pursuing membership. If there is interest on both sides then the membership process continues. During the second period of getting to know the house the member spends additional time at the community, getting to know the members, doing some

labor, coming to dinners, and attending meetings. If all of the current residents agree that they would like to invite the new person into the community they interview the candidate asking many different types of questions—from personal, political, to practical and mundane. Rowan had recently moved in when I started conducting research in the house. She was really thrown by the question, “When do you remember becoming aware of your politics?” She didn’t know the answer—but was told she could move in.

If the prospective is allowed to move in they become a probational member, a position they keep for six months to a year. To become a full member there has to be another consensus decision by the community, including a check-in by the probational member.

The process of finding new members can be challenging for individuals in the community, as it requires more time from members and pressure to figure out who would be a good fit for the community. Because prospectives need to meet with all members and interact with the community in various ways, it means that community members need to make room in their lives and schedules for people who may or may not move in. As one member reflected, “The process is fine [but] challenging personally. We’ve had six / five people really interested. They were requiring energy from us. [It is] overwhelming...trying to figure out if they fit. One guy came from far away and stayed with us...for a few days. Requiring me to make room. It didn’t fit into normal life. I had to make choices that would prioritize spending time with those people” (Rory).

New members or probational members also put a strain on the community. First there is a learning curve for new members—learning how to contribute to the labor system, learning how to contribute during meetings, learning the social norms. For example one evening a new member brought two friends to her room to show them her new space and to hang out, she was

surprised when she was told they were making too much noise for her quietly working neighbor. The learning curve for new members creates a need for tolerance and instructional time on the part of community members—answering questions about how the house works as well dealing with unexpected behavior such as lack of adherence to social norms. Second, new members require time to understand past policies or proposals for new policies that are under consideration. Since the community makes decisions via consensus, new members must learn about old and proposed policies and be persuaded to agree to them. “It can take a whole year before they can really start to talk about things instead of [discussing] past decisions in order to get people on board or let them have the level of understanding” (Rory).

Physical Description: A Tour

As I approach it from the street the house appears to be a plain grayish four-story duplex, unremarkable except for the purple porch and three blue doors with purple trim. The house looks a bit dreary and the yard is imperfectly kept, but the house and grounds fit in with the working class residences that surround it. A red and blue sign in the front window stating “No A La Guerra” (No War) hints at the politics of the household inside, but is unremarkable for the Seattle area.

There are two front doors, three if you count the door to the ‘first floor’ (not the basement) with a stairway leading down to it. I enter into the left front door—the other does not open and is a leftover remnant of a time when the house was an actual duplex. This door also has a large mailbox slot. Entering I am struck by color and the faint smell that suggests healthy food. It’s a very particular smell that I find in all communities I enter either here in Seattle, elsewhere in the United States, or a community I visited in Italy. I haven’t quite nailed it down but I believe it is the smell of food—various grains, fruits, vegetables, spices and compost that

are at times exposed to the air—kind of like the smell of the green leafy part of a bunch of carrots with some of the earth still intact.

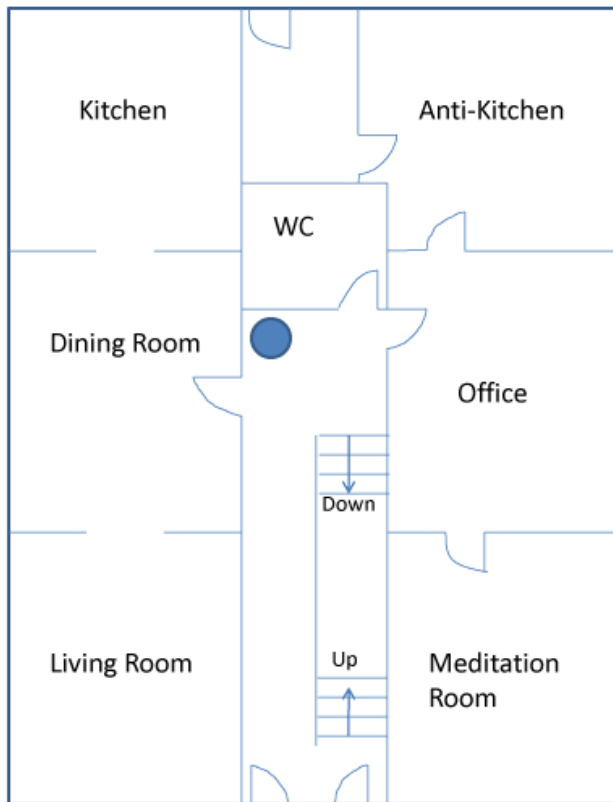


Figure 4: 2nd Floor (Main Floor) of Rojo. Not to scale.

I enter into a long hallway painted purple on top and cream on the bottom (see Figure 4). It's a little dark, quiet, a bit cold, but not unwelcoming. Standing with my back to the door, to my immediate right is a small shelf holding shoes (as well as some shoes on the floor) which lies at the bottom of a staircase leading to the 3rd and 4th floors of the house, which contain mostly private bedrooms and guest rooms. This staircase is painted bright red and houses a poster in Spanish protesting the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) “Sí a la vida, No al ALCA, Otra América es posible” (Yes to life, no to the FTAA, Another America is Possible). Further along the hallway is a stairway leading down to the first floor. The beginning of this stairway has a

railing made out of tree limbs in their natural form which is usually covered in Seattle-style Gortex rain coats . The wall leading downstairs painted an earthy green.

At the end of the long entry hallway are a small round wooden pedestal table and three closed doors, closed to contain noise and heat. The hallway itself is a little chilly. After my period of fieldwork they lined the walls with framed photos of individual house members past and present—a nice touch. On the table from afar the first thing I see is a small light glowing yellow and a glass vase full of red tulips. However, the table houses an assortment of carefully selected objects including including three mug shots (police booking photos) of Emma Goldman in frames, a small home-decorated box of Emma Goldman quotes, flowers, a homemade bowl made of safety pins containing two balls of yarn—one red and one black (the colors of communism and anarchism), pictures of community members taken from a recent anniversary party, a description of the house printed on white paper but glued to red construction paper, a vase of flowers—red tulips and pamphlets—one advertising the community titled “Live your Hope” and one titled “Sharing Lives, Changing the World”, a blue bowl with random found items including a guest parking permit, and a “Blue Scholars” bumper sticker. Above the table is a colorful cartoonish painting of *Zapatistas* (a la 1994) in a cornfield at night with black hats and scarves covering their faces, men with red scarves and women with violet *rebozos* (shawls).

The entry hallway leads directly to the middle of the house. Right next to the table there is a door leading to a bathroom. To the left and further to the right of the table are two doors leading to either side of the house. Through the right door is a series of three common spaces. I walk into the center common space. This is the “office” with peach walls and a large window with dark red trim—home to a shared desk and computer, mailboxes and filing cabinets, shelves with boxes of supplies neatly labeled “phone parts,” “twine,” etc. The walls are covered with

political posters and art, including a Chinese propaganda poster depicting the Paris Commune, a Beehive Collective poster, information on “Free Trade,” political buttons and postcards. From this room you can head west into the multipurpose “meditation room”—kept almost bare save a few pillows, or east into the “anti-kitchen” which is a large pantry. The anti-kitchen contains large refrigerator and freezer. There are buckets storing bulk foods such as oatmeal, flour and rice. There are shelves of canned goods and bottled condiments and oils. Through the anti-kitchen I can access the back porch—in reality “back porches” plural. While I was conducting research there were two ways to get to the anti-kitchen. First and most commonly by going through the living room, hallway, and office (a bit of a journey if you’re cooking) or secondly out the kitchen window onto the patio, come back in through the backdoor and back hallway and into the anti-kitchen. Since my fieldwork the community has built a door leading from the kitchen into the back hallway, making the journey to the anti-kitchen more convenient.

Entering the communal areas from the left door in the hallway I immediately enter the dining room. Here are people—cooking, eating, talking, and reading. The dining room contains a large banquet-style rectangular table—off white and styled from the 80s—surrounded by an assortment of chairs. On the walls are political art—colorful and warm—a bulletin board splattered with paper and a chalk board with a message to someone.

Through the dining room I can reach the kitchen (to the west and back of the house) as well as the living room (to the east and front of the house). The living room is painted bright blue with purple couches and a large red overstuffed chair. The living room and dining room are separated by pocket doors. The kitchen is painted bright yellow with a bright blue floor (wood floor painted a bluish purple). The shelves in the kitchen are all open—glass jars full of dry goods along the back wall; shelves full of plates, bowls, and mugs—in various shades of blue;

iron skillets and pots and pans hanging above the stove, below a work surface, and over the counters; the refrigerator covered with printed materials, photos, art, and political notices. A large vine crawls along all four walls. There is a small “window” or opening over the sink that looks out into the dining room. The cabinets and cutting surfaces are all mismatched, having been reclaimed from a number of other communities and houses. There is a larger window that opens out to the back patio—really a set of patios. After I conducted research the community remodeled this area to include a door to a small hallway leading both to the patio(s) and to the anti-kitchen.

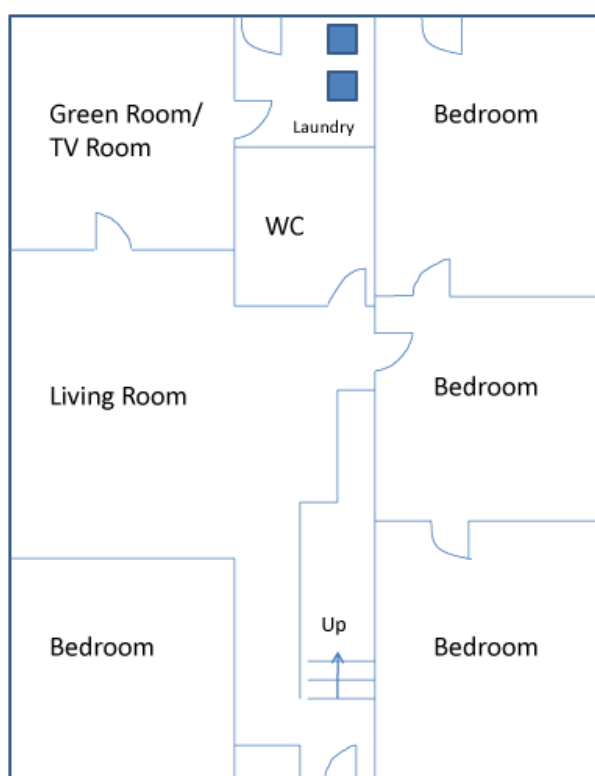


Figure 5. Rojo first floor, not to scale.

Back in the main hallway going down the stairs leads to the first floor with more common areas and four bedrooms (see Figure 5). The stairway was constructed in the first few months of fieldwork. . Prior to its construction the only way to get to the first floor was by going outside

and then in again. The wall along the stairway is a light but earthy green. At the bottom of the stairs I need to make a 360 degree turn to the right in order to enter the hallway leading to the 1st floor living room. To the right, under the stairs are a beautifully made but utilitarian bookcase and table (built into the house when the staircase was put in). As I walk down the hallway the bathroom door is in front of me. It is a spacious bathroom with a claw-foot tub and a large shelf behind the door for members' personal items. To the right of the bathroom is a "suite" of three rooms. The only entrance from the common area is through the middle room. However there are outside exits from the bedrooms on either end. This has historically been used as a family suite. When I started fieldwork the suite was being used by a single father and his son who stayed at the community part-time. During fieldwork, pregnant parents were being encouraged to take the suite for their new family.

To the left of the bathroom is a living room with large couches and a couple of lounge chairs. There are large windows looking out onto the side yard, which is more of a path people take to walk to and from the front to the back of the house. During my fieldwork I also helped paint the living room in an effort to make the room more appealing. After my fieldwork another family took the suite of bedrooms. They also put a lot of work into making the living room more aesthetically pleasing by adding colorful pillows and a gas fireplace (purchased by the community). On the west wall of the house is a door leading to the "Green Room" so named because of its green walls. In the green room are a large section couch and a T.V. and DVD player. The T.V. and DVD player both belonged to one of the members. While television watching is relegated to a back corner of the house, it's interesting to note that they do have a communal television, while Violeta does not. In the Green Room there is a door leading to the laundry room.

Each floor on the back of the house contains a wood patio with stairs leading to the next level (above or below) and to the backyard. The patio faces west with no nearby buildings, and so receives a lot of sunshine in the summer months and is a very nice place to hang out. There is a table, hammock, and some chairs—as well as hanging laundry and other miscellaneous items.

Spending Cap History

When the community first started in 1996 it was an income sharing community, meaning that all income was given to the house and members each received a stipend for discretionary spending. Members' assets were loaned to the house for the Social Justice Fund, to be returned when they moved out. Members deposited their income into a house account and received a stipend back. While the stipend was \$70 per month, all other “needs” were met by the house, including clothing, food, medical expenses, travel (up to 4 plane trips a year), vacation, retirement, debt payments, etc. So the \$70 stipend was for discretionary spending, such as eating out, beer, or a movie ticket. However, people could also obtain more cash from the house. Each member was required to work a “quota” of hours (both for income and for the community). If the quota was 40 hours a week and someone worked 50 hours that week they would have 10 hours of credit. With that credit they could either work less in a future time period (take a vacation) or trade in their surplus hours for cash at \$5 an hour. So if you had 10 hours of quota credit you could get an addition \$50.

However, after two years of operating, most of the community members moved out. Three members remained and continued income sharing in a large house most of which was uninhabited. They rented out rooms to people with similar values and collected rent, but only the three members were income sharing.

Eventually Raine and Ryder, who were not yet members, and a friend of theirs approached the house. They were interested in the overall premise of the community, but did not agree with the way the community (at this point three people) approached income sharing. They felt that the system did not allow for younger and lower income members to create long-term savings and that this was unfair. Older members and members with family money had a “fall back.” A deal was struck. The three potential members¹⁴ were asked to move in and given a year to make an alternative income sharing / labor proposal. If after a year an agreement on a new proposal could not be made, the prospective members would move out; but if an agreement could be made, they would stay. After a year the community changed to a labor sharing system—the current system of House quota and Income quota. Members were able to keep the money they made above and beyond their income quota. However, other members felt that the labor sharing system was less egalitarian and less aligned with the values of the house. At least one member supported the change if the community promised to find a way to share their assets in addition to labor.

But as we lived it we started to discover, oh if you're only giving over the money that is associated with your quota in some cases...even if you were working full time at a crummy job... that could end up meaning that you have a lot of...personal spending money available. Especially in contrast to people having had \$70 dollars a month, but even compared to some people's former lifestyle before living together. I mean people had, some people had 10 or 20 thousand dollars worth of money...and the house didn't have any sort of rules around it so it was just kind of... we had an ethic of people living simply and...trying to be low on the consumerism kind of chain and all that. But we didn't have any

¹⁴ At the same time a woman and her two teenage children moved into the house, first as renters but then as full participants, but were also given a year to decide to become full members with a change in the economic system.

agreements around that kind of stuff ... and suddenly realized that we needed some agreements to make that feel comfortable because everyone has a different definition of what...reasonable expenditures were. (Rory)

Soon after the change from income to labor sharing the idea of spending caps began to be discussed and was initiated on January 1st, 2005. The idea was to create a new category of assets called earned assets that would limit how much of those assets they could use in a month. The rest of the assets would be loaned in the Social Justice Fund.

So we basically solved our problem not by defining what type of consumption people could do but just limiting the dollars. Kind of like what we had done before except before we had \$70 dollars a month and now we having something like \$430 dollars a month... So, kind of felt like some people were choosing to take 4 airplane trips a year, and some people were choosing to, whatever, eat out a lot or whatever they were doing or some people were saving it. And even though around the edges there was some amount of grumbling and questioning and sometimes it wasn't around the edges, sometimes it was direct conversations with the group about what it meant to be living our values. It kind of put a border or constraint, how big a problem that was because the amount of money we were talking about was limited. And it wasn't like somebody that had a really high paying job. It was spending 20,000 dollars a year on stuff that people didn't approve of...[vs.] spending 5,000 dollars. Some people felt like it was still a huge amount and some people felt like it was very reasonable. So...that was very much a compromise number. (Rory)

As with many decisions these discussions began in house meetings, were fleshed out in committee, and then brought back to the house meeting for further input and final decision.

Rhianna felt that having spending caps was a good compromise for the people currently in the house. She felt they would 1) allow the community to live their values in terms of environmental responsibility, 2) to fund the social justice project and 3) bring the community closer to being egalitarian by creating a narrower range of economic difference. The initial idea was to try it as an experiment for six months, then revisit it. However, the discussions around the spending caps were ongoing both in and outside of meetings. The spending caps were never revisited in terms of asking if they would continue, rather, issues around spending caps were a regular meeting item.

Description of Violeta

Community History

Violeta started officially as a community in 1976 when the house was put into trust by the owner. Prior to 1976 it was a group house that in many ways resembled a community. In 1976 the owner donated the house to a local community land trust transferring the equity she had in the house and the remaining mortgage. The house was put into the trust for the stated purposes of taking housing off of the market, building community and education, and environmentally responsible living. The community that lived in the house signed a use agreement with the land trust giving them rights to steward the property in following the principles of the land trust for 99 years. The community was responsible for paying off the mortgage and stewardship of the house and the land, which they have since paid off.

There are six members of the community. At any given time there seem to be some people who stay for many years (5+) and a few people who stay for a shorter time of one to two

years. The community seeks to be open to LGBT people and at any given time about ½ the house identify as LGBT. The house also seeks to focus on building community, social justice activism, and environmentally friendly lifestyles.

Home Ownership (Land Trusts vs. Private Ownership)

Violeta is a property owned and protected by Puget Sound Land Trust (PSLT) (a pseudonym) a 501(c) 3, a federally registered nonprofit corporation. PSLT is a community land trust—land trusts designed to provide and protect affordable housing and build community. PSLT was established in 1972 by the founders of two other intentional communities who also donated their land to the PSLT, although the original design and documents for the trust were created by someone unaffiliated with either community. The PSLT founders, interested in starting a land trust, met an individual who had created the documents for a land trust but had no properties to start with. PSLT has eight properties in trust, five urban and three rural, which are also home to intentional communities. The purposes of the trust are to take houses off the market, thereby creating permanent affordable housing, providing locations in which to foster intentional community, promote ecological living, and build places to utilize and develop new ecologically sound technologies. In addition, PSLT is committed to bridging the urban/rural divide. By having equal rural and urban properties the hope is to foster urban and rural partnerships and allow urban residents to connect with nature and food systems (agriculture).

The PSLT is run by the board and its members. All members of the communities living on properties owned by the PSLT are members of PSLT. The board is made up of two members from each property along with one or two “at-large” members. The at-large board members are recruited by the board and are individuals who are sympathetic to PSLT, do not live on any of the properties, and have useful skills (such as accounting, law, CLT and/or IC experience or

expertise). The Board meets quarterly. Each community selects two board members who are then voted onto the board at their annual membership meeting every March. Each property takes turns hosting the board meetings. In that way, board members are able to visit (and check on) each of the communities, get to know members of other communities, and enable urban board members to visit the rural communities and vice versa. Urban board members in the summer and fall are frequently loaded up with vegetables from the gardens and farms to take back to their communities.

The main purpose of PSLT is to pull housing off the market and maintain affordable housing. All PSLT properties are owned in full by the land trust and are protected from sale or development. Resident members do not own any share of the properties. The trust agreement contains language that limits the sale of the property. As part of a community land trust property Violeta is protected from being sold for personal gain by the membership. Indeed, it would be difficult to sell the property at all—there are many constraints on selling the property written into the purpose of trust. Because the properties are now all owned in full (the 6th property being added into the trust does hold a mortgage), members can live on the properties at low cost.

Violeta joined the trust in 1976. When the original owner donated the house to PSLT she signed a Trust Agreement. The Trust agreement is a legal document that stipulates the purpose of putting the house into trust by describing what uses the property may have. The purpose of trust includes both instructions by the donor and PSLT. The community residing on the property holds a Use Agreement with PSLT, stipulating that the community is free to work with a great degree of autonomy from PSLT, but that they need to work within the purposes of the trust and the trust agreement. If they do not operate within the agreed upon framework described by PSLT and the trust agreement, the community may be evicted from the house. The community

is responsible for taking care of the property, maintaining it as a community residence (it needs to have more than four unrelated adults), fostering intentional community and sustainable living.

Membership

There were six members of the house throughout the time of my fieldwork, one member for every bedroom. Each adult member has their own room. Residents may either be sublets, provisional members, or full members. Sublets are residents who take over the room of a member while that member is away and pay an agreed upon amount of money. Having a sublet allows a member to leave for an extended period of time, say a month or more, without having to worry about paying full dues.

Prospective members (people interested in living in the house) go through a membership process that may take anywhere from a few weeks to a month or more. The initial membership process is to first fill out an application, then the community invites those individuals who they think would be a good fit for an interview. The application asks prospective members to recount their past experiences living in groups or community and to write about themselves—who they are, what they like, what skills they have, what kind of foods they eat. They also ask how they have dealt with and resolved past conflicts. If the interview goes well the prospective member will come back to the house repeatedly in order to get to know individual members, learn about the house, the land trust, and the expectations of community. Once the prospective meets everyone and learns about the house, if there is interest in accepting the prospective into the house the community will have a meeting. At the meeting the community will discuss the prospective and only those prospective members who have the consensus of the house may receive an offer to move in.

Once the prospective member accepts an offer from the house they become a provisional member, meaning they have to go through a trial period of three months before becoming a full member. At any time during the provisional period the individual may be asked to leave. At the end of the provisional period another meeting is held and the community decides whether to offer full membership to the individual. The decision to offer full membership as well as provisional membership is always made with full consensus. If anyone in the community decides they do not want to live with the individual, they will not be offered full membership and will be asked to leave. Once someone becomes a full member it is very difficult to make them leave if there are any problems, therefore provisional membership is a way to protect the community from individuals who are not suited to the community.

During the year I conducted fieldwork two people moved out and two people and two cats moved in. The cats also required full consensus. The cats were owned by the significant other of one of the current members. Both the issue of a significant other moving in as well as the cats took a lot of deliberation. Many members were worried about how a couple might change the dynamic in the household. Members approach discussions like these as “problem solving” through a consensus process where everyone’s ideas and concerns are discussed, members attempt to understand the complexity of the issue, and decide on the best course(s) of action.

Values:

As part of the PSLT Violeta shares inherent values of the land trust as well as its’ own specific values and priorities including environmental stewardship and community activism and development. The biggest set of shared values revolved around social justice and opposition to

racism, sexism, homophobia, and heterosexism. During my fieldwork the community was in the process of re-writing its core values to include statements on social justice.

The community may be characterized by an advocacy for LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) people and issues. One half or more of the community at any time identifies as being lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. So there were expectations of a high degree of knowledge, understanding and respect for LGBT rights and social expectations.

The People

In Violeta the average age was 30. The oldest was 42 and the youngest was 23 years old. Five members had lived in community before and three members had not. All members had at least a bachelor's degree and three had some graduate work—one in a master's program and another in a doctoral program. Members had degrees in music, education, economics, English, psychology and counseling. While two members were students, five were working in the non-profit sector and one person cleaned homes.

For all members social activism was an essential aspect of their identity. All members participated in and were networked with a variety of organizations and activities that supported their political and social activism. They were actively involved in organizations that supported youth—especially low-income youth, environmental justice, global justice, independent media, LGBT rights, animal rights, immigrants' rights, health care for the poor and working classes, and anti-racism organizations, and radical education.

Physical Description: A Tour

Violeta is located in a neighborhood near downtown Seattle. The front door faces the neighborhood street to the east and the back faces an alley to the west. The house is on a hill that slopes down from east to west so that the front door is level with the front yard and the basement door on the west side of the house is level with the back yard. The house itself has four stories—a basement, main floor, second floor and attic. The main floor contains all the communal space. The second floor consists of a full bathroom (the only one in the house) and four bedrooms. The attic has 2 bedrooms. The basement has storage space (bikes are kept here), a toilet, and a washer and dryer.

Whenever I see the house I smile. Violeta is a bright purple house with green and pink trim. On the third floor of the house is a sign that says, “No War”. An apple tree takes up much of the space in the front yard. There is a short chain link fence that separates the yard from the sidewalk. On the chain link fence, to the right of the gate, is a recycled art project—little multicolored sun bursts made out of pop cans. On top of the gate is a well-worn little pewter dog. Going through the gate I walk along a concrete pathway and up the two stairs to the porch and front door. The rails along the stairs are bright pink. On the porch is a wicker couch. Overlooking the porch is a fake stained glass window of a setting sun. The door has a large window that isn’t covered, allowing me to peer in.

Going through the door I enter the foyer. The foyer is painted a dull white—a stark contrast to the bright purple exterior. On the right along the wall is what seems like an endless number of coats hanging on pegs. On the far wall to the right are the mailboxes—one for each member, one for me, and a couple of mailboxes for the house. Next to the mailboxes is a door leading to the “guest closet”—a large closet turned into a small but welcoming guest room. In

front of you is a table with a phone, a notepad, and a lamp. Next to the table is a large chair. Under the table is the “free box”—a box full of stuff that community members and their friends want to give away. Items in the “free box” are all available to take and I often look through it to see what is there. In front of me, past the table is a large open staircase with a landing (the landing is the ceiling of the guest closet). To the right on the wall along the living room is a bulletin board filled with photos, maps, community information and an advertisement for openings in another community.

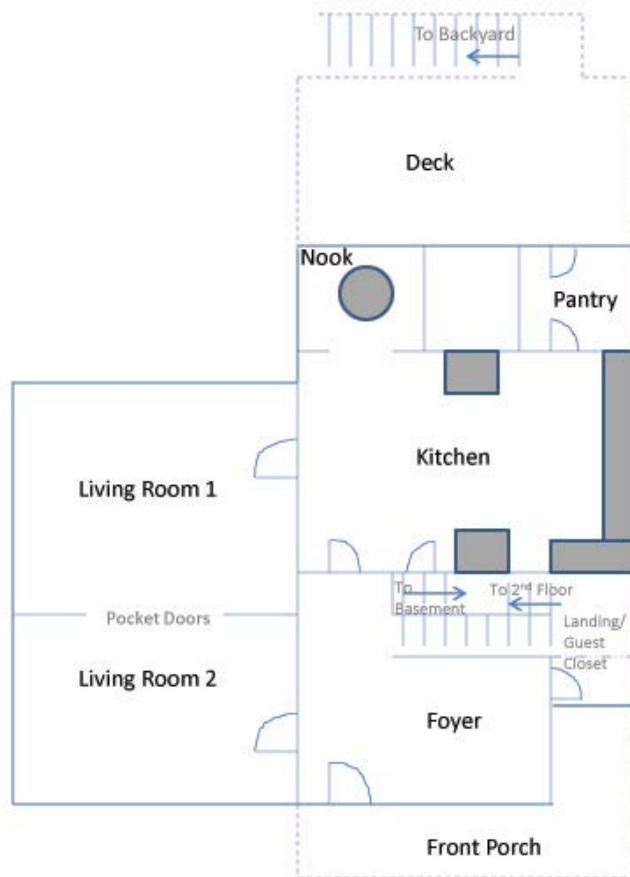


Figure 6 Layout of the main floor at Violeta. Not to scale.

Walking along the hallway I pass through a door to the kitchen. This usually remains open. To the right is a door (which also remains open) opening to the front living room (see

“Living Room 2” in Figure 6). This room has a large futon, a lazy boy reclining chair, a piano, lots of plants, a bookshelf full of books and an end table. There are also a child-sized table and some toys. On the wall next to the piano is an extra larger mirror making the room seem bigger than it is. The front living room connects to a second living room. Between the two rooms is a pocket door that is mostly left open. The front living room is painted periwinkle. There are south-facing windows and one west facing window, all with wood trim. There are two long white couches, a rocking chair, and an overstuffed chair to sit in. In the middle of the room is a long coffee table. In one corner is a stereo system--old school style with a record player and piles of CDs. In another corner is a hutch with a book case on top. There are lots of plants.

Walking straight into the house from the foyer I pass through a door (which usually remains open) into a large kitchen, the heart of the house. In the middle are two cutting boards of unequal length, width and height. People often stand around the cutting boards snacking and talking. Someone is usually sitting at the table in the “nook” reading the paper. The kitchen has very little counter top space so there are lots of little things everywhere. The gas stove is along the wall across from the entryway. Next to the stove is a wood table that looks a bit handmade. Over the shelf are the iron skillet.

All the cupboards over the countertops have their doors taken off so everyone can see and easily access what’s inside. Two top cupboards are filled with an assortment of dishes and four more cupboards are filled with food—two with dry goods in glass jars (a classic community scene) and the rest stuffed with an assortment of food in boxes, bags, cans, and jars, plus pens and tape for labeling food. Off the kitchen is a small food nook with a small round table that very cozily holds all the members. Someone is usually at the table eating and reading the paper. Next to the stove is the door to the mudroom—filled with recyclables and excess kitchen stuff.

Walking through the pantry I get to the door leading out to the large wood deck. Here I can watch the sun set over downtown Seattle. On the porch are a glass table and plastic chairs. From the porch I can also see the large trampoline as well as a number of large garden areas.

Each member of the community gets their own room. Room assignments are based on seniority—so the member who has lived there longest gets the first choice of a newly opened room. The newest member gets the open room that no one else in the house wants. However, everyone pays the same amount regardless of the room size or placement.

Finances

All members pay an equal share of the house expenses with the exception of food. At the time of my fieldwork the monthly dues were \$350.00 , which included everything but food and long distance phone charges. The community paid all the bills for the house, including utilities, property taxes, insurance, maintenance and renovation, newspaper subscription, and household goods. They also maintained a savings account for emergencies and repairs on the house. The community was also responsible to pay any debt owed by the house, however, at the time of my fieldwork the community did not owe any money—the house had recently been paid off. Members could purchase small items for the house without house approval for anything under \$25 and get reimbursed.

Expectations:

The community maintained a list of “Guiding Principles,” agreements that had been made by consensus of the community. One of the “Guiding Principles” states that, “You, the member, are a steward of the land, not a renter.” Community members were considered stewards of the property and took on the responsibility of owners in order to maintain and

improve the property for the benefit of future generations of community members. The community had complete control over the maintenance and running of the house with little oversight by the PSLT board. Hence the monthly amount owed was considered “dues,” not “rent.”

Members were expected to participate fully in the community including attending meetings, retreats, and work parties, doing chores, volunteering for tasks as determined in meetings, and participating in private and public events. In addition, there was an expectation that individuals strive to create community in the house by forming and working on interpersonal relationships with other members as well as with PSLT members and the wider community.

In addition members are expected to participate in land trust activities. Two members of the community are required to be on the board of the land trust and attend all land trust meetings which happen quarterly. Other members are encouraged to attend board meetings, especially the all member meeting in the spring. The board meetings rotate between the six (now seven) communities. And when the board meeting is held at Violeta, many if not all members help by setting up for the event, attending all or part of the event, or socializing before, after, or during breaks.

Decision Making

Decisions are made in a variety of ways through meetings, the house notebook and the house board. Mid-way through my fieldwork the house decided to use e-mail for discussion only, and not for decision making. All decisions are made using full consensus.

Regular house meetings occurred once a month, usually alongside of dinner. An agenda for the meeting would form on the bulletin board in the kitchen prior to the meeting, although

agenda items could also be proposed at the beginning of the meeting. The meetings all followed a pattern—check-in, announcements, updates, reviewing the previous meetings notes and tasks, agenda item, scheduling and check-out. At each meeting there is a facilitator and a note taker. The note taker takes the minutes of the meeting and sometime before the next meeting types in and prints out the meeting minutes for review at the next meeting. The printed minutes get put in a three ring binder stored in the living room.



Figure 7. A House Meeting at Violeta

Retreats occurred two or more times a year and could be a one day event or a weekend retreat. Retreats were scheduled in order for the community to tackle larger issues that required more time. They usually hired an outside facilitator with excellent facilitation skills, usually a member of another community, but sometimes someone from their social networks. Members saw it as advantageous to meet at a different location. At one retreat during my fieldwork members met at another PSLT community.



Figure 8 Agenda for a Violeta Retreat

There were also a number of special meetings that occurred throughout the year including dinners and meetings for potential new members, committee meetings, and meetings around discussing a re-write of principles for the community.

The biggest or longest lived decisions during the field work year were discussions around remodeling the kitchen, having the significant other move in along with cats, community visioning (discussing and making agreements as to what should and could the community be in the future), and reworking the principles or main values of the house.

Networks for Social Change in Rojo and Violeta

All members had very large social and activist networks. Members of Rojo and Violeta were part of larger networks including other communities and social change organizations through work or volunteering. Members choose to either work with organizations that closely mirrored their values or to start their own organizations based on their values. They networked with other communities, other activists, and the wider regional community in a number of areas. Some individual members were highly influential both locally and nationally and were featured in local, national and international media for their communities, their activism or their lifestyles.

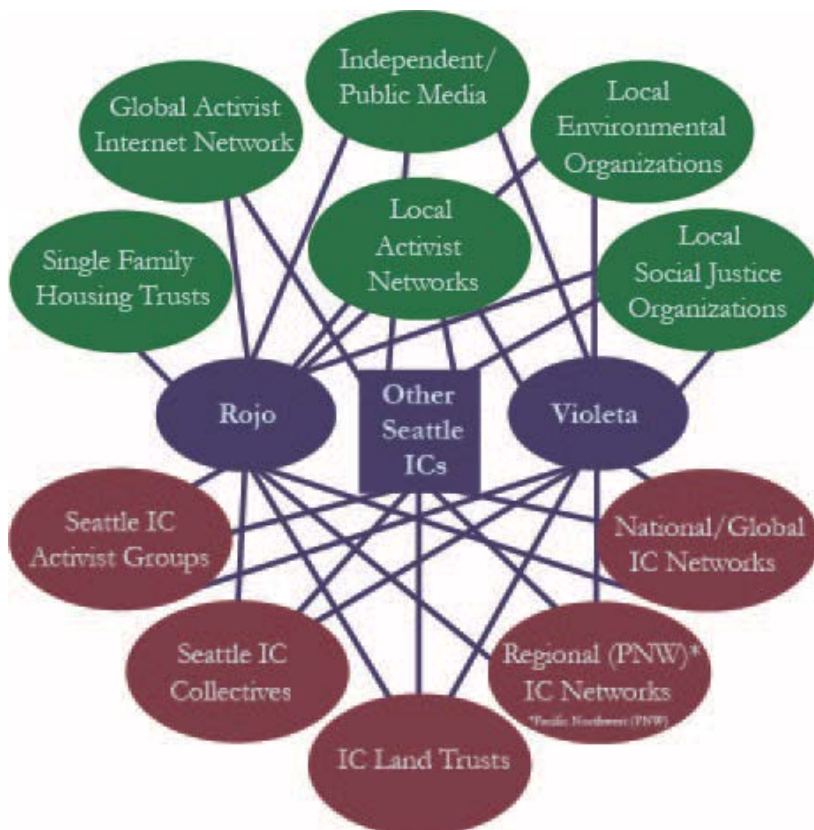


Figure 9 Seattle intentional community networks

In addition, some members either founded new organizations or were heavily involved with others. For examples, members helped to found and volunteer within an organization which offers internet networking solutions to activists around the globe, a local community land trust which creates more affordable housing by selling housing with limited equity at discounted rates and maintaining ownership over the land.

Members worked with organizations such as the Community Alliance for Global Justice, the Community Coalition for Environmental Justice that shared their common values of social justice, environmental justice, common property and grassroots action. They were also members of organizations that tackled race: Coalition of Anti-Racist Whites (CARW) and the Coalition to Undo Racism Everywhere (CURE). Members also reached out to the wider community through radio and two members were heavily involved in public radio. Many members also worked within the social justice community on homeless issues and social work. Communities were also frequently in the local news and some members had articles or were quoted in national or international publications.

At the community level members also started the Community Pantry an inter-community resource to share bulk food and consolidate and redistribute dumpster food, the Long Haul Collective was working to create communal educational space for local anarchist projects, and the Collectives of Collectives (CoC) which networks local urban housing collectives, communes, and cooperatives in order to share skills and resources.

Living in Community

In 2011 I interviewed Vance and Vivian in their new home three years after they had moved out of Violeta. At that time they were reflecting on their years living in community and

differences between living on their own versus in community. I thought the following story and conversation was a reflection of an aspect of community living gives a small example of why people choose to live in community that even reflected my own experience.

Vivian:

When it is good, it is so magical beyond what any one individual can create or what any two people can create. There is a magic of the group and it is truly that, it is truly magic. And it is some of the best experiences of my life and my most favorite people. And that is the gift of Violeta.

[For example,] Veronica is someone I would not have met if I did not live with her, and she is not someone that I would not feel as close to if I did not live with her, and I think she feels that I'm part of her family too. And it's because we've had the intimacy of having shared a home together and having conflict together and getting through it and just being able to be that real. And that is really amazing and that's a gift. And we have that, but we don't necessarily have that with our friends that we haven't lived with. So that's an amazing thing.

I'm just thinking of some of the other communities and there is a sense that they really got my back and I got theirs. It's an incredible feeling.

Q: So you've picked up on something that I'm interested in, it is the experience or the sense of magic. Can you remember a specific moment? ...

So the one time that comes to mind at Violeta and we were having a house meeting. And it was going on and on and then there was just this frivolity around the meeting and we were able to laugh at ourselves and laugh at each other in a way that felt really good. And we had this huge consensus process about how we were to decide about mopping the kitchen floor because it was something

that was never getting done. And Vic never did it, and it was his job. And he was finally like I will not do it, I will not mop this floor. And so we were like ok, let's take it on as a collective. And we decided that once a month, that it rotate between one of us to mop the floor in the kitchen. And we really decided between twice a month and once a month. And then we all realized ok, well if we do it once a month, it just means that one of us will have to mop the floors twice a year. And that if we tried to do it more than that we'd really be setting ourselves up for failure. And it just, Virgil and I—and it was so nice that it was Virgil and I because we had a very difficult time living together from the get go—and we looked at each other and we both just started laughing hysterically, that really let's not push ourselves too hard, let's not commit, let's not get so frustrated that we're not following through. We can do it once a month and twice a year. We were laughing hysterically. And it just took off around the room. And then Veronica during her check-out grabbed this mason jar [Violeta used mason jars as glasses] and was like [using it as a microphone] “check-it-out” [in a different voice]. And we ended up recording our outgoing voice mail with all of us laughing hysterically like “It's Violeta house!” and it was just really this real giggle fest about ridiculousness that probably in some ways wasn't even that funny, but it was like we were all on the same page and it felt really—and there was sort of an inside joke—it was amazing in that way. It was magical in that way. ...

Q: [To Vance] Do you share any similar experiences or feelings about magical moments? ...

The funny thought, where it does relate to that story and to the earlier question about “how has my life changed [after moving out of community].” Well, I now mop twice a month [we all laugh], rather than twice a year—I'm not even sure I did that at Violeta.

[Now,] sometimes more than twice a month and sometimes less. But I think about that every time I mop, “if I were living in intentional community, I would not be mopping.” [laugh] Maybe, it depends on whatever role I take on.

Conclusion

Rojo and Violeta members were actively attempting to live more sustainable lifestyles. They lived in community because they really sought out connections with others while having critique of individualism within mainstream society. I think most community members also hoped that by living in community they would be more easily able to lead more environmentally friendly and socially just lifestyles. As the next chapter on descriptive statistics indicates, community members were able to reduce their consumption practices to levels below averages for Seattle and the United States. Through chapters five-eight I will discuss particular factors that helped them reduce their consumption.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Analysis of Consumption Patterns

While my overall goal in conducting this research was to determine the factors that influenced more sustainable consumption, I first needed to understand and describe how and to what extent these communities' practices in fact were lower or more sustainable in relation to local and national per capita averages. To collect these statistics from the communities I collected data through surveys on consumption, weighed solid waste and collected utility data. Combined with ethnographic observation, these data provide an interesting overview of the consumption levels and types of the study communities.

Obtaining descriptive statistics also allowed me to compare and contrast differences and similarities between the communities. In this way my ethnographic data would shed some light on the differences between both the communities and the larger society.

I collected quantitative data on these communities in three ways. First, I weighed curbside garbage and recycling in each community about once a month for a year. Second, I collected utility bills. Third, I gave a survey to each member about once a month for a year asking about their shopping, gathering, commuting and eating practices.

The results of this survey are not statistically significant or valid given the small sample size, built in bias, imperfect information, and occasional incorrect or incomplete use of the forms. Regardless of these issues, I think the results are interesting and may help to shed light on some of the differences between the two communities and between the communities and the larger society. In general, the results were in agreement with my ethnographic findings.

Methods

Solid Waste Methods

I weighed the garbage and recycling of each community the night before the garbage day pick-up. I only weighed garbage once the community had put it on the curbside. Some weeks community members forgot to put out the trash and other weeks there was extra garbage and recycling (presumably because they forgot to put it out the week before). Curbside garbage was picked up weekly whereas recycling was picked up every other week. Therefore I have more data points for garbage than recycling. To determine the weight the garbage and recycling I weighed the garbage and recycling in their receptacles and subtracted the weight of the receptacle. I used a large hospital scale with an interface (screen and buttons) that was connected to the weighing mechanism by a wire. This scale allowed me to weigh very large objects and still be able to see the result. Because the area of the scale surface was smaller than the recycling bins, I covered the scale with a large piece of plywood that was larger than the bottom of the waste and recycling bins. After placing the plywood on the scale, I set the scale to zero and placed each of the receptacles on the scale and subtracted the weight of the container. I weighed waste at random times and the community did not know when I weighed the garbage.



Figure 10 My partner and I weigh a recycling bin.

In each community the task of taking out the trash and recycling fell on one or two people. These were the people who usually cared the most and if they didn't get to it, the task wasn't likely to get done. Normally the self-appointed individual would empty all the trash receptacles from the house the night before garbage pick-up and take everything out to the street. As for recycling many different members of the house would take the recycling at least outside to the recycling containers. In Seattle recyclable materials include: glass, paper and cardboard, a number of plastics, aluminum and cans. Glass was separated from the other recyclables. All food and yard waste were composted on-site and were not left out on the curb. I did not weigh food and yard waste due to the difficulties involved with weighing either¹⁵.

¹⁵ Seattle requires food and yard waste composting for single family homes. Residents may compost their food and yard waste on site, or have the city pick it up on the curb. Rojo and Violeta chose to compost their food and yard waste themselves.

Survey Methods

I asked respondents to fill out a survey questionnaire about their consumption practices throughout the year. Each survey asked respondents about transportation, shopping, gathering and eating for a day. Respondents were given surveys about once a month (sometimes more, sometimes less). Surveys were handed out in the evenings. Respondents were not aware that they would receive a survey. With some exceptions, respondents were asked to fill out the survey with information for the day they received the survey. If a respondent was not at home when a survey was being distributed I left the survey in the mailbox and left a message for them that the survey was there. Each community member had a private mailbox. In instances where surveys were left in their mailboxes there may have been times when the consultant filled out the survey for the previous day's activities.

Surveys were confidential (no one but me would see the individual survey) and intended to be anonymous--the community they lived in was the only identifier tracked. However, while I did not ask for name or gender I often could identify the individual through behavior listed in the survey. I felt it was important to keep the surveys confidential and anonymous to allow community members to feel as free as possible in listing consumption practices that might have been disapproved of by other members in the community and also so they wouldn't worry about feeling judged by me. I did not stay and watch as they filled out their surveys. However, there were a few times when surveys were given out after dinner at Rojo and community members filled them out together which may have lead to consultants not feeling the freedom to fill out their forms accurately. Completed surveys were either handed back to me personally or left for me in my own mailbox in each community.

With one exception consultants were asked to fill out the survey for the day they were handed the survey¹⁶. However, I cannot be certain that this occurred 100% of the time.

In each survey I asked whether the day was a workday or not and for each category I asked if this was a normal amount and type of travel, shopping, gathering, or eating and to explain if it was not. The transportation section of the survey asked how many miles were traveled, the means of travel (driving, walking, bus, bicycling) and whether they traveled alone or with others.

The shopping section asked how much time was spent shopping, giving them a choice of 15 minute increments for up to 59 minutes, half hour increments from one to three hours and one hour increments from three to six hours. In retrospect I would have liked to have offered them a line or continuum on which they could slash the estimated amount of time spent. Other questions included where they shopped, who and what they were shopping for and what they bought. The gathering section asked the same questions as the shopping section regarding time spent collecting or looking for non-purchased goods including taking items out of the “free box,” dumpster diving, or picking berries.

The “eating” section of the survey asked people to account for all food consumed that day. They categorized their meals in terms of breakfast, lunch, dinner, or snacks, gave a description of the food eaten and an explanation of where the food was eaten and where it came from.

¹⁶ The exception to this was for the day of 11/25/2005, the day after Thanksgiving otherwise known as Black Friday or Buy Nothing Day. I wanted to find out how many people shopped on the day of highest traffic for stores (but not money spent) (<http://www.snopes.com/holidays/thanksgiving/shopping.asp>). I dropped off surveys for 11/25/2005 that evening. However, no one filled them out—I left them in the mailbox on the front door of Rojo and on the kitchen nook table at Violeta with a large note. The next day I still wanted to get shopping statistics for 11/25/05 I created a new survey that I handed out on 11/26/05 that asked for shopping and gathering information only for 11/25 and included a regular survey for 11/26. Most, but not all, consultants filled out the surveys.

I compared some of the data with United States government statistics. I compared transportation data with national, urban and local statistics using the Bureau of Transportation statistics for miles traveled per capita in the United States as well as in urban areas including Seattle (taken in 2005, the year the surveys were used). I also compared shopping statistics with the 2005 national averages using Bureau of Labor Statistics “American Time Use Survey” data published in 2006. However, in 2009 the 2005 results were recalculated in order to facilitate greater comparability between BLS survey years. I used the 2009 re-calculations of 2005 data to compare with my survey data so that I would use their most recent calculations. The BLS 2009 table of time spent on activities contains a category of “Purchasing goods and services” which has two sub-categories, “consumer goods purchases” and “professional and personal care services.” I compared my survey data with the category of “consumer goods and purchases” and its sub-category of grocery shopping which averaged .52 hours (31.2 minutes) per day per capita. The re-calculated 2009 averages are greater than the original 2005 calculations for “consumer goods and purchases” which calculated .37 hours of shopping per day per capita.

Results and Discussion

Waste

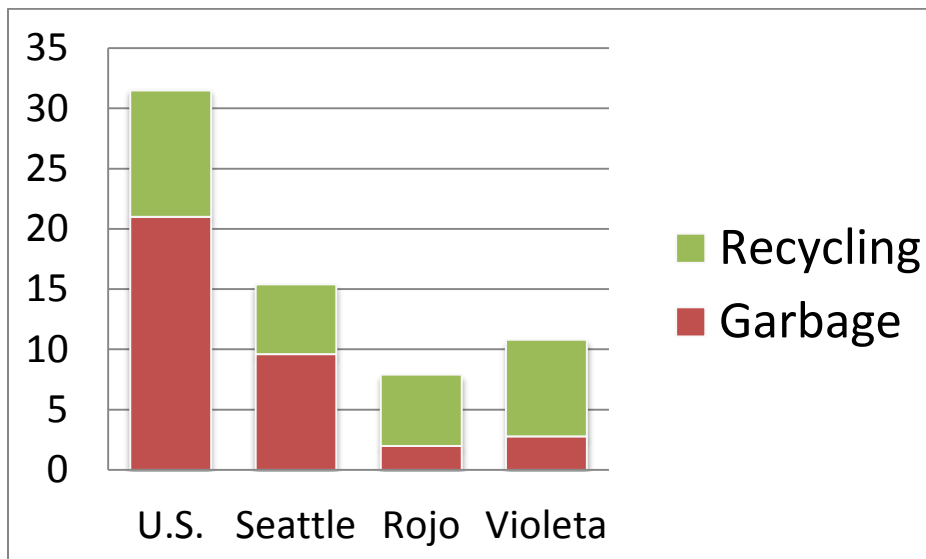


Figure 11 Curbside Solid Waste: Pounds per capita per week

In the United States the average amount of total household solid waste, including recyclables, per-person, per week has remained relatively constant since the 1990s at 4.5 lbs per person per day (EPA 2006). In 2005 the amount of 4.5 lbs per day or 31.5 lbs per week was consistent with subsequent years. In Seattle the 2005 per capita total curbside solid waste equaled 20 pounds per capita (Seattle Public Utilities 2008) including yard and food waste picked up at the curb and yard and food waste estimated to be managed by residents at their homes¹⁷. Since Rojo and Violeta composted their yard and food waste on site I re-calculated per

¹⁷ Starting in the 1990s the city of Seattle began a compulsory program to recycle yard and food waste (Bagby 2010, personal communication). Families had the option of managing yard and food waste at their homes. The city of Seattle then studied rates of yard and food waste composted in personal residences through composting as well as grass cuttings that were left in the lawn. They then included yard and waste data managed in the home in their totals for waste and recycling. Because I did not weigh yard and food waste for my research (both

capita Seattle residential curbside solid waste excluding yard and food waste for composting using City of Seattle data. Seattle curbside waste without compost equaled 15.4 pounds a week per capita including 5.8 pounds to be recycled (including paper, glass, plastic and metal). In contrast Rojo and Violeta had an average of about 9.35 total pounds of solid waste per capita per week excluding yard and food waste which was composted on-site—70% less than the national average and 60.7% less than the Seattle average. Rojo had the lowest level of total solid waste, including recyclables, at 7.9 lbs per capita per week (75% less than the national average) and Violeta had 10.8 lbs of solid waste per capita per week (66% less than the national average).

Not all waste is considered garbage (or waste destined for a landfill or incinerator). A percentage of total household waste is separated as recycling. Residential recycling rates for entire U.S. are 33%. Recycling of all recyclable materials including plastics, paper and paper board, aluminum and tin, as well as glass through curbside pick-up is mandatory in Seattle. Residential recycling rates for Seattle range between 31.5% without including non-organic recyclables and 52% including yard and food waste composting from both curbside pick-up and estimates of home composting practices. The city of Seattle's total calculations for residential waste and recycling were calculated by combining data from single-family homes as well as multi-family buildings. Single-family homes had greater recycling rates at 44% excluding yard and food waste and 61% including yard food waste. Rojo and Violeta, which would both be considered single-family units by the city of Seattle, had rates of recycling at 74.7% and 74.3% respectively not including yard and food waste.

Both intentional communities exhibited lower overall curbside waste and higher levels of recycling. The lower level of per capita consumption in these communities in contrast with

communities composted all yard and food waste “in-house”) I had to remove the yard and food waste curbside and residentially managed data from the Seattle totals in order to make a direct comparison.

Seattle and U.S averages may be due to a number of factors. First, there are more individuals within a household so the overall consumption and waste at the household level may be much lower (in terms of packaging for household goods). Second, both communities composted all of their food waste and yard waste at home. Third, purchases made by the community contained little packaging. Many individual and household items were purchased second-hand (meaning less original packaging). For example buying a used toaster means not having a box or the protective material to dispose of. There was an emphasis in the communities on purchasing bulk foods that were not packaged at all. Rojo bought very little packaged food, and Violeta slightly more which may in part account for the difference in waste.

Further, 74% of the communities' solid waste was recycled in contrast with the 2005 recycling rates of 31.5% for Seattle (SPU data from 2005) and 33% for the United States as a whole. One reason for high rate of recycling in the communities may be due to diligence and knowledge. While Seattle did and does have an excellent recycling program, there is a lot of user error. I found that most community members had very detailed knowledge of what was recyclable and what wasn't. And if someone wasn't sure there usually was a knowledgeable person around who could tell them. In addition, it was also a community practice to recycle. I never saw anyone throw away a recyclable in the trash, nor did I ever see a recyclable in the trash. I believe that if that did happen, the offender would be corrected.

I remember the first time I weighed trash at Rojo. I had my partner help me lift the large and heavy trash and recycling containers onto the scale. When we lifted the trash bin it was amazingly light—it felt empty. A bit surprised and stunned. While I hadn't intended to examine the trash carefully, I had to open the trash bin to see what was (or wasn't) inside. I found one small, not full, and very light bag of trash in the curbside trash container. My first instinct was to

assume that not all of the trash from the house had been put in the trash receptacle, I thought it was impossible for a household of 9 adults and one part-time child to generate less than one small bag of trash. However, after a year of field work I realized that they were indeed not making a great amount of trash. While they did compost food scraps, and recycled paper, plastic, glass and metals there was almost no other garbage.

Colin Beavan (2009) in his personal experiment to spend a year having no negative impact on the environment tried to live without producing waste. Before he made the attempt he examined the waste he and his family normally created—he found that much of the waste was due to take-out containers, old food, and diapers. The EPA (2006) calculated that 31% of total municipal solid waste (MSW) was consisted of containers and packaging, followed by nondurable goods, which comprised 26% of MSW. Beavan (2009) did manage to reduce his trash to almost nothing by not buying packaged goods, not buying new goods, not getting take-out food, not using disposable items, and buying in bulk. Similarly, in Rojo members followed the same practices. They did not bring take-out into the house, there was not a lot of shopping for new items, and those items that were purchased were carried out with cloth bags or in backpacks. Members rarely bought or ate processed foods (which comes with packaging) and only occasionally partook of prepared drinks—sometimes beer, wine, or juice but never soda.

Water

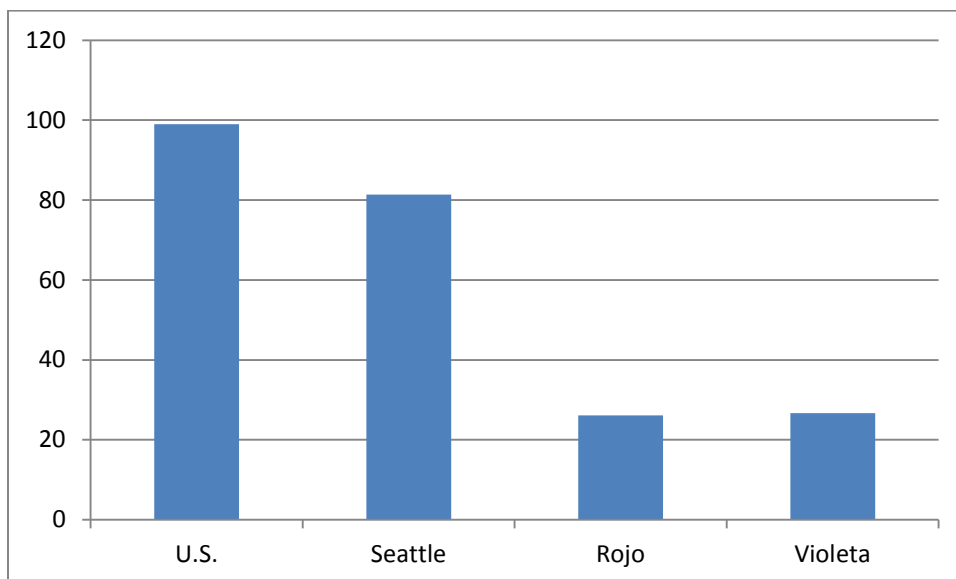


Figure 12 Gallons of Domestic water consumption per capita per day

Water for residential use is classified as domestic water including both indoor and outdoor water use such as watering lawns or gardens. In the U.S. the average rate of consumption of domestic water in 2005 was 99 gallons per person per day (Kenny et.al. 2009). The per capita per day rate of water consumption in Seattle in 2006 was 81.39 gallons per person per day (SPU 2006). It was interesting to me that Seattle Public Utilities (SPU) does not calculate an average per capita use of water. An SPU employee said that this was because it would be misleading to compare water use between different types of households. As a consequence, in order to have a number I could compare to national and community rates of water consumption I had to calculate per capita water use using SPU data. I calculated the Seattle per capita average based on a 2006 Seattle Public Utilities (SPU) detailed household survey they conducted of residential water use. The SPU survey looked at factors such as the age of the household residents, age of house, indoor water use practices, water saving devices,

and outdoor watering practices. Through baseline surveys respondents self-reported their information. While they had a small sample size of 1000 they have a high confidence level of 90-95% because they compared self-reported water use with actual meter reads. They found that high water consumption areas were Magnolia likely because of the number of retirees with lots of gardens, while Rainer Valley had low water use which they attributed to less gardening (conversation with Al Deitman 3/3/10).

Rojo and Violeta had an average per capita consumption of 26.42 gallons of water per day (70% less than the national average). Rojo used 26.05 gallons of water per capita per day and Violeta 26.79 gallons. The difference in water consumption between the two communities was not significantly different. The 95% confidence interval, for the variance between the two communities, goes from -7.50 to 6.03. However, Rojo had more variability in water consumption than Violeta—I think due to summer water use. While the city of Seattle attributes high summer water use to gardening practices, it is interesting to note that while the Rojo and Violeta had a per capita water use of just 32% of the Seattle per capita average, they still watered their gardens, and their per capita water use was highest in the summer. However, they did not water their lawns.

Violeta had a culture of water consumption and implemented a number of water saving strategies in their community. First, they had recently purchased dual flush toilets which used .8 or 1.5 gallons of water per flush compared to the standard 3.5 gallon to 5 gallon flush toilets (EPA 2011). Second, they had a practice of not flushing for urine. Third, in the kitchen they kept one plastic tub filled with soap water in the sink (to save water for washing dishes) and occasionally also used a second plastic tub filled with clean rinse water.

Rojo was less intentional than Violeta in saving water. Like Violeta they did not have a dishwasher and washed all dishes by hand. However, dishes were often washed without filling up the basin with soapy water, and were washed with the faucet frequently on and sometimes running between washing dishes. Rojo did not have dual flush toilets although they also had a practice of not flushing for urine. Rojo did have a rain barrel attached to the outside wall of the fourth story designed to connect to and flush the 4th floor toilet. Before I started fieldwork the rain barrel had been disconnected in order to do some house maintenance. During the year I was conducting field work the rain barrel was never re-connected.

In terms of personal water use there was a range of standards. Only one individual tried to collect the extra shower water from the faucet in a bucket while they were soaping. Most members were not so diligent. One member at Rojo mentioned that people were not really trying very hard to minimize their water consumption, that many people took baths, even though showers used less water. However, everyone was thoughtful about their use of water to some degree.

After my year of fieldwork, both Violeta and Rojo started another strategy. They started flushing the toilet with gray water from the sink. They placed a ten gallon bucket under the sink and removed the trap. When people use the sink the water goes directly into the bucket. They have drawn a line on the bucket indicating the point at which the bucket can be used to flush the toilet. Rojo used this system for a while and then stopped.

I think allowing people to compare their water use to the average per capita use of water in the local city or region would be an important feedback mechanism to decrease consumption rates, change consumption patterns, providing the ability to check where they are in comparison

to others as well as having a goal as to where they might be would be a strategy to encourage reduction in water use.

Shopping:

Table 1 Community and National averages for daily time spent shopping for goods and services in minutes

	Rojo	Violeta	U.S.
Average	13.6	23.6	31.2
Median	0	22.5	
Mode	0	22.5	

Members recorded time spent shopping for buying personal items, take-out food, browsing, window shopping and internet research and shopping. I compare the results of time spent shopping in each community to the national statistics taken in 2005 by the U.S. government on shopping time for goods and services. These included similar categories. In 2005, the average time spent shopping for goods and services in the United States was 31.2 minutes per day (BLS, Table A-1, 2009). In Rojo the time spent shopping was 13.6 minutes (56% less than the national average) and in Violeta the time spent shopping was 23.6 minutes (24% less than the national average).

Rojo had an average shopping time of 13.59 minutes per day per person with a median of 0 and a mode of 0, indicated that members frequently had days where they did not shopping at all. Out of 60 survey collection days, 21 consultants shopped on those days. Shopping time included online research (such as looking at Craig's List) or browsing without purchasing anything (also measured in the government research). Eleven out of 20 shopping periods were 30 minutes or less. The two longest shopping times were between one and a half-and two hours long and were shopping for the community—to purchase a used bookcase on craigslist.org in

one instance and rugs at IKEA for the other. Thirty-nine out of 60 surveys reported no shopping took place on the day the survey was handed out.

Violeta had an average shopping time of 23.61 minutes per person, per day, with a median of 22.5 and a mode of 22.5, indicated that Violeta members had more days shopping than Rojo. Out of 27 survey collection days 23 consultants shopped on those days. Of the days consultants shopped 83% of the shopping times were 30 minutes or less. However, one of the reasons that Violeta was high is because of an outlier--one person spent three and a half to four hours in a book store. In their survey they noted they were shopping for "entertainment, recreation." If I take out the outlier the average shopping time for Violeta members would be 17.5 minutes.

In both communities members shopped for themselves or their friends and family more than for the community. The communities had similar ratios of shopping trips for themselves and for the community. Rojo residents shopped for their community 28% of the time and Violeta residents 19% of the time.

Some of the differences in shopping times between the two communities may be attributed to differences in labor and food practices. In Rojo the job of grocery acquisition was taken by two people. Of these, one occasionally ordered bulk food from a distributor—this order included both food and household disposable goods like soap and feminine products. The other shopped for the community once a week at Madison Market (Central Co-op) and acquired goods from the Community Pantry, which supplied both food ordered in bulk and dumpstered food (food from the garbage dumpsters of grocery stores). In Violeta the task of grocery shopping fell on each individual member. Each member was responsible for buying a specific portion of the groceries. For example one person always purchased the produce, another the bulk food, etc.

Because of the differences in labor practices for purchasing groceries, most individuals in Rojo had less need to go shopping for basic needs—thereby leading to less shopping time overall. I found that members of Rojo rarely went to grocery stores or pharmacies. When they did make trips to the grocery store it would be to purchase items such as beer, wine, snack food, meals, or cold medicine.

Practices around food preparation and consumption also can be attributed to differences in time spent shopping. In Rojo communal dinners were frequently prepared (more often than not there would be dinner available to members) and they had a practice of making burritos for individuals to take to work. While not everyone attended the dinners—normally I would see about 4-6 people at dinner--pre-prepared dinners meant that there was always prepared food in the refrigerator to either take to work or eat at other times. In Violeta there were infrequent communal dinners (maybe once a week at best). A few times a week someone would informally cook a meal or a dish that they would share with the house, but this was not reliable. Thus I found that more members of Violeta purchased meals away from the house more often than Rojo members.

The reason that both communities shopped less than the U.S. average may be attributed to differences in shopping practices and leisure time activities that differ from mainstream U.S. culture. Briefly these include the attempt not to purchase items and instead to borrow items and pursue alternative leisure activities. In addition the practice of “Spending Limits” at Rojo may be another factor in the lower average shopping time of Rojo members. In addition the practice of spending limits at Rojo may be another factor in the lower average shopping time of Rojo members. Spending limits were instituted at Rojo as I started fieldwork, essentially limiting the

amount of discretionary funds each member had to spend to between \$400 and \$550 per month.

I will discuss these practices in later chapters.

Table 2 Types of stores visited by each community

	Rojo	Violeta
Grocery	19%	23%
Coffee & Food (take-out)	15%	33%
Books	11%	3%
Used	22%	10%

	Rojo	Violeta
Local	44%	33%
National	19%	27%

Both communities spent more time shopping at local stores and local chains than at national chains. However, Rojo members visited local stores more often. Violeta members made more trips to purchase food, visiting grocery stores 23% of the time and getting coffee and take-out food 33% of the time. All but one trip for coffee and food were made to local stores, the exception being one trip by a Violeta member.

Transportation

Table 3 Types and frequency of trips made by community as a percent of total

	IC avg.	Rojo	Violeta	U.S.
walk	18.9%	21.8%	11.5%	8.6%
bike	23%	20.2%	28.8%	<3.5%
bike/walk	.6%	n/a	1.9%	
walk/bus	9.5%	10.1%	7.7%	
public transit	10%	13.4%	1.9%	1.6%
car	37%	32.8%	48.1%	86.3%
ferry	1.2%	1.6%	n/a	

Table 4 Miles traveled by automobile per capita per day

Automobile	Rojo	Violeta	Seattle	WA State	U.S.
Average miles traveled per day	9.31	10.34	25.8	35.65	40

According to the Federal Highway Administration the average daily vehicle-miles in 2000 per licensed driver per day was 40 for the United States, 35.65 in Washington State, and 25.8 in Seattle. To compare between similar cities, Portland's licensed drivers had an average daily mileage of 23.6.

Rojo and Violeta miles traveled per day in a car were less than ½ of those traveled by the average Seattleite, less than 1/3 of the average Washingtonian, and ¼ of the average American (or 75% less than the average American). The lower rates for Seattleites in general (including the community members participating in this study) are due in part to living in a city—most amenities in Seattle may be found within a 20 minute walk. Violeta is only a five minute walk to two grocery stores and a number of other stores and restaurants. The decreased rate in miles traveled may be further attributed to the ratio of cars to drivers and an emphasis on alternative transportation such as public transportation, biking, and walking.

There was a low rate of car ownership per person and a high rate of bike ownership per person (everyone had at least one bike). At Rojo there were 2-3 cars to share among 9-11 people. At Violeta there was an average of two to three cars for six people. At Rojo the cars belonged to a car co-op, essentially a smaller cooperative within the community. Members could choose to join the car co-op or not. Car co-op members paid an additional fee for maintenance, insurance, and fuel for the available cars. There was a pick-up truck, a small compact car (a Geo Metro), and a Volkswagen Jetta that ran on biodiesel. While members credited the car co-op with reduced driving, they still had a number of cars available for their use. At Violeta there was

no formal practice of sharing cars, but inevitably car owners used their vehicles for community use, to share or lend their cars to non-car owning housemates.

Travel by foot, bike, or bus was highly esteemed by community members. Bikes were common in each community. Each community had a large storage area for bikes. In Rojo bikes and bike maintenance were paid for by the community—although individuals did "own" their bike—encouraging everyone to have a working bike.

Buses were also taken frequently. Members of Violeta lived within closer walking or biking distance to many amenities, so there was less car use. Rojo was located on top of a long steep hill. It was a frequent occurrence (for myself as well) to walk or bike to the bottom of the hill and take the bus to the top.

Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle

There were social norms about spending little or no money on household goods. Choosing not to consume, getting things for free and recycling materials were top priorities.

At Violeta and Rojo most if not all dishware was previously used in some way. All of the dinner plates were used or donated. At Violeta most of their "glasses" were old glass jars, including jam jars, peanut butter jars, and canning jars. Interestingly the jars held up really well to communal use, perhaps because they are thicker glass than standard drinking glasses and thus less prone to breakage. However, in comparison with Rojo, Violeta residents had less concern over aesthetics. While Rojo had "matching" plates from thrift stores that were all different shades of blue, Violeta residents used whatever plates, glasses, bowls, and mugs were available, including plastic utensils, which Rojo residents would not use out of concern that plastic leaches chemicals into their food.

Violeta and Rojo members also shared their unwanted items with the rest of the community. Members put their unwanted or underused items in the box. Many of these items were clothes and it was common for clothing items to be shared in this way. The box was also available for friends and other community members to take or add items. Members often remarked in interviews about finding clothes in the Free Box that they then incorporated into their wardrobes. At Violeta the designated space for unwanted items was called the Free Box¹⁸, placed near the front door and was more accessible to friends and guests—I often looked through the free box for “finds” when I came through the house.

Also common are clothing swaps. This is a celebratory gathering where people are invited to bring their unwanted clothes. All the people attending the clothing swap go through the clothes and find what they like. The remaining clothes are then given to a thrift store or a charitable organization.

If an item can be reused instead of thrown away or put in the recycling bin for street side pickup, that item is saved and used. For example, the community keeps most of its glass jars and empty food containers (such as yogurt containers) to use as glasses to drink out of or for food storage containers. They also have an ample supply of glass jars and other potentially re-usable supplies in the mud porch off the kitchen.

Anything that can be composted is composted. This includes food waste and some paper, as well as yard waste. They have a number of composting systems including a worm bin, a garbage can, and a yard waste composting system. There is a small compost bin in the kitchen used to collect food waste. This small bin is emptied into the compost system in the backyard.

¹⁸ All established communities I have visited have some kind of area for sharing unwanted, but still usable items. In many communities this is called the “Free Box.” However, there are other names used such as a “Give Away” box or at Sherwood the “Free Closet” because they outgrew out of their Free Box and designated a closet instead.

At Violeta the community maintained a worm bin for composting food as well as separate compost for yard waste. The worm bin is located outside the basement door and under the deck. The worm bin is fairly large and made out of wood. A small compost can is kept in the kitchen for all food scraps. The food scraps get emptied into the bin regularly. Worm bins are a relatively easy way to compost food waste easily and quickly. The one major issue with a worm bin is that the worms need to be constantly “fed” in order to keep them warm and alive. It was a difficult job in the winter to keep the worms warm enough. A reminder was put on the compost bin in the kitchen that said “Remember the Worms.” Compost from the worm bin is used in their yard and garden.

The worm bin was managed by one person in the beginning of my research, Vincent. He learned about composting from living in another community in the Midwest. He was so passionate about composting with worms that he brought them to Seattle with him.

I came to Seattle with worms [for compost]. I brought them on the plane in the passenger area. I was moving from a co-op into the Jesuit Volunteer Corps House and I wanted to make sure they had worms.

(Vincent)

Conclusion

Personal and household consumption are major contributors to environmental problems. Mobility (personal travel), food, and home building and demolition “in aggregate, account for 70% to 80% of the life cycle environmental impacts in industrialized countries” (Tuckker and Cohen, et.al. 2010: 17). Tuckker and Cohen, et.al. (2010) examined a number of studies to identify factors that lead to increased levels of consumption. These factors are:

1. Income (the higher the income the higher the consumption),
2. Household size (more people under one roof has less impact than the opposite),
3. Location (urban people have fewer impacts than those living in the suburbs or rural areas), automobile ownership,
4. Food consumption patterns (vegetarian, local, seasonal, and organic diets have lower impacts),
5. International and interregional trade,
6. Social and cultural differences (cultural matters),
7. Geographic location and housing type (pg. 17-18).

Tukker et al. (2010) argue that the state of knowledge pertaining to [the behavioral change] aspect of the consumption problem is much more inchoate. Research on the formulation and implementation of effective “change management for sustainable consumption should be treated as an area of priority attention for industrial ecologists” (Tukker et al. 2010, 13). They also argue that sustainable patterns of consumption and production may be achieved through the following interventions: greening production, greening products and services, intensifying use, greening consumption patterns, and reducing consumption volumes.

These urban intentional communities are excellent places to study consumption patterns because they fall under both the context for high consumption (personal mobility, food, and

home), and because many of the factors that help determine consumption levels are present in these cases (income, household size, location, food consumption patterns, and cultural differences). Yet, while falling into categories which would assume higher rates of consumption, I have shown in this chapter that they are able to reduce their consumption through diligent effort within a structure and culture that emphasize sustainable practices.

There are many reasons why these communities had lower rates of consumption. Potentially the most significant reason for decreased rates of consumption may be shared housing, which decreases the amount of resources used, in addition, living together allows members to share knowledge through both informal and formal discussions which increases awareness. However, there are other, potentially more important factors that lead to lower consumption levels.

Through the following chapters I investigate different factors leading to more sustainable lifestyles. In chapters Five and Six I look at their consumption practices through a framework of practice theory. In Chapter Five, I discuss the strengths of collective provisioning and in Chapter Six the importance of developing an alternative habitus and cultural capital. In Chapters Seven and Eight I focus on the institutional framework of the community and the iterative development of consumption practices through the worldview and knowledge of members of the community and the community itself.

Chapter 5: Collective Economics for Community and Sustainability

The biggest obstacle to social change in the United States may be our imaginations (E. Miller 2005, 10).

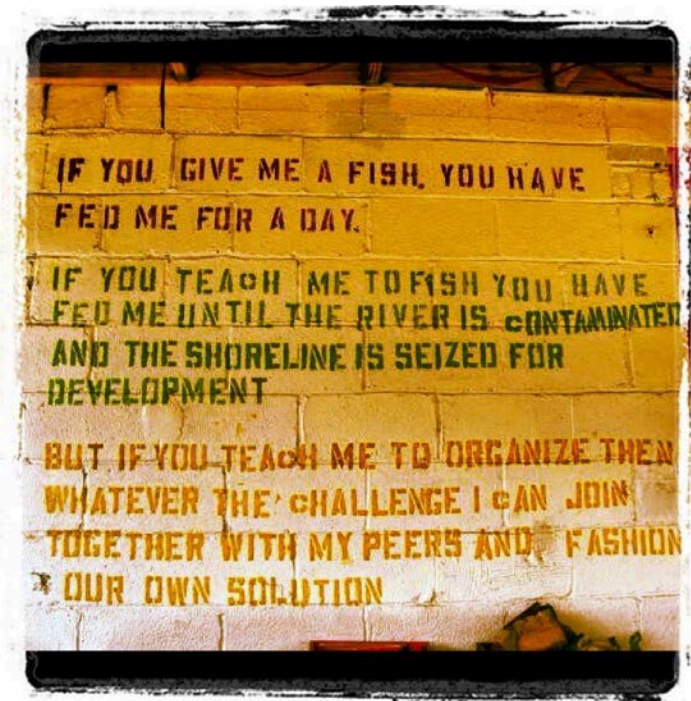


Figure 13 A Shared Photograph from Occupy Seattle's Facebook Page. Text Credit to Ricardo Levins Morales

In the last chapter I showed that intentional community members were consuming at lower rates than the average American and Seattleite. Through the rest of the dissertation, starting with this chapter, I discuss why and how they were able to minimize their consumption as much as they did and discuss their limitations. In this chapter I argue that communities, as collectivities, are able to work together to provide micro-economies based on values of egalitarianism, justice, solidarity, and sustainability similar to Magnson's (2008) mindful economics, solidarity economics (E. Miller 2005), Gibson-Graham's (2006) community

economies, and new economics (Seyfang 2009) which speak to nurturing and growing existing alternatives within our economy. Further, I will argue that perhaps the individual should not be the locus of study for consumption, but rather social groups or collectivities whose lives are tied together in various ways (as opposed to examining differences in race or class) and whose collective acts serve to create alternative and more sustainable micro-economies.

An introductory anthropology textbook defines an economy as “a system of production, distribution, and consumption of resources” (Kottak 2005), a standard definition, although better would be to also include services as well as resources. In the dominant American culture there is a belief that we have a “capitalist economy,” as my students frequently profess. After surveying students (I had a group of students write down and anonymously turn in definitions of capitalism and where money came from) and talking with friends and acquaintances I realized a popular conceptualization of capitalism (when people can give a definition at all) seems to be that capitalism relies on privately held business to generate products and services needed by the rest of society, allowing us to efficiently bring people what they need, provide jobs, and enable creative and hardworking people the ability to get rich. They also believe that the capitalist system is inherently democratic (as if capitalism and democracy were the same thing) and its opposite, socialism, is not. However, when I ask, most students can’t give a definition of capitalist economy, even when professing we live in one. Thus there is a belief that we meet our economic needs through the “capitalist” system, but that belief is not substantiated on any kind of knowledge about how the economy actually works.

In fact, the American economy is not a capitalist economy, that is, an economy in which all services and resources are produced and distributed through privately owned firms whose sole purpose is to generate and re-invest profit. Instead we have a multitude of overlapping and

interdependent economies including capitalist, socialist, subsistence, cooperative, household, barter, and even a thriving gift economy (e.g. Linux, Wikipedia, and open source software in general) (Barbrook 2007), among others.

For example, household economies, including childrearing, are an example of a noncapitalist economy. I'm writing this section on Mother's Day and there are many little quips being sent around giving thanks for all the work that mothers do or calculations about how much money mothers would make if their work were paid—all which speaks to the importance of household economies especially as it relates to raising children. However, there are many other forms of unpaid work in the United States which generate and distribute resources. For example, all volunteer work, growing food for food banks in community gardens, volunteering in schools, helping friends in need, and cooking dinner for friends are all components of noncapitalist economies.

I suspect that it may not even be true to say that capitalism is the dominant system in the United States--although it may certainly feel true. Gibson-Graham (2006) argue that capitalism gained discursive dominance and has colonized our imaginations through a process of naturalization beginning with the “demise of socialism” (p.53). As a consequence the economy is considered something that governs society rather than something that can be transformed and managed by people—an argument which harkens back to *The Great Transformation* (Polanyi 2001)—making alternatives seem unviable. Similarly, Miller writes

“for years, we have been told a story about “The Economy”—the “Capitalist Economy,” to be precise—that has made us believe in its overwhelming power and inevitability. This story has hidden from us our own power, potential, and value as creative human beings” (E. Miller 2005, 4).

Miller (2005) and Gibson-Graham (2006) argue that in order to allow noncapitalist economies to fulfill a larger share of our economic needs, we need to establish the belief in human ability to transform our economic lives. Gibson-Graham argue that in order to overcome the hegemony of capitalist thought we need to create a language of a diverse economy which would allow us to “read a landscape we have always read as capitalist as a landscape of economic difference, populated by various capitalist and noncapitalist institutions and practices” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 54). Miller argues that we need to view capitalism as “an ongoing project to colonize economic space,” and recognize the importance of a “solidarity economy” in keeping our lives going—especially when we hit tough times. “These are the things that keep us alive when the factories close down, when the ice storm comes, when our houses burn down, or when the paycheck is just not enough” (E. Miller 2005, 6). Through telling alternative stories, we can build on existing alternative economic structures. Story-telling

changes the isolating stories that often shape our realities and allows us to experience new stories of connection...are able to see some of the many economies that exist in our midst” that these are the seeds we can “water” to create new and larger spaces of solidarity, or solidarity economics (E. Miller 2005, 6).

In this chapter I aim to tell stories of sustainable economic alternatives.

One way we might view noncapitalist economies is through understanding the ways in which they offer systems of provision for resources and services (Seyfang 2009). Spaargaren’s social practices model (Spaargaren 2003), building on Giddens’ structuration theory, is helpful in understanding the roles that systems of provision have in forming individual or community consumption practices. Spaargaren argues that agency exists within systems of provision

dictated by structure¹⁹. Within different segments of one's lifestyle (transportation, leisure, housing, etc.) one has a limited range of choices. For example, if one only has a choice between a more affordable single family house in the suburbs or a more expensive single family apartment in the city, a choice has to be made between them. However, in different lifestyle areas people may make more or less sustainable choices in each area and for each situation. For example one may buy only organic food, but then drive a car to work. Therefore the systems of provision dictate the range or extent of sustainable practice in each lifestyle area. One aspect missing from Spaargaren's model is the idea of collective provisioning, where groups of individuals work together to self-provision, especially in areas with limited availability of sustainable options.

Both Bourdieu and Spaargaren see structures as limiting what is possible—either through internalized dispositions (Bourdieu) or systems of provision (Spaargaren). Similarly researchers on sustainable consumption have argued that structural constraints limit the ability for individuals to practice or create more sustainable lifestyles (Hobson 2002; Isenhour 2010a; Evans 2011). However, one aspect of practice theory that needs more attention is to deconstruct the dichotomy between individual and society. Perhaps more focus is needed on collectivities beyond individuals but outside of traditional divisions of society by class, ethnicity, or any of the other normative classification systems we use.

For Spaargaren social practices such as clothing, food, housing, and utility use may only be selected by actors based on the choices made available through the *system of provision*-- institutions such as clothing retailers, grocer's, developers and utility companies. When we

¹⁹ Bourdieu uses a similar concept in what he refers to as “fields of stylistic possibles” (Bourdieu 1984, 226) in which for certain areas of practices such as cars or drinks, which he refers to as worlds, an individual through cultural capital and habitus prefers particular types or areas of that world—for example selecting a Prius or a Hummer. However, I might argue that Bourdieu would say there might be consistency in choices between different fields of stylistic possibles whereas Spaargaren would say that there may be inconsistency

think of systems of provision in Spaargaren's model, there is little choice for individuals, except to consume within the available systems of provision. However, I would argue that agency and structure in his model might be altered. Collectives or social groups may dictate lifestyle choices as well as form their own systems of provision. At a society scale groups of citizens within municipalities or countries provide for themselves (city owned water utilities or medicare are two examples). However, smaller collectives can also provide for themselves allowing for greater adherence to the groups value's as well as promoting greater democratic participation in creating or maintaining provisions of resources and services.

Collectively, groups of people do provision for themselves. Consider for example the case of the North Harris Trust, a 62,000 acre estate in Scotland owned and managed by a crofting community that lives and works on the land as owners and members (North Harris Trust; Mackenzie 2010). The community successfully blocked the development of a corporate wind turbine installation and instead is working to establish a community-owned facility. In developing their own source of wind power the community would be creating "an energy commons, which can be managed to further the collective interest. Each crofting community trading company expects to appropriate the surplus communally" (Mackenzie 2010, 328). In another example, Sustainable West Seattle, a community group, started the West Seattle Tool Library, a collection of 940 tools to be shared by their membership. The purpose is not only to share tools (and thus decrease individual consumption) but to "inspire its community to participate in community projects, such as park restorations, and pursue sustainability through fun projects like backyard gardens, home energy improvements, and water harvesting" (Sustainable West Seattle 2012).

In both the cases, the West Harris Trust and the West Seattle Tool Shed, are finding solutions outside of the capitalist logic and creating systems of provisioning based on collective need and interdependence. These cases suggest that new more sustainable lifestyles develop by widening the range of what is possible either through participation in community-based management (Mackenzie 2010) or through a political imaginary or politics of possibility (Gibson-Graham 2006).

Seyfang (2009) incorporates collective aspect of sustainable consumption and systems of provision in her five indicators of sustainable consumption: localization, reducing ecological footprints, community-building, collective action, and building new infrastructures of provision. However, all five indicators are also related. Collective groups cannot build new infrastructures of provision if they are not able to build community and act collectively. In addition, collective infrastructures by their very nature may be local. However, the ability to reduce ecological footprints is not a natural result of collective provisioning, rather reduction of ecological footprints serves as a measure of success. By collectively provisioning, the intentional communities in this study exemplify all five indicators.

Members of Rojo and Violeta may be seen as generating systems of provisioning for sustainable lifestyle choices using alternative economic strategies. These community driven systems of provisioning can meet the needs of the community while adhering more closely to their value set, allowing members to lead more sustainable lifestyles. Communities collectively provide alternative provisioning to members for housing, food, household needs (through labor), transportation, healthcare and recreation. In this chapter I will discuss each of these areas of provisioning and why they are important to a sustainable lifestyle.

Housing Impacts

Single family housing in private ownership is an established and unquestioned practice in the United States. Home ownership is often considered the backbone of the U.S. economy, as homes are the most significant source of wealth for Americans (Domhoff 2010). Since WWII the development of single family homes has grown in the form of suburban sprawl, with new construction of homes on formerly rural or exurban landscapes planned around the use of the automobile. The desire for the American Dream house—a large house, with a yard, and a garage—increases private wealth (for some), drives new home development, increases dependence on the automobile, and generates patterns of over-consumption (Gonzalez 2009). The desire for private home ownership coincides with a desire for the American Dream—to own a home with private land to manage as you wish. New homes with land take up space, thus also driving sprawl, which comes at a price to both the environment as well as communities. Ecological impacts of urban sprawl include greenhouse gas emissions from fuel use, over-consumption of resources for building, remodeling, and furnishings, and non-point source pollution from lawns and other impervious surfaces such as paved surfaces and buildings (Arnold and Gibbons 1996). Social impacts of urban sprawl include a decrease in social capital and an increase in transportation costs and commuting time. In addition, housing being tied to the market has created a lack of affordable housing in high demand areas such as Seattle.

The impacts of private homes in general and sprawl in particular have not gone without notice. Green housing (energy efficient design features and renewable and nontoxic materials) including all of the “green” accoutrements such as energy star appliances are a focal point of the effort to “green” our homes and lifestyles. Urban and urbanizing areas, including the Seattle

metropolitan area, have also focused on densification including mixed use developments (developments including housing, office, and retail spaces) and urban growth boundary lines

While there has been increasing interest and rhetoric around “green” building and densification, there is still a push to generate new housing stock. The average number of people living in a house is decreasing even as the size of houses increases. The square footage per person is increasing and the growth rate of households world-wide has now exceeded the rate of population growth (Liu et al., 2003). The pattern of second home buying is part of a larger trend of an increasing household to person ratio (see Chapter 9 of this dissertation). Associated effects of rapid increase in the number of households include higher land and resource use, and effects on biodiversity (Liu et al., 2003).

In response to a lack of affordable housing and meaningful community contact, many single family homes may be shared by unrelated adults or with extended families. However, single family homes are ill-designed for this form of housing. In fact co-housing (a form of intentional community where individual families or collectives own individual units while the community as a whole owns the land and community building) may be forced to alter design plans in order to suit the needs of planners and lending institutions.

Shared Housing

The simplest sustainable solutions for housing are to increase density, decrease the square footage per person, and to increase the number of people per home—shared housing does all of this. Many scholars and activists have argued that shared housing is a key to sustainable housing (McIntosh, Gray, and Maher 2010).

McIntosh, Gray and Maher (2010) argue that the focus of “green housing” has been on the construction of single family homes at the expense of more flexible buildings which can

accommodate extended families in particular and shared homes in general. Shared homes are more sustainable as they offer smaller square footage per person along with other benefits to residents including affordability, community and resource sharing. They argue that design and development for shared homes are not used more frequently because of the primacy of "modernist" approaches in green housing that emphasize privacy, space and status in the design and development of single family homes.

Many researchers have noted the ecological benefits of sharing a house. Higher occupancy homes have lower CO₂ emissions (Baiocchi et.al. 2010). Most obviously by living in a shared house these intentional communities were able to share more and thus need less "stuff" and square footage. Simply living in a group house decreases the level of consumption per person. In terms of household goods instead of one appliance per adult, shared households only need one toaster, one hot kettle, one lawn mower, one set of tools, fewer pots and pans, etc.

This society doesn't really seek to be sustainable... We are using more resources that are renewable. The biggest piece [is to] consume less- people have to do things less [like] drive, eat, shower, shop, buy less, produce less and on the other end compost more. It's not possible to get there. Sure it's possible, but people don't want to and society at large isn't teaching people. We're [the U.S.] teaching people to want to consume. Unless there is an interest to teach people that consuming less is really great I don't think that we can. This house is closer to sustainable than the average American household. Where we shop, what we choose to buy, what businesses we choose to support, how we treat our money as individuals, how we deal with transportation, how we furnish the house. But there are things we don't have control over, like water or green energy options (I think we do that). There isn't

an option for everything, but when there are we try to do it.
(Rowan)

However, living in shared housing, along with the value of ecological sustainability, allows for greater interaction between people resulting in more opportunities for collective solutions to problems.

One thing that I think is great about our house, well one when I think you're living together under one roof, you're already reducing a lot of resources, but then also living with people who have really active discussions around what and how you're consuming things I think is very educational and I think people are often really smart around brainstorming around better ways to do something, different resources that are alternatives.
(Raine)

As we will see in the rest of the chapter, communities tried to find solutions to many of the issues they faced including labor, food, transportation, healthcare, and recreation.

Household Economics

Community members share the tasks of maintaining a home, including house maintenance, landscape management, cleaning, making purchases, and creating an aesthetic. Shared labor contributes to what Miller (2005) calls householding economies, the set of labor that provides for the home. Sharing the work within the house gives members extra time to pursue other activities—such as hobbies, activism, participating in community, or even working for income.

In my experience, after moving out of community, I was overwhelmed by the amount of labor it required for my partner and me to keep up a home. We had to do everything ourselves, if

the bathroom wasn't clean, the floor needed vacuuming, or we needed food. Nothing would get done if we didn't do it ourselves. It was a bit of a shock,. Of course there are trade-offs. In retrospect, we hadn't realized how much more time we saved by living in community. We did the labor required of us, or even a bit more, but we could spend a lot of time not doing housework, and still able to live in a clean house. All the work just gets done.

Each of the study communities had labor systems that ensured the needs of the community would be met, including cleaning, upkeep, shopping, paying the bills, gardening, etc. However, labor in each of the study communities was structured differently, partly due to differences in size, but also to differences in overall goals of the organization. Both labor systems were structured to ensure transparency, functionality, flexibility, and accountability. However, Rojo's system had higher expectations for its members than did Violeta's.

Economic System at Rojo:

The labor and financial structures of Rojo are linked. Both are based on an egalitarian value system that everyone's labor is equal—thus their financial system is based on labor hours as opposed to dollars. Instead of each person being required to pay a certain amount to cover expenses, each member is required to work about 99 hours a month for the community. These hours may be spent doing either doing “house quota” (community work) or “income quota” (wage labor). House quota is work done either directly for the community (cooking, shopping, cleaning, administration, home repair, meetings) or work that fulfills the values and goals of the community (such as some approved activist work, or representing the house at a meeting). Income generating labor is work that is done for financial compensation.

All members pay a portion of their income (explained in detail below) into two “pots”—money for the community and money for the social justice fund. The first category of money pays for community expenses including debt on the house, taxes, house maintenance, renovations and utilities, and \$35 a month per person as a donation to the social justice fund. The community also pays for household goods, personal products, health insurance, medical bills and prescriptions, utilities, telephone, transportation, and internet, newspaper, and magazine subscriptions. There is also a retirement plan, sick leave, and family leave. The community also repays the debts of permanent members, such as school loans or unsecured debt, by paying the minimum monthly payments. On the other hand, school loans are also considered wage income for those residents in school.

The community maintains a budget of both community work and income based on the needs of individuals, the community, and the building itself. Income is generated through members’ contributions of income-generating labor as part of their hourly contribution to the house. The exact ratio of in house versus outside work hours is determined by a software program, called “The Gizmo,” developed by a community member (see Figure 14). Members request certain ratios—such as 25 house hours and 75 income generating hours. However, “The Gizmo” takes into account both the member’s desired ratio of house to income work and the needs of the community. Member’s requests, the number of hours needed in-community, the amount of money made per person per hour, and the amount of money the community needs are all entered into The Gizmo. The Gizmo then determines each member’s monthly work ratios, which may or may not be different from what they requested, but will meet the community’s needs. Therefore, members of the community are not necessarily given the ratio they desire. Most members request a higher rate of income generating labor and a lower rate of house labor

than the community needs, which in part may reflect a disinterest in housework or too much responsibility at a job.

Labor Swapping Gizmo.
Sept. 2005

Name	Desired House Quota	Desired Income Quota	Labor Needs	Money Needs	House Quota	Income Quota	Owed to House
	17	96	45.18	\$917.36	25	87	\$863.53
	7	44	22.59	\$389.66	15	35	\$737.28
	68	45	45.18	\$917.36	76	36	\$243.20
	35	78	45.18	\$917.36	43	69	\$1,272...
	63	49	45.18	\$917.36	71	41	\$573.55
	16	40	22.59	\$458.68	24	32	\$348.77
	22	80	45.18	\$779.32	30	72	\$529.53
	21	86	44.68	\$862.38	30	78	\$1,546...
	35	78	45.18	\$917.36	43	69	\$962.20
House Totals	287	599	360	\$7,076...	360	523	\$7,076...

Figure 14. Rojo printed and posted spreadsheet indicating quota hours desired and actual.

Members need to contribute a certain number of labor hours, which they call quota hours, to the house every month. The actual number of monthly quota hours required is decided at least annually. So, if members are required to work 100 total quota hours a month for the house, those quota hours are divided between work for income and work for the house. If a member works 40 hours within the community and 60 hours outside of the community they pay the community the equivalent of the 60 hours of outside labor. So, if that member makes \$20.00 an hour they contribute a total of \$500, they would need to give 25 hours of their income to the community (25 hours * \$20). On the other hand if the member owes 60 hours of income generating work but they make \$7 an hour they contribute \$420 to the community. The amount of money they owe to the house is a reflection of how much they make. People who make more money pay

more money—thereby partially fulfilling the community’s goal of having everyone’s labor be accounted for equally.



Figure 15. Shortcut to the Gizmo on the house computer

All members work at least a portion of their hours fulfilling their house quota. However, not all members contribute income quota to the community. There are some members who at one point or another choose to only contribute house quota. In this way the community may support those who are unemployed, are doing non-paid or low pay activist work, are new parents, etc. In addition to the house meeting all members’ basic needs (food, housing, healthcare, transportation) members whose only labor is fulfilling house quota also receive a stipend from the house for discretionary spending. At the time of my research the stipend was \$80 per month. House members who contribute all or most of their labor as house quota also support working members with outside work for income by ensuring the needs of the community are met through tasks such as shopping and cooking. While there are times when some members may not be expected to contribute income quota, all members are expected to contribute house quota.

Every month residents submit a labor sheet itemizing their labor tasks and time. Meeting time in formal weekly house meetings and retreats or more informal meetings such as committee meetings or mediations (smaller meetings to resolve conflict) also count towards total house quota. The weekly meetings will normally run up to three hours. So it is normal for someone to “rack-up” a minimum nine hours of meeting time a month just participating at house meetings. Meetings then are a way for members to easily count time towards their community work quota. The official meeting time is “called” at the end of the meeting. More than once I have witnessed a spontaneous cheer by members when a meeting time was “called” at the end of a long meeting—they were happy to be able to count those hours towards their house quota.

Because individuals owed both time and money, members could go into “quota debt” for time and money owed to the house. So for example, if someone owed 40 hours of community work per month, and completed 30 hours of community work in January, they then owed 10 additional hours to the house. If in February they again only worked 30 out of the 40 hours owed to the house they would then owe the house 20 hours of community work. Members called the backlog of time owed to the house as “quota debt.” A quota debt of more than 50 hours triggers a community discussion. The member in question would be required to submit a plan on how to get out of quota debt. This has happened twice, and in both cases the person moved out.

There were also members with “quota surplus.” These members had worked more than their quota obligation. Once someone had quota surplus they could use their quota surplus towards future quota obligations in the same category. For example, if they had a quota surplus for house quota, they could use their surplus for future obligations, but not towards their income quota. During my fieldwork there were members with combinations of house and income quota surpluses.

Through participating in this labor system based on time members talked about how their focus went from money to time. Time became very valuable to them, causing members to constantly weigh their options and obligations in terms of time.

Quota hours for community work were also used in alternative ways. During my fieldwork two members were planning a wedding and starting a family. The community 'gifted' them 50 quota hours of labor for the wedding (community members did not give material wedding gifts). The couple getting married could plan on a specific amount of physical help from other community members, and those members helping could count their labor towards their community quota. In order to give the couple a combined 100 quota hours, the rest of the community gave themselves additional quota hours to make up the difference. While planning for a new baby the community was prepared to offer house quota to the new parents to account for the labor they put into childcare, reducing the amount of non-childcare quota expected of them and allowing other members to help with childcare to fulfill their house quota.

When a member contributes income quota as a portion of their total hours for the community, the member pays the community their hourly wage for however many hours of work they have allotted to the community. For example, in a given month a member named "Alex" may choose to contribute 50 hours of income quota and 49 hours of house quota. Any money earned after the 50 hours worked for wages belongs to Alex. So if Alex worked 80 hours a month at \$20.00 an hour his income would be \$1,600 and he would pay the community \$1,000.00 and have \$600 left over. This left over money or the income generated above and beyond the requirements of the house is not completely free to be spent. Community members have self-imposed spending caps of between \$4200 to \$6000 per year which works out to a monthly spending cap of between \$350 and \$500 a month. Members can keep all income that

falls under the spending cap, meaning if they are able to save money instead of spending it they can use that money in a future year. Member's income beyond the annual spending limit level goes into the Social Justice Fund, and gets repaid to the members after they move out, along with a move-out gift of \$2,000.

Rojo implemented this system of spending caps beginning my second month of field work. Spending caps are meant to limit and equalize the amount of discretionary spending among house members. Their goals were to create a level of equality in spending ability among individual members, limit the amount of consumption and thus the ecological footprint of members, create an environment in which individuals were required to put money away for the future, and to increase the amount of money available in their social justice fund.

Initially, the community decided that \$350 per month per member of discretionary money would be the ultimate financial goal for spending caps. However, realizing that this may be a difficult amount for everyone to manage, they offered each other the option to initiate spending limits at a higher dollar amount of either \$550 or \$450 a month for the first year and slowly lowering the amount of discretionary spending by \$100 a year until they reach \$350. To continue using "Alex" as an example, he was able to keep \$600 dollars of his wages for himself, but because of spending limits was only able to spend \$350 leaving a balance of \$250. Alex must "save" that balance of \$250 in the community's social justice fund which will be paid back after Alex moves out of the house. If Alex spends less than the \$350 a month he may save that money to use at a later date. The money saved would not count towards spending caps for future months or years. So if Alex is able to save \$500 dollars the first year, he could spend that \$500 dollars the second year above his second year spending cap.

The social justice fund is both a bank account and a fund that collectively holds members' savings from wages and other assets accrued after money owed to the community and above the spending cap. Members were also expected to deposit any money or assets they had saved prior to the spending cap policy into the social justice fund. The account is managed by the membership. Decision about managing money from the social justice fund are made by consensus (as are all decisions made at community meetings).

The intent of the account is to enable the community to offer grants and loans to social justice projects including grassroots and more established nonprofit groups and to assist new cooperative projects. For example, with money from the social justice fund the community was able to give a no-interest short term loan to a local soup kitchen that had fallen behind in its bills. The soup kitchen was able to repay the loan within a couple of months and was saved from potential ruin.

The social justice fund will operate as a zero interest bank using the TAK bank model. The fund will issue loan credits (Ridley), although a portion of the fund would be available for grants made possible by a monthly \$35 dollar expense for all residents. Members would leave their money in the social justice fund until they move out at which point they could receive their money in one of three ways. They could choose 10% on move out and then 10% a year for the next 9 years, or they could wait and receive the lump sum in 10 years, or they could withdraw 50% when they move out and forfeit the rest. No interest would be given on their loan repayments. Once they use the money to start a new community, that new community will also contribute money into the fund.

The Rojo economic system ensures that the community's labor and financial needs are met. The system allows for transparency and accountability of labor, while facilitating a system

that individual and household needs are collectively met. The system allows people to live on less money which allows them to work less (if they so choose), giving members more time for activism or personal enrichment.

Economic System at Violeta

At Violeta the labor and financial systems are separate. All members pay an equal share of the house expenses with the exception of food. At the time of my fieldwork the monthly dues were \$350, which included everything but food (which I will discuss later in the chapter) and long distance charges²⁰. The community pays all the bills for the house, including utilities, property taxes, insurance, maintenance and renovation, a land line, internet service, newspaper subscriptions, and household furniture and goods. They also maintained a savings account for emergencies and for repairs on the house. The community was also responsible to pay any debt owed by the house. However, at the time of my fieldwork the community did not owe any money—the house had recently been paid off. Members could purchase small items for the house without house approval for anything under \$25 and get reimbursed.

Labor for the house is divided between regular chores including house administrative tasks, such as meetings and work preparing for meetings, special tasks, and monthly work parties. All members were expected to attend the monthly work parties which took care of larger cleaning and maintenance projects for the house, as well as attend the monthly meetings and any other special meetings which were organized (for example meetings around finding new members). There is a list of chores that are divided up between members. At meetings members pick chores that they either don't mind doing or that they want to see done in a specific way and thus shift from month to month. Examples of chores include composting, finances, garbage and

²⁰ Long distance charges are for calls made out of the region on a land-line telephone.

recycling, cleaning the bathroom, and shopping. Two community members were also responsible for being board members of the land trust that owns the property. Rotating but still voluntary tasks included cooking house dinners and organizing a monthly spaghetti feed. Special tasks frequently came up at meetings or retreats, which were given out on a volunteer basis, although everyone was expected and frequently did volunteer. The community tries to divide the labor evenly, but doesn't keep track of hours or what has been done. If members don't complete their chores, volunteer tasks, or don't regularly attend meetings, members of the community may talk to the person individually. If missing expectations continue to be an issue members, will bring the issue to a house meeting.

Compared to Rojo, Violeta's system seemed less cumbersome to members—there was not a lot of money or time to track. For the most part, Violeta's system worked for them. However, because people in Rojo kept transparency and accountability through maintaining a record for hours, people in Rojo were beholden mainly to themselves. For example, if one failed to complete labor, the individual couldn't forget about it. The lack of hours dedicated to the task remained on their record and their quota debt moved with them through time. However, too many uncompleted hours often resulted in the individual deciding to move out. On the other hand, at Violeta, an uncompleted task may go unnoticed, but might also bring conflict, a potential negative impact of a less stringent system.

While Violeta had a smaller population and simpler labor system than Rojo, they were still able to provide systems of provision—including a clean and well maintained home, more affordable phone, internet and news subscriptions, household goods, and furniture, and community building events.

Towards the end of my year of fieldwork Violeta made adjustments to their labor system in order to create more accountability and community building within the labor system. They created small committees of members who were responsible for ensuring the reliable and thoughtful completion of some tasks. These committees included food, shopping, and maintenance. Another community, the Sherwood Co-op, influenced their decision to adopt committees. The system of committees had one especially positive outcome, which was to provide more food for the community, which I will discuss in the next section.

Food

Both communities provided food collectively. Collective food buying creates both an economy of scale, but also incorporates the combined community knowledge of food including the economic and social impacts into the food purchasing process. By creating an economy of scale they could provide more food more cheaply for the house than if buying separately. Incorporating the knowledge of food and food systems from across the community into food acquisition practices resulted in purchasing more organic, local, and non-packaged foods as well as dumpstered food. This allowed members to have access to more organic and local food than they might have otherwise purchased on their own. Finally, by collectively buying food individuals could spend less time shopping for household goods and less time maintaining the house than if they lived individually or as single family.

Both communities obtained food through similar sources. Both communities purchased most of their food through a local food cooperative in Seattle—The Central Co-op. Both communities also obtained food through Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), grew some of their own produce, and became members of The Community Pantry, a collective of individuals and communities that both consolidate their dumpster diving finds and purchase bulk

items (such as grains, legumes, flours) or household items such as toilet paper. Although Violeta only participated through purchasing bulk items. Some urban gathering was also practiced in both communities.

However, they also had different alternative sources of food. Violeta purchased food at Trader Joe's which had recently opened a block away from the Central Co-op, while Rojo also purchased bulk orders through a natural foods wholesale distributor (one of the same distributors that sold to the Central Co-op).

Food at Rojo

All food in the house is purchased communally and food was regularly prepared through quota hours. The community is vegetarian, no meat products are purchased by the house, and no meat is allowed to enter the house.

Food shopping and food preparation are part of the house labor system and time spent in these activities counts towards members' monthly labor share of community hours. During the time of my field work two people were designated as food shoppers for the community, one for the Central Co-op and the Community Pantry and another for the bulk order through the food distributor.

The community participated in a work trade with a local organic farm that operated as a CSA. One member worked 20 hours a month for the CSA, promoting the CSA or helping at the Farmers' Market in exchange for two big bags of produce a week. The 20 hours of work contributed to the work exchange counted towards the member's quota hours.

Food is purchased weekly at the local food cooperative and monthly through the organic distributor. Efforts are made (with some exceptions) to purchase local, organically grown food with minimal packaging from cooperatives or small companies and farms.

Bulk orders are placed through the organic distributor and include soap and detergent, grains, and feminine products. Bulk orders are usually in very large quantities. For example they will order one gallon or larger containers of soap and five pounds or more of grains.

I had been a food shopper in two communities, I could identify with so some of the processes and logic used by the shopper. I went on a shopping trip with the Central Co-op shopper. We first had to check-out the car from the car co-op (he usually reserved the car beforehand for shopping) and collected the cloth shopping bags, some glass bulk jars, and a shopping list. The “shopping list” was really misnamed, as it generally was a list of food posted on the refrigerator that people added to once they noticed items missing. However, members did also add items they needed to cook house dinners. So the shopping list was not a complete list of food that was needed. The shopper looked through the current stocks of food in order to complete the shopping list. He knew that some foods such as eggs were coming in the bulk order, so he did not plan to buy them.

Many of the decisions about what to buy were made with regard to the following criteria: need over desire, organic, whole foods, bulk over packaged, small and collective business over corporate, cheap, in-season. For example, they recently switched brands from Stonyfield Farms, which is “corporate” (although Stonyfield is a private company, Groupe Danone owns all non-employee shares) (Stonyfield Farm 2004), to Nancy’s Touchstone Bread because it is a “cool local collective bakery.” For the bulk items he brings the jar(s) from home to re-fill. We must first go to the cashier to get this jar weighed beforehand, called the TARE weight. However, you can also keep the TARE weight written on the jar to avoid this step. Filling up the jars eliminates the plastic bags to carry bulk items. It also saves a step once we get back—no jars to fill. As we go through the produce section he did not use plastic bags for the produce but just put

them directly in the cart. Initially I was surprised by this, but then it made perfect sense—why do we need a bag?

Food at Rojo is kept in both the kitchen and the anti-kitchen. The anti-kitchen, about the same size as the kitchen, functions as a pantry with bulk goods and cases of products. There are canned and jarred foods, regularly used grains in metal trash bins, and cleaning supplies. Also in the anti-kitchen is a very large freezer/refrigerator that holds large quantities of frozen foods, vegetables, and milk products. The kitchen has a small family-size fridge that contains smaller quantities of food for everyday use the kitchen, and also has a place for bread and fruit as well as a shelf for bulk goods stored in jars for every-day use, spices, and oils. Bulk goods included a variety of legumes and grains. Legumes include at least three kinds of lentils and a variety of beans. Grains include at least two different kinds of rice, quinoa, popcorn, and oats, as well as flour. Chocolate chips are also one of the bulk items that is always stocked. While a “luxury,” chocolate chips are also considered essential. In the evening it is common for members to grab a small handful of chocolate chips, and it is also common for members to make dessert with them.



Figure 16 Bulk food jars in the kitchen

On most days someone would prepare dinner for the community. There was a calendar in the kitchen that allowed members to sign up to cook a house dinner. Cooking house dinner was voluntary, depending on the comfort level and schedule of the would-be cooks, but doing so also fulfilled house labor quota. There were some people who never cooked a house meal, while others cooked frequently. It would take at least a couple of hours to cook dinner and a variety of ethnic dishes, as well as what I call standard communal fare (meals with legumes, grains, and lots of vegetables).

Attending dinner was neither mandatory nor expected. Usually fewer than half the members attended dinner. Dinners were very informal. Sometimes they were buffet style where folks got a plate from the kitchen and filled it from pots on the stove. Other times the food and plates were placed at the end of the table and people helped themselves. It was only on special

occasions or when someone felt like having a more aesthetically pleasing dinner that the table was set.

Food at Violeta

The community purchases food communally. All communally purchased food is available to all members. However, individuals may purchase their own food in addition and either label the food as their own or share it with the rest of the house. Most individually purchased food is either beer or dessert food such as ice cream and soy dream. Individual food is labeled.

While the community purchases food communally, not all members pay the same rate as everyone else. Individuals could pay a percentage of what would be their full share depending on how often they had eaten at home. The system was based on the honor system, although everyone had to pay at least a small percentage.

During my fieldwork the community was transitioning to a new labor system around grocery shopping. The old system assigned individuals categories of food to purchase, such as bulk foods, fruits and vegetables, etc. Individuals would purchase food with their own money, post the receipts and then the receipts would be tallied at the end of the month. The amount of money spent on food for the month would then be divided between members based on the percentage of meals they had eaten from the house. Members would be charged for the balance, or credited for the balance the following month. Therefore food costs varied between members but were usually around \$100 - \$200 a month.

Under the new shopping system there would be two major shopping trips a week—one for produce and one for all other groceries. Virgil was designated the produce shopper. All other members took turns grocery shopping. The community borrowed a pre-made shopping list

from the Sherwood Co-op with some changes that would make it more relevant for their food needs. One member would make up the shopping list once a week and another member would shop from that list. I went food shopping with one member on their first time shopping for the house. As a new shopper there was a learning curve as to different types of food and their locations in the store.

However, the new system was not implemented seamlessly. Some members felt that the level of food wasn't consistent and/or that the community was spending too much money on food. At a meeting the community decided to create a food sub-committee that would look at the food system and see where changes might be made (Vance).

The amount individuals paid into the system varied depending on how much they said they ate. There was no way to really track how much an individual ate, as each person self-reported and selected a percentage of a "share" of food per month. This meant, obviously, that some people paid a lot more for food than other people. The uneven payment system felt unfair to some members for a couple of reasons. First, members who consistently paid 100% of a share would always pay more per month, because those members would pay the difference for those who only paid partial shares. Second, because it was the honor system there was no way to really tell how much someone ate. Some community members wanted to make the change that everyone would contribute equally regardless of how much one ate in the house (making it more similar to other food sharing communities). Obviously there was resistance from those who were paying a smaller percentage.

Most of the food purchased in the house is organic. Food is purchased from a local cooperative grocery store, Trader Joes, and occasionally Costco. They also subscribed to a CSA (community supported agriculture) to obtain local and organic food from a small farm. Food is

also scavenged through dumpster diving activities of the Community Pantry. The community tries to purchase food with limited packaging, such as bulk foods and whole foods. However, as a house they also purchase some prepared and packaged foods such as chips as well as individual sized containers of food such as yogurt.

The two closest grocery stores were Madison Market, a food co-operative, and Trader Joes. Everyone agreed that Madison Market would be the ideal place to shop since the co-op represented their values. Members had problems with Trader Joe's because their workers were not unionized, so they thought of them as union busters. In addition there was a concern that Trader Joe's was competing with the co-op, since they were only a block away. However, some community members wanted to shop at Trader Joe's as well as the co-op, since the food was thought to be cheaper and since they had more of what they called "snacky" and convenience food.

Meals were scheduled. More often members would cook dinners in pairs or in small groups. Frequently one person would cook a dish and another would add another dish to the dinner and both would share with each other and anyone else who came in. When someone was cooking, members often had other friends over as well, and these guests would be welcome to the meal. Some members, such as Virgil, would cook large amounts of food to share and put the leftovers in the fridge.

We would like to think, the ideal is that people would cook a big meal and there would be leftovers. [In reality we are] grabbing different food groups and going to quick & go items like PB & J or a fried egg.

(Vincent)

Members felt distressed that there were few communal meals. They felt that communal meals would strengthen the community by increasing the amount of face time. I think the two biggest reasons for the difficulty in having community dinners, especially as compared with Rojo, were the smaller number of members (almost 50% fewer than Rojo) and a labor system that made cooking dinner voluntary and thus didn't fulfill a community obligation, as it did at Rojo. During the year there was an effort to institute communal meals. At house meetings members would try to schedule communal meals by either asking someone to volunteer to cook a meal on a specific date or by selecting a day of the week that a communal meal would be prepared. However, given the schedules of the members, communal meals with all six members in attendance were rarely realized except for large house events (and, even for Rojo, a house dinner with all members was a rare occurrence). However, later in my fieldwork year, communal dinners became more common, averaging approximately once a week.

Community Pantry

The Community Pantry was a grassroots organization which included many different housing cooperatives in Seattle to supply one another with food. Housing cooperatives may join the Community Pantry, send representatives to meetings, and contribute goods and labor. Members are then able to access the Community Pantry to obtain food and goods stored there and to take whatever they want. Once a community was a member there was not tracking of goods taken. The Community Pantry was literally a food storage space in one community—the space had a large sink, refrigerators, and a place to store dry goods such as grains, beans, canned goods, and toilet paper. The food came from salvaged food from grocery store dumpsters and from bulk purchases from an organic food distributor. Food waste, or food not fit for human consumption,

was separated into compostable food and food for chickens that were kept at the community that then housed the Community Pantry.

The act of obtaining food from dumpsters is called dumpster diving. Each community involved with the Community Pantry is responsible for “dumpstering” at specific grocery stores known to have lots of still edible food (that has been thrown out, but has not “perished”). Each community tried to go dumpster diving once a week for the community pantry. After the dumpster dive the food was brought back to the Community Pantry It is washed, the bad food composted, and the good food stored. Items dumpstered included fruit and vegetables, packaged food, canned food, jars of food, and sometimes frozen food (at least once, still-frozen ice cream was dumpstered). There are certain foods that the Community Pantry especially looks for, such as organic tofu, and other food that the Community Pantry doesn’t want (like non-organic tofu).

Bulk purchases such as rice, granola, nuts, and beans are ordered in large quantities (of five to 20 pounds) making them cheaper per pound than they would be at the grocery store. These items were chosen because they are the most commonly used bulk items of member communities and the most basic of foodstuffs—thus they are in high demand and won’t be sitting on the shelves for long.

Communities involved with the Community Pantry could come whenever they wanted and take whatever they wanted with no money changing hands. However, access to the Community Pantry required that each community contribute labor time in cleaning and dumpstering as well as participating in meetings. Meetings were held regularly and were run on consensus. Each participating community was required to send at least one representative to the meeting. Member communities also communicated regularly via a list-serve as well as messages in the pantry itself.

The Pantry's immediate goal was to start more Pantries. There was talk of creating another Community Pantry to facilitate growth and to limit the distance communities' must travel (which is still planned but not implemented as of 2012). Since my field work the Community Pantry changed locations from one community to another, but has since disbanded.

However, the larger goals, according to Ryder, are more ambitious than just creating a resource for distributing dumpstered food. He recognized that dumpstering wasn't reducing consumption and that they needed to move beyond dumpstering. While dumpstering may use discarded items and may reduce the total amount that society may use annually, dumpstering also is dependent on a disposable consumer culture. By dumpstering they are not creating alternative and more sustainable options for provisioning of needs. The Community Pantry was considered the early phase of creating new provisioning institutions based on the values of mutual aid, egalitarianism, and the gift economy. They had five phases planned and were operating under Phase 1 and 2 (to create a dumpster diving co-op and collectively purchase bulk orders). Phase 3 was to add local production, for the Community Pantry to join a CSA and or get free CSA shares by contributing their labor. Phase 4 was to buy a farm and grow their own food to distribute within the Community Pantry member communities and create a sustainable and alternative food system. Phase 5 would be "dismantling capitalism" (Ryder)

Growing their own food was thought to be more sustainable than purchasing food for a number of reasons. First growing food allowed for them to increase the percentage of local food they ate, and thus increasing local food security and decrease food miles. Growing their own food collectively with others also meant that they would create alternative systems of provisioning outside of the capitalist economy—thus insuring that their food was grown not-for-profit. Finally, growing their own food also meant that they were learning and exchanging skills

in food production—an important aspect of empowering oneself and ones community to supply own's own needs. After my fieldwork ended Rojo participated in a collective farm with a number of other area communities and individual households (both within Seattle and in the greater Puget Sound area). This collective farm was also run on consensus, and member communities and households were required to send at least one representative to attend meetings and fulfill labor obligations.

Gardening



Figure 17 Working in the garden at Rojo

Both communities maintained gardens which supplied a small but steady supply of produce. The gardens were organic and gardeners in both communities were interested in permaculture (Mollison 1990), a way of planting edible landscapes which mimic nature and require less work. Both included a flavoring of permaculture in their gardens through planting

fruit trees and allowing food plants to grow where they flourished or appeared. However, gardeners at both communities had learned a little about permaculture and were interested in incorporating permaculture into their landscapes.

Table 5 Herbs, Fruit, and Vegetables grown

	Rojo	Violeta
Herbs	Lavender- 3 varieties, lemon balm, oregano, sage, thyme, rosemary, mint	Tarragon, lavender, marjoram, sage, viola (eatable flowers), purple sage, lemon thyme, thyme, summer savory, winter savory, oregano, sorrel, lemon balm, mint, lavage, lemon verbena, chives, English thyme, anise, basil, rosemary,
Fruit	Grapes, cherries, plums, apples, strawberries, raspberries, Asian pears (neighbor's yard)	Strawberries, blackberries (weed), grapes, raspberries, apples
Vegetables	Onions, garlic, artichoke, rhubarb, potatoes, dinosaur kale, chard, zucchini, squash, corn, tomatoes, beans, lettuce, peas, beets, carrots	Rhubarb, potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, kale, artichoke, fennel, zucchini, Kohlrabi, tomatoes: brandwine, sungold, sweet 100s, jellybean, yellow pear
Cover Crop	Fava beans	Buckwheat, comfrey

Violeta had an extensive garden area in their back yard, with six raised beds, grapes and raspberries along the peripheral fences, as well as another garden area in the northwest corner of the lawn. Earlier in my fieldwork only one member was taking care of the garden. At the end of my fieldwork year, a new member moved in who had an interest in the garden and planned to work in it as well. The garden produced a small amount of food for the community. The grapes had been used to make juice and jam.



Figure 18 Tomatoes with Grapes in the background at Violeta

Rojo had a large garden in the northwest corner of their property. These gardens were raised and terraced using stone. While many community members worked periodically in the garden during larger work parties or projects, only one member dedicated her time routinely to the garden, although towards the end of my field year a new member moved in who was also interested in working in the garden. The garden produced a small, but steady supply of produce for the community. During the summer months especially, house meals commonly contained vegetables and fruit from the garden. Fruit was harvested and whatever wasn't eaten was preserved in some way, for example through drying or making a compote from the plums. A few years after my fieldwork was completed, Rojo obtained chickens to produce eggs for the community.

Both communities purchased seed or starts from a variety of sources. Violeta saved some of their own seeds, but also purchased their seeds from local gardening businesses, one of which had been started by ex-members of PRAG. Violeta occasionally purchased plant starts from

Seattle Tilth, a local nonprofit promoting organic gardening. Rojo purchased seeds from the organic food distributor where they made bulk purchases or from the local business started by ex-members of PRAG, but they also purchased seeds from a sister commune in another state with a thriving organic, heirloom seed business.

After my fieldwork year, another new member became involved with Food Not Lawns, a grassroots organization that works to help people start gardens and learn gardening skills. Through this organization, the community member helped to build a greenhouse made out of salvaged materials, grew starts in the greenhouse and distributed the starts for free or for donations, and helped neighbors in the area start food gardens on areas that had been lawns.

While the gardens in both communities produced a limited supply of fresh produce for direct consumption, the gardens represented another component of alternative provisioning. Few community members directly took part in gardening, although all benefited from the efforts of gardeners. The community allowed those members an outlet for urban gardening as well as continued education and practice for growing food, which both communities saw as an essential skill.

Transportation at Violeta

All residents tried to commute by bike or on foot whenever possible. Five out of six residents of Violeta commuted predominately on foot or by bicycle. This included trips to work, outside activities, and to the grocery store. At the beginning of my fieldwork period only two members owned cars, later, another member purchased a truck to share with her partner who lived in another community. It was common for people with cars to occasionally give other members rides when needed—especially to and from the grocery store. It also happened that

members with cars occasionally lent their cars to other members, especially if it involved getting supplies for the community. For example at one of the monthly “work parties” more supplies were needed and a carless member borrowed a car to make a run to the store.

Transportation at Rojo

The community values low-impact transportation and encourages its members to utilize alternative transportation by financing what they value. The house pays for public transportation (through passes and pre-paid tickets). A house member will frequently purchase passes for the community.

In addition the house pays for bikes and bike repair for each member. However some members prefer “nicer” bikes than the house provides, so these members buy their own bikes.

Full members are not allowed to have an individual car. Provisional members can keep their cars but once a provisional member becomes a full member of the house they cannot have an individual car—these cars are either sold or given to the in-house car co-op. The vehicles were available for official house use (such as grocery shopping) as well as for members who participate in the car co-op. Participation in the car co-op is optional and also requires an additional financial fee. The house owned two to three cars at any given time. When I started fieldwork they owned two cars and one pickup truck. While there are a few members who did not participate in the car co-op, decisions regarding the cars are made at house meetings at which all members have a say.

The cost of the car co-op varies from \$70 to \$90 a month, which covers insurance, gas purchases, and maintenance. Those members of the car co-op have a higher labor quota owed to the house based on the average wage. The monthly dues do not come out of the spending caps,

meaning that individual members who participate in the car co-op do not sacrifice the amount of disposable income available through the spending caps.



Figure 19 Preparing to push the Geo, one of the co-op cars, to the shop about a mile away

Rojo and Violeta both had established social norms and values for the use of public transportation, biking, and walking. Both communities also lived in close proximity to downtown shopping areas, and public parks and libraries, which assisted in making alternative transportation a viable option. Members did join the community sharing such values, but the combination of social norms as well as physical location of the community assisted in facilitating the use of alternative transportation.



Figure 20 Bikes at Violeta

Some members of Violeta did own cars, but, over half the members at any given time did not. Not having a car was in part facilitated by the fact that non-car-owning members could get rides or borrow a car if needed—especially for hauling big loads, such as for a grocery run. In this way other members helped facilitate lower automobile miles for each other through sharing cars, maintaining alternative transportation as a social norm. However, the surrounding environment also provided an alternative. By living in walking or biking distance to most urban resources, members infrequently needed a car.

Rojo had more intentional collective provisioning of transportation than Violeta and had a smaller ratio of cars to people. Rojo members collectively decided to promote alternative transportation options through providing free bus fare and by providing bicycles to all members. Rojo members tried to minimize (although not completely eliminate) car use through the car co-op. All members benefited from the car co-op because the vehicles were used to provide goods and services to the community. However, car use was curtailed because the vehicles needed to be shared between a number of people. Therefore cars were not available for regular commutes.

Health Care

The United States does not have universalized health care and many people in the United States rely on health care as an employee benefit. Many are forced to work full-time jobs simply to keep their health benefits, but would prefer to work fewer hours. “A study by the Center for a New American Dream found between one-fifth and one-third of people want to trade income for time” (Leonard 2010, 246). Leonard (2010) argues that separating benefits from work is “the most effective tool for facilitating a reduction in working hours” which would allow people to reduce their productivity and consumption. Universal health care is not a necessary predictor of lower consumption rates. Both Iceland and New Zealand have public health systems and higher ecological footprints than the United States at 9.9 and 9.8 hectares respectively according to Wackernagel et al (1997). However, universal health care would allow people to work less hours if they prefer.

Rojo has a system to ensure that all its members have their health care expenses covered. All health care is paid for by the community including personal insurance (usually through Group Health, a local health cooperative), their deductible, prescriptions, and anything not covered by insurance.

Because healthcare and dental costs are paid by the house, individual health issues and cost become a house discussion and a matter of group debate. Raine has proposed to make flossing your teeth mandatory. She argues that this is not only good for the individual (forcing them to do something that is good for them) but makes economic sense for the house, because mandatory flossing would lower dental expenses. While this proposal was not passed while I was conducting research it was frequently brought up by O1 and others.

Recreation and Leisure

Recreation and leisure potentially require large amounts of consumption. Communities provided many opportunities for members to socialize and network with the wider community with minimal or no environmental impact. Community members had very busy social calendars—meeting with friends, meeting (socially) with other community members, and in general mixing with the progressive and radical Seattle community. These activities served as a way to foster community, provide recreation and leisure, and create a sense of ownership and empowerment over their social lives.

Further community events also educate the larger community, including their neighbors, about the communitarian lifestyle and the organizations they are part of. Both communities had monthly and annual public events as well as a range of events throughout the year.

Monthly Events

Violeta held a monthly public event called the “Spaghetti Feed.” For the event the community would make a giant batch of pasta and sauce and ask others to bring food or drink to share. The purposes of the Spaghetti Feeds were to educate the public about the community and the land trust (thus fulfilling an obligation to the trust), to create community in the neighborhood by inviting neighbors, and to strengthen the social networks among the community members and their friends as well as among other communities.

Each member took turns organizing the monthly event. Event organizers could put their own spin on the event. Therefore the Spaghetti Feeds often varied by the nature of the event (more educational or more celebratory) and by the population of people who attended. Sometimes the Spaghetti Feeds were so well attended the environment would be “standing room only.” The Spaghetti Feeds were a way to network with other like-minded Seattleites.

Rojo on the other hand has a monthly open house that is open to the general public, which is a time for the wider public to visit, and to learn more about the community and the community's activism. These open houses occur on a weekend day over dinner. Dinner is prepared for guests and there is an expectation that house members will attend—although member attendance fluctuates. Around the time of my research these open houses became more political, opportunities to both learn and share knowledge of certain topics. For example, at the beginning of the year open houses were just informal dinners where diners and house members discussed the house and were given a tour. At the end of the year the open houses began to have themes or topics discussing social issues or activism.

Annual Events

For nine years the community had also sponsored an event called “The Little Black Dress Party.” This was a fundraiser for PSLT as well as for another community organization important to the membership at the time. The Little Black Dress Party was started by one of the members in his former community and transitioned into a large and widely attended event and fundraiser. The Little Black Dress Party was a fun event that was also meant to bend and play around with notions of gender. Everyone in attendance was required to wear a “little black dress,” including the men.

The first year I attended a Little Black Dress Party was in 2001, and I have attended every year since then. The first year I attended the event was held at a non-profit dance studio, the first time it was held outside of the house. The venue was packed. In later years the event would move to the “Hugo House,” another non-profit venue. The Little Black Dress Party was quite an event with lots of dancing and amazing interpretations of the little black dress. The event ended with a little black dress contest in which the judges picked out finalists in specific

categories the ultimate being the ‘littlest little black dress.’” The judges of the contest were nuns from the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (SPI), a nonprofit organization dedicated to issues of social justice including queer rights. They were men and women who had fantastical nun garb and make-up.

The year I conducted my field work they had just finished their eighth Little Black Dress Party. Putting on these events took a lot of work and coordination. They needed to coordinate the site, the invitations (the event while a fundraiser was by invitation only), donations (they sought donations for alcohol, snacks, music, and other needs), decorations, and volunteers (often members of PSLT and other friends of the house volunteered). It was a huge task and members were becoming burnt out on the process or less willing to volunteer to orchestrate the event the next year. The ninth year they decided that it was time for the era of the Little Black Dress Party to come to an end. However, they wanted to end on an upbeat note. They planned a small in-house event for the ninth year to save their energy for a final larger 10th Anniversary Little Black Dress Party. Since the event was so well attended they wanted to keep the ninth Little Black Dress Party from getting too big by keeping the invitation list to a minimum. I was at many of the meetings where they discussed concern over how to keep the list small by not talking about the event and going carefully over the invitation list. Therefore I was really honored, and a bit relieved, when I, the anthropologist, received an invitation.



Figure 21 Some members of Violeta, friends, and the SPI, at the 10th annual LBD Party.

One annual event at Rojo is their anniversary of buying the house. This is a semi-public event but with a selective invitation list of people who are friends of the house or individual members, as well as those involved with peripheral networks of activists and other communities.

Private Events

There are two categories of private events. The first consists of events scheduled to create a sense of community within the house, such as scheduled dinners. These occurred rarely in the first half of the year, but more frequently in the second half of the year.

Second, members were encouraged to schedule other kinds of events in the house such as birthday parties and fundraisers (with the approval of the community). Birthday parties I attended were spectacular and well attended events—with music, dancing, food, and beer. When members initiated more personal events or fundraisers those members became the host, although other community members frequently helped. For example, Vance hosted a “Civic Action

Night” to educate and discuss with others about State Legislative Issues, and planned on continuing the event monthly. Members invited co-workers, friends and neighbors. Fundraisers that occurred at the house included raising money for the legal fees of the activists who blocked Highway 520 in protest of the Iraq war, legal fees for Vanessa’s immigration, and medical fees for Veronica’s surgery.

The community felt that while they were residents of the house, they were obligated to share the space with the wider community. Friends or people within members’ networks also used the space for events. For example, at one point in the year two women who had won a custody battle had a celebratory party at their house. Thus, events at the house are frequent.

However, with more events came more garbage and recycling. For example the women mentioned above brought bottled water, and the leftovers and recyclables were left in the house, which added to the amount of waste the community generated in all areas—recycling, compost, and garbage. Frequent events increased the amount of trash and recyclables (especially glass in the form of beer bottles) that the community was putting out on the curb for pick up.

Nevertheless, some members felt that the house should be sponsoring even more community events or activities—not just fundraisers and parties. As one member said, “We’ve done a good job of having more events, but they are individually organized...would like to see more of a group—what we are trying to do as a house—we could be growing food for others, skill shares, more fundraising” (Veronica).

At Rojo there are a number of internal events outside of meetings where participation is expected. These include birthdays, “anti-birthdays,” and thanksgiving. While the birthday is more formulaic (dinner, desert, and a questioning of members celebrating the birthday), the anti-birthday, celebrated six months after the actual birthday, was created as a way to double the

number of celebrations and allow the members celebrating their birthdays to dictate what would happen on that day. Birthdays and “anti-birthdays” were by far the most frequent private events at the community. Every member attempts to be present for birthday dinners as well as anti-birthday events. The community made an effort to create times to celebrate its members and create “fun” times for the community to get together in order to facilitate social bonds and a stronger sense of community.

The Anti-Birthday

Rojo celebrates what they call the “Anti-Birthday” of all the members. The “Anti-Birthday” falls on the day of the year that is opposite (or six months after) their birthday. On a member’s Anti-Birthday other members of the house volunteer to cook the Anti-Birthday member’s favorite dinner and bake them a cake. “Anytime we get together, love the way we celebrate, because it feels so, like something ordinary but like what you want. People cook for you. Making something ordinary special for you” (Rowan).

At a house meeting, before an anti-birthday the member with the upcoming Anti-Birthday is asked what they would like for dinner and what they would like to do. They may ask the rest of the community to do a specific activity with them. For example, Rowan, who worked a swing shift, always came home when everyone was sleeping. For her Anti-birthday, Rowan asked for all the members to be awake when she got home and eat ice cream with her. For Ryder’s anti-birthday, the house went to a play. His anti-birthday activity however, came about by default. A local theater [Hugo House] had given members of the house discount tickets for \$5.00 to the play “Death of an Anarchist.” While they were discussing the tickets, Ryder asked that the play be his anti-birthday activity.

I attended Jacob's anti-birthday celebration. I came to the house a little early. Two members were cooking dinner while another was setting the table. The table is a small off-white enamel banquet table with a look that doesn't really fit the rest of the house, but it is functional as it can seat 12 people comfortably. Normally, the table is not set for dinner. Dinners are usually buffet style with the pots and pans for the food set at one side of the table with a stack of plates. Today, Justine had put on a blue tablecloth with candles and flowers. She had also set each place at the table. And the community had purchased wine for dinner—not a normal practice.

During the dinner the conversation focused on Ryder. Everyone took a turn asking him a question like . After dinner we ate the 7 minute chocolate cake.

After dinner seven of us took their two cars to the Hugo House to see the play "Accidental Death of an Anarchist." Members were excited to see the play because they were offered discounted tickets (\$5) and because most of the house members identified as being anarchists. We got to the play a little early so we walked around the new park. After the play, I was taken home, and I gave them some extra containers of yogurt from our fridge.

Birthdays

On or around someone's birthday there would be a special house dinner in their honor. Someone would cook their favorite meal and someone else might make a desert for them. The community tries to make the dinner special by setting the table, putting out candles, and even serving wine (alcohol is infrequently consumed). What I found interesting about the birthday dinners is that the dinner conversation revolved around the birthday member. Other members took turns asking questions about the birthday celebrant. Members described this as "grilling" and the questions ranged from easy to difficult. Common questions included: What are the 27

(this number changing depending on age) things you are thankful for? What were you doing at age seven, 17 and what will you be doing at age 37?



Figure 22 Setting the table for a birthday dinner. At a normal house dinner the table would not be set, normally dinner is served buffet style. The center piece was a spontaneous arrangement of bulk pumps that just arrived—all in good fun.

I really enjoyed the birthday dinners. I felt that focusing the dinner discussion on the birthday member was a great way to get to know each other. While conducting fieldwork the community I was living in also had birthday dinners, although they were less intentional and less structured. However, during these birthday dinners at my community I saw a stark contrast between the Rojo and my own community. It felt that by focusing the entire evening on the birthday member, they were showing their interest and care in each other.

Through a practice of intentional community building, both communities offered their members opportunities to socialize and orchestrate public and private events. These events offered regular spaces for community building, networking, and socializing or unwinding,

without buying anything or consuming more than they would on a normal evening (with the exception of alcohol at some events).

Conclusion

Communities create alternative systems of providing for their needs outside of the dominant systems of provision for housing, household labor, food, transportation, recreation, and health care (in the case of Rojo). These provisioning systems fit are collective efforts to self-provision resources (such as food) and services (such as cleaning the house) outside of the dominant system and within a particular value set of egalitarianism, social justice, and environmentalism, they allowed members to reduce their rates of consumption with relative ease and support.

The processes of self-provisioning are, however, only one factor in their daily practices that lead to lower consumption. The collective systems of provisioning foster increased social interactions and interdependence, which in turn foster and support shared ways of thinking and social norms that further support and evolve more sustainable practices, which I will speak to in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: The Practice of a (more) Sustainable Lifestyle

Bringing in something new to the house is a slipper slope. It makes everything else seem dingier and compels you to want to replace them.

(Rory)

Consumption is like sugar or salt, the more you consume the more you want.

(Ryder)

Research has shown the people are able to make small (or negligible) proenvironmental behavioral changes when they become conscious of a habit (Hobson 2003), if they are faced with expectations and reactions from peer groups (Nye and Hargreaves 2010), or are concerned with their own self-interest (Marchand, Walker, and Cooper 2010). In fact, knowledge about negative impacts of one's consumption, even if that impact is felt on a personal level in no way guarantees behavior changes (P. Robbins 2007) given larger social influences and expectations.

Much of the research on consumption has focused on small scale changes in behavior—changing lightbulbs, covering cookware, recycling, etc. On the other hand lifestyle changes, wherein a lifestyle is made up of multiple types of practices, may offer greater environmental benefit.

Many questions remain about the process of creating and maintaining significant lifestyle changes to minimize social and ecological impacts. Research on people striving to create or maintain sustainable lifestyles finds there are limits to their ability to reduce their consumption. Those very committed to sustainable lifestyles run into structural obstacles and are limited by larger structural forces, including the built environment and available systems of provisioning

(Evans 2011; Hobson 2002; Hobson 2003; Shove 2004; Seyfang 2004; Seyfang 2009; Evans 2011; Isenhour 2010a; Isenhour 2010b). Given the severity of our current environmental and social issues, the question remains as to how more significant lifestyle changes might develop.

In this chapter I will examine the creation of more sustainable lifestyles through a framework of practice theory. In particular, I will examine processes for creating cultural capital and habitus around sustainable practices.

I examine a range of consumption practices within and between communities. The study communities have structural differences which I argue factor into the ease or ability of members to consume in particular ways. The communities and their members are also nested within larger socio-political, historical, geographical, and familial relationships which influence their consumption patterns in particular ways.

Practice Theory

Practice Theory may be thought of as a “general theory of the production of social subjects through practice in the world, and of the production of the world itself through practice” (Ortner 2006, 16). Practice theorists seek to transcend the long-standing dichotomy between the belief that behavior is determined by social structure (rules governing behavior) and those who argue that behavior is determined by the individual actor’s agency (acting freely, without the constraints of a social structure). Social theorists have attempted to understand the play between structure and agency through the development of practice theory (Ortner 1994; Bourdieu 1984; Giddens 1986; Ortner 2006; Bourdieu 2005; Warde 2005).

Alan Warde (2005), in particular has argued for the usefulness of practice theory in potentially consolidating the disparate studies on consumption. Though some scholars of sustainable consumption have found practice theory, and in particular Giddens’ structuration

theory (Spaargaren 2003) useful. Warde suggests that Bourdieu may be of the greatest assistance to the study of consumption (Warde 2005).

I find that Bourdieu's work on cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu 1984) is helpful in understanding processes of sustainable consumption within the intentional communities in my study. Bourdieu sees sets of practices as lifestyles generated from play between structure and agency whereas. Agency is bounded within a limited range of possibilities generated through structure. Bourdieu analyzes practices through the concepts of cultural capital (knowledge, skills, and taste), habitus (internalized dispositions and unconscious performance) and fields (social areas of strategy and practice) and their relationships as seen in this graphic metaphor "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice"²¹ (Bourdieu 1984, 101).

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate, through Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and habitus, how these urban intentional communities are creating sustainable practices. Further I argue that the social creation of these practices is necessary to create more sustainable lifestyles. This, I join a growing number of sustainable consumption scholars who critique the individualization of responsibility (Maniates 2002a) through green consumption. Sustainable lifestyles necessarily require social support and are made more difficult or impossible without micro-societies that facilitate sustainable practices.

For Bourdieu behavior is bounded through a socialization process in which actors internalize parameters of behavior. Bourdieu sees cultural capital as the knowledge, skills and tastes (or dispositions) that allow an individual to succeed in society. Having more cultural capital allows individuals into social circles of the dominant class. So, the knowledge of how to interact with others appropriately, how to dress, what topics to bring up, and taste in art, music,

²¹ Capital here refers not only to cultural capital, but also economic capital (access to financial resources) and social capital (social networks). However, for the purposes of this chapter I will focus on cultural capital.

literature, and business, will land you a high-level job while lacking the necessary cultural capital will exclude you. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital demonstrates why those with lower cultural capital are not able to "move up the social ladder."

I use the concept of cultural capital differently than Bourdieu. While Bourdieu applies the concept of cultural capital as a characterization of a dominant class whereby the dominant class may have high cultural capital and dominated classes have low cultural capital, I argue that the concept of cultural capital may be applied to any sub-culture. There is a certain cultural capital required for effective participation in any social group. For example as an undergraduate I conducted ethnographic research with straight-edge punks. Within the punk community there is a distinction between those who live the lifestyle versus "weekenders," people who otherwise live a mainstream lifestyle Monday through Friday, participating in the punk community on their days off. Weekenders were viewed by the lifestyle punks as people who really didn't "get it," but who were valued for the resources (money, food, etc) they shared. In this case the lifestyle punks, within the punk community, had greater cultural capital than the weekenders. Cultural capital thus may be defined as the knowledge, skill, and tastes necessary for effective participation and inclusion within a social group. In this chapter, I will argue that living within an intentional community requires a specific kind of cultural capital, that that cultural capital was constantly being created, critiqued, and learned through a process of enculturation. At any given point in time there were individuals who had greater or lesser degrees of this cultural capital (most easily in those differences between those with more community experiences versus those with less).

For Bourdieu, habitus is a set of deeply internalized classification schemes and practices, learned through the process of socialization, that go unquestioned—they may be thought of as

common sense or common knowledge or ideas about what is right, what one should do or even can do, and habits without conscious monitoring . Bourdieu defines habitus as a

not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes (Bourdieu 1984, 170).

Thus, like cultural capital, Bourdieu uses habitus as a way to explain class divisions—whereby class divisions and one’s role within a specific class is naturalized. For example, for someone in a wealthy family attending college is assumed, whereas someone from a working-poor family may not consider college as an option. Habitus can then “explain why inegalitarian social arrangements make sense to both the dominant and the dominated” (Swartz 1997, 103).

What I argue in this chapter is that a practice of questioning habitus (deeply internalized schemes of life expectations) creates a space to radically change consumption practices and to participate in social practices or a lifestyle disparaged by the larger society. Community members constantly question and reflect on ways of classifying the world, questioning what is considered to be “common sense.” Examining what was previously internalized and unconscious opens up a range of practices, tastes, and dispositions to scrutiny, discussion, and change.

Practice theory is still unable to satisfactorily discuss processes of social change. Bourdieu touches on it with the concept of fields—social arenas with particular sets and distributions of capital (social, cultural, and economic) and habitus where actors maneuver for power. . In his earlier writing Bourdieu saw fields as locations where agency may facilitate change. However, the concept of field seems to be based on a view of human nature that is self-interested, rather than cooperative. Bourdieu also sees habitus as a locus for change. One’s

habitus is tough to change but not unchangeable. In his later writing he explains that habitus is an “open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 133). He goes on to say that although habitus can change, this is unlikely because the dispositions are fixed at a very young age, and that individuals are most likely, given social circumstances, to have experiences that reinforce this habitus. Habitus is surrounded by the structures that created it, and thus is stable. However, being surrounded by different structures may alter habitus. “It is only in the relation to certain structures that habitus produces given discourses or practices... We must think of it as sort of a spring that needs a trigger and, depending upon the stimuli and structure of the field, the very same habitus will generate different, even opposite, outcomes” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 135).

It is the processes of changing both habitus and cultural capital that are important in understanding the creation of more sustainable lifestyles. Shove (2004) argues that “The challenge of sustainable consumption [is] one of changing dominant ways of thinking about human behaviour and lifestyle” (Shove 2004, 129). Intentional communities are doing just that—challenging the dominant ways of thinking about human behavior and lifestyle. First, through questioning basic assumptions (habitus) of mainstream culture/society, members are caught in multiple spaces and practices of transition. Most members had some kind of experience that made them question fundamental assumptions about social relationships—particularly related to social justice—before moving into the community. However, living in community offers a social structure that acts as both a trigger for change by creating an environment for new socialization processes as well as a continuous questioning of basic assumptions or habits. These communities are places where members are collectively questioning themselves, others, and their

collectives, and individually and collectively creating new practices that are more sustainable and just.

Researchers on sustainable consumption have argued that structural constraints limit the ability for individuals to practice or create more sustainable lifestyles (Hobson 2002; Isenhour 2010a; Evans 2011).

Other research indicates that new more sustainable lifestyles develop by widening the range of what is believed to be possible, either through participation in community-based management (Mackenzie 2010) or through a political imaginary or politics of possibility (Gibson-Graham 2006). By living in these intentional communities members are both constrained by new structures and engage in re-creating and pushing the boundaries of those structures to facilitate more sustainable lifestyles and social change.

Triggers for Alternative Habitus

The Dominant American Dream. Work hard. Go to college. Get a “good” job (for someone else). Buy a car. Buy a house (single family home with a lawn). Have children. Invest money. Retire comfortably on the money made from the equity in the home(s) and an investment portfolio.

The Alternative American Dream. Learn about the world. Find meaningful work (Work for social justice, social change and steward the environment in your work and in your daily life). Spend time on activities and with people that fulfill you. Build community. Build alternative models for living. Have children? Create a home (not necessarily buy a house). Save money. Retire?

Which is the unrealistic dream?

The answer depends on one's habitus, the deeply engrained sense of one's place or relational position and opportunities in the world.

Living the Dominant American Dream (for those who make it) ensures that you are seen as successful and worthy of respect. You are participating in the mainstream economic structure. You see yourself portrayed in the media. You've earned the right to your lifestyle through hard work and smarts. You are living the American Dream because you deserve it. Although, living the American dream you may be lonely. You may not spend much time with your children. You work long hours, uncompensated. You may hold a lot of debt. You pour all your money and your time into "your house" and "your career."

Living in community, or evading the dominant American dream, runs counter to what one is supposed to do in America. To even think of living in community, or even engaging in alternative practices (like not owning a car), one has to be open to the possibility through an unconventional habitus that they were either socialized into or developed over time.

J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006) discuss similar preconceptions in their book *A Postcapitalist Politics*²² which covers their research on noncapitalist and alternative economic practices. Their discussion of "a culture of thinking" sounds very much like Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

While we had thought that our project was up against the discursive dominance of capitalism, we found that we were up against a culture of thinking (that had socialized us, as well as others) that made capitalism very difficult to sidestep or give up. Our familiar anticapitalist milieu was one in which we could not help but hear (even our own voices saying) that our projects of noncapitalist construction weren't going to work, that this kind of

²² "J.K. Gibson-Graham is a pen name shared by feminist economic geographers Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson. Their first book *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it)* was published in 1996, followed by *A Postcapitalist Politics* in 2006. Julie Graham died on April 4, 2010 from complications from cancer" (Wikipedia contributors 2012)

thing hadn't worked in the past, that it was naïve and utopian, already co-opted, off-target, too small and weak in the face of manifest challenges. When we allowed these reactions to press heavily against us, we felt our political room to maneuver shrinking, almost as though a paralysis were setting in. In these moments of immobilization we recognized our own subjection, and that of the left more generally, within potent configurations of habit and desire that were incapable of supporting "experimentation with new possibilities of being and action" (Connolly 2002, 16). We puzzled over the emotional, theoretical, and historical conditions of this incapacity (Gibson-Graham 2006, 3).

What it comes down to is that it's very difficult to "go against the grain," against a culture of thinking or mainstream habitus in both life choices as well as in academia. It's difficult to see alternatives as feasible, realistic, or anything but fool hardy. Intentional community members have embraced the possibilities for alternatives, or an alternative habitus. They live by making those alternatives a reality while daily facing a society which says it's impossible.

Members of both communities all shared experiences, previous to living in community, which made them question the American dream. They question why some people have extreme wealth and power, while others have nothing. That raise the question why Americans have to work harder than the rest of the world, without benefits. They question why people keep buying tons of stuff made with unfair labor practices, toxic chemicals, wasting natural resources. They question the naturalized practices and then work to make a change. They sympathize with Americans that live what Annie Leonard calls "the work-watch-spend treadmill." But most importantly, they question the social isolation brought on by living the American dream.

Stemming from these questions are new values and possibilities in place of the dominant habitus. One might question the dominant American Dream through values of egalitarianism, of thrift and simplicity, of creating community, of consuming less. However, it's also necessary to believe that those values may also be goals and that you might do something to bring about structural changes because as one member said "We can't have the world we deserve with a lot of the systems that are firmly in place right now." The dedication to the alternative lifestyle in part stems from, as one member put it, "not wanting to be a hypocrite."

However, there isn't just one influential moment, but rather a series of life experiences that support an alternative habitus. As one woman said in an interview, her influential experiences "happened in stages." Questioning the dominant American dream was essential but not the only trigger. Members were also exposed to alternative lifestyles and made aware that another path was available. Exposure to alternatives is a step in creating an alternative habitus. Being exposed to an alternative allows you to adjust the possibilities of your life trajectory.

In some cases, members had early communal experiences growing up which formed an alternative habitus in childhood. Some members were raised in environments where community and egalitarianism were formative experiences and were thus part of their habitus. A few had early direct experiences living in community. For example, living in an intentional community with parents, going to an alternative school that was an intentional community, or becoming involved at an early age in organizations that supported radical politics. Other members had politically active parents or grandparents who passed along their practices—such as family meetings run by consensus--or had Quaker parents who valued consensus and non-violence. All helped to establish community living as part of their normal practice.

In other instances, individuals had experiences as children which set them on a path of questioning mainstream assumptions about equality and justice. Some experienced periods of politicization as adults, generally through college courses followed by some direct experience with social injustice.

Many of the members interviewed had childhood “trigger” experiences. For some, being raised in poor families, yet thrown into wealthier schools, made them face questions of inequality and privilege. They asked questions about why some had more money and others (themselves) none. Clothing in particular was difficult—never being able to “fit in” with new or the right clothes. In one instance, as a teenager, a member worked under-the-table to earn enough money to buy a name brand shirt that everyone else wore. She worked for weeks to come up with the money, only to find that all the money she made would only pay for one shirt. She could never compete with the other kids with closets full of clothes. When she realized it would be impossible for her to wear the same clothes as the other kids was one of her trigger moments. This led to observations and analysis of other injustices, including racism and capitalism. Other members shared stories of childhood experiences, such as having a sibling with a disability, or having an LGBT parent, or experienced the negative impacts of racism by witnessing racism inflicted on friends of color or their families, that made them deeply aware of issues of inequality, intolerance, and oppression in mainstream society. .

Finally, members were exposed to different ideas and gained knowledge about injustices through their college experiences. For example, many members took classes in college that looked critically at development and American foreign policy, or that focused on social justice. While in college many became involved in political organizations and lived in student co-ops.

Finally, many also included international travel with their course work and observed poverty first hand within the Global South.

Members came into community with a critique of the dominant American society and different expectations for life choices. Living in community offered additional stimuli and structure for further “triggers” to their habitus. Though the baseline values of egalitarianism and care for the environment remained fixed, all other values and practices were up for questioning.

Social Norm of Critique and Change

Shared knowledge among community members and friends were applied was a way of shaping their practices and activist work. Any new information might be used to question current practices or to support earlier decisions about specific practices. Members in both communities discussed politics, economics, local, national, and foreign events, issues, and activist work daily. Discussions in part were prompted by newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Seattle Times*, as well as a range of news magazines perennially available at the kitchen tables. However, most discussions were also prompted by the personal experience and knowledge of the members, through their work, experiences, and friends. Because of their large networks at home and with friends and co-workers, members were in general hyper-aware and knowledgeable about what was happening in the world.

Rojo residents also talked frequently about consumption issues. For example, they frequently discussed political, social, economic, and environmental issues around food and where to procure it. Violeta residents frequently talked about issues of social justice, racism, sexism, homophobia, and heterosexism. These discussions more formally occurred during retreats and meetings, but also during day-to-day interactions.

Individuals moving into the house adopted more political language the longer they lived in the community. Generally individuals entered the community because they sympathized with the goals and values of the community as well as the social critiques and also saw communities as part of the solution. However, individuals came in with varying degrees of knowledge about and language to describe politics, as well as social and environmental problems. After living in the community they gained knowledge from others through a process of enculturation. In Rojo in particular individuals began to use the vocabulary of more radical politics even if they didn't necessarily ascribe to any particular ideological label. One individual mentioned that living in the house gave him a lot of language that "allows me to express [my values] in a different way, but [that] my core values haven't changed."

I was able to see the development of their language usage first hand as Rojo gained a few new members during my fieldwork. For example in the case of one individual I first interviewed a few weeks after they moved in and then throughout the year, and years later, I found that this person began to use more political language in later interviews. When I first asked about politics this person related a question the community asked in their interview to become a member. "One question threw me. 'When do you remember becoming aware of your politics?' I still don't know the answer. I was nervous. The interview was intimidating." At the first interview with me when I asked about politics this person offered that "Politics is having to do with systems--so the systems that work or don't work for people."

Five months after the first interview I asked the individual to describe their politics again. This time they answered more pointedly:

Revolutionary, anti-hierarchy, feminist... The system that we have right now, we can't make changes [to]. There is no political band aid to fix what's wrong with political mechanism. [We need a]

new/different system. This house with labor system - egalitarian -- this is a revolutionist approach. You cannot make capitalism “good.”

Against this background, we can now turn to specific norms concerning consumption. It is very apparent that these norms are part of community members’ general political and social ideology, and inform both community rules and everyday practices.

Spending Caps

Spending caps at Rojo is one example of how an intentional community serves to act as a trigger to alter stimuli and structures that supports the dominant habitus. Spending caps, or limiting the amount of discretionary funds available to members, is a structuring structure, founded on “rules” but also dependent on a practice of discursive reflection of other practices. Changes to habitus are then fostered through an environment of discourse, reflection, and continual change of practices. I have discussed the basic premises and practices around spending caps in early chapters. Here I will discuss how individuals navigated both the limitations on spending as well as the savings plan through consciously engaging with consumption practices and their underlying links with habitus.

I felt fortunate to have started my research one month before Rojo implemented their spending caps/savings plan. It allowed me to observe an experiment around consumption in the community. They were initially going to test the new system for a year, problem solve any issues, and then after the year was up decide whether to implement it permanently (the spending cap/savings plan is still in place). During my fieldwork I sat in on meetings where discussions on spending caps took place, and during my regular interviews with members I asked about their experiences, feelings, and consumption practices with regard to the spending caps.

The intent and result of the spending caps/forced savings was to limit member's discretionary spending, create savings for individuals, and create a "fund" of money with which to form new egalitarian communities. During the first year members could choose to limit their discretionary spending at \$6,000 a year/\$500 a month, or \$5,000 a year/\$417 a month, or \$4,000 a year/\$333 a month. Although the eventual goal for all members was initially \$4,000 dollars a year and that members would "ramp down" their spending to the lower limit, the bottom limit was soon raised to \$5,000 dollars a year. Any money earned over the annual spending cap and over the amount of quota was to go into the social justice fund²³. The social justice fund would be a savings account of sorts but essentially the money would be inaccessible to members until they moved out.

Overall spending caps really confronted the dominant habitus—specifically around equality/inequality, egalitarianism, and the freedom to consume. However, the system was also created with an awareness of the fragility of their individual positions in an individualist and capitalist society where one is required to have money—thus it was thought that the forced savings would not only limit members' discretionary funds but would also protect individuals future interests after moving out of the community by sending them off with cash (albeit in annual installments).

At beginning of the year many were hopeful for what the spending caps might accomplish. The hope was that spending caps would create a more egalitarian environment in the community, limit the amount people spent and therefore help to save the environment, fund

²³ There was a lot of diversity in how people tracked their discretionary spending. Some people just put the spending cap amount into their checking/debit account and knew how much they had to spend just by looking at the balance. Others did not keep close track of their spending and would have to calculate monthly income and spending after the fact and report their numbers to the community using a ledger that two members developed.

their social justice project, and get members to save more (because without money you are vulnerable in a capitalist economy—*their words*).

Initially, the community did not have an agreement about how people would be paid back, which I believe speaks to an important component of an alternative habitus—going forward with the unknown, even though you are uncertain of the outcome. While going forward without an agreement did create some angst, overall members were confident that they would come up with an agreement that would work for everyone.

I believe that initiating the policy without a plan to pay back the money, really speaks to the level of trust the group had for each other, as well as their ability to make changes in the face of uncertainty. Gibson-Graham discuss uncertainty as one of the stumbling blocks to social change. There is no certainty with experimental social systems, but a willingness to go ahead anyway speaks to the ability to be free of the dominant culture of thinking.²⁴ As Gibson Graham write, “If we want to cultivate new habits of thinking for a postcapitalist politics, it seems there is work to be done to loosen the structure of feeling that cannot live with uncertainty or move beyond hopelessness” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 4).

In fact, the opposite was true, there was a belief that it would work, that they would find a way to make it work. I think this is a vital element in adopting an alternative habitus and alternative practices, as well as working for and achieving social change. In my own experiences with communities as well as in the classes I have taught with cooperative projects, there are always people who adamantly believe that whatever the new project is, it will not work. For example, when I was working to purchase the Sherwood Co-op, even though the community had existed for nearly 70 years, both owning their own property or renting, some of the members believed it wouldn't work—but it did. When teaching I've had students work on projects to plan

or start a community garden or a student food co-op. Some students believed it would never work, that it was not feasible. But a student community garden did start eventually and students, as of this writing, are working on starting the student food co-op. When working with the intentional communities in my study, I never heard proposals turned down because they did not believe they would work. The members were willing to try just about anything. Rather, the biggest debates took place around values—whether a proposal met the value system of the community or not.

Members voiced concerns about how spending caps might restrict their lives. While they had legitimate concerns about savings and changes in their way of life, I believe these concerns stemmed in part from being pushed into alternative structures that inhibited a dominant habitus of freedom to consume, as well as challenging the assumption of personal responsibility for one's own finances. However, their concerns they felt were not strong enough to stop the policy. They felt strongly enough about the potential benefits to go ahead with the policy anyway.

Some members concerns stemmed from a fear of not having money when they might need it. Some had concerns about their ability to financially support their parents, children, or their own retirement. "I'm eager to restrict spending, but have some fears...Vague worries about parents getting sick, retiring, or moving out." (Ridley) A woman who was trying to get pregnant was also worried about building equity while living in a community that did not allow for equity. She was concerned that most of their savings was going into the social justice fund and thus mostly unavailable in the short term. Some people were worried about the potential impact of spending caps on their relationships.

Other people had concerns that the spending caps and social justice fund weren't necessarily supporting an egalitarian environment. One newer and younger member voiced

concern that older members came into the house with gear allowing them to use their spending caps on other things. “As egalitarian as it tries to be, there are ways that it is not. At least it feels like that” (Reba). As one of the lower income members with no financial assets and student debt, the spending caps were difficult. She was not able to pay down her debt and was feeling frustrated. In 2011 Reba approached the house with her problem and a proposal—a matrix which allowed those with less assets and debt to put little or no money into the social justice fund, allowing them to pay off their debt or create savings. Rojo passed and implemented the proposal. The matrix takes into consideration and balances age, assets (or capital), and debt.

On the other hand for those members who were more fortunate, the spending caps helped them to save money. Years later, I followed up with this member who had remained at the community living with spending caps for years. They were very happy with the amount of money they had saved and put into the social justice fund and that they were able to meet all of needs within the confines of the spending cap²⁵. After following up with another family who had moved out and purchased their own home, they found that receiving money back both from the social justice fund as well as their retirement accounts really assisted them—they were happy to have that money saved for life outside of the community.

Other members were concerned about not having money to socialize. For single people there was some concern over the amount of money it takes to date someone. Another member mentioned feeling uncomfortable in situations where people buy each other beer.

However, over time the issues and kinks were worked out, regardless of the occasional stressful moments of sometimes discovering they had spent their monthly spending cap for the

²⁵ In my personal experience, living within community is so much cheaper, with fewer personal expenses and fewer “surprise” bills (for example, there is no individual responsibility for most large bills such as for car repair or house maintenance or even house purchases). It almost seems as if the spending caps in part, reflect the spending costs of what it takes to live outside of community with a moderate income. The community members spending and saving within the spending cap policy were able to “save” what otherwise might have been spent.

next month and would have little or no discretionary funds for a while discretionary funds for a while. Later in the year some members started to get excited about the money they were saving—money which might not have otherwise been saved.

After months of discussions about how members might be paid back they eventually agreed that 10% of the money they saved would be available to members when they move out. While only 10% of the money would be distributed at move-out, the rest of their savings would be distributed annually over a period of some years. A later decision allowed members moving out to withdraw 50% of their funds immediately, but forfeit the rest.

In the beginning, members were eager to see what might be done with the social justice fund, which was rapidly growing with member's savings. There was a desire to do something immediate with the funds. "It feels good to lend to the fund, but it feels more abstract. I'm less of a visionary. I get more excited about things that are 'take action now'...It's amazing what we're doing, but I want it to feel more real, more tangible" (Rhianna). As of this writing the community has planned a public discussion to get feedback and ideas on how to use the social justice fund.

Also in the beginning all members were excited to try the spending caps feeling that the spending caps would curtail their spending and allow them to accumulate funds.

I see it as an exercise and as infrastructure for my spending and as a way for the community to build this fund.

(Rhianna)

Spending caps feel good. I like them. I'm in a different situation because I'm not earning more than the caps, but it still curtails how much I spend in a given month.

(Raine)

I've been spending within the spending caps. I have a tight budget.

It limits my consumption.

(Rowan)

Overall spending caps made members attempt to spend their money in meaningful and intentional ways. Members had to prioritize spending to accommodate “big ticket” items like plane tickets to see family and to limit the amount of money spent overall. Members prioritized family, friends, and socialization in general, charitable giving, and personal growth such as workshops. Members de-prioritized spontaneous consumption, small ticket items, and tried to find alternative ways to meet their needs and wants without using money.

“Big ticket” items did not solely include airplane tickets, but also included purchasing tickets for fundraising events, which could range from \$50-\$100 dollars or even making charitable donations (which they did). Large amounts of money were also spent on workshops—to gain knowledge or self-help. A few people also used money from their spending cap to attend therapy. One member told me they felt that therapy should be excluded from the spending cap, but the community did not agree.

The other constraint for spending caps was that they also included things like parking tickets or repairs for their belongings. In this sense spending caps limited not just what they were physically consuming, but how much money they were putting into the economy overall.

No one had to sacrifice travel to visit family in order to spend within their caps. Rowan had to fly home four times during the year for family events, weddings, and a family emergency. However, for the family emergency she asked the community for, and was granted, a spending cap exemption for airline tickets to fly home. After gaining the exemption Rowan mentioned it

felt good to “see the community willingness to help.” She mentioned that she lives “far away from family, but I like to go back for important things.” While Rowan spent a lot of money on plane tickets and traveling in general, she was able to cut back spending on other items. She said she liked the spending caps because they “made me look at my consumption” and that it makes her “conscious of budgeting and savings.” At the end of the year she was able to save \$300 from her spending caps for discretionary use and put \$1,700 into the Social Justice Fund.

While spending caps didn’t necessarily limit travel to visit family, spending caps did limit recreational travel. It was difficult to save money for larger ticket items and trips. One member was worried she wouldn’t be able to save to take a trip to Central America in order to do volunteer work there. She wanted to go away, but realized she might not be able to and it would take a big effort on her part to save her spending cap. However, a year later after my initial research period ended, she was able to go to.

While the spending caps limited long-distance travel, and while a couple people made long-distance trips with trains instead of planes, many members were still flying. One plane flight is still equivalent to an equal share of a sustainable carbon footprint of “two to four tons of carbon emissions annually” (Rosenthal 2010) and in order for society to operate within sustainable carbon limits people will not be able to fly (Rosenthal 2010). One somewhat obvious result of this research is that the most important use for flying is to visit with family. In Europe or Japan, people have the option of high speed trains (Rosenthal 2010), but in the United States, trains are not as pleasant or fast—which speaks to a limitation of provisioning.

Because they were limited in how much money they were spending they had to get creative and figure out how to get their needs and desires met without spending money. After the spending cap started members began having joint yoga sessions in the house in order to save

money. The yoga sessions would take place in the studio or a large empty room and members would take turns leading the session. Many members in the house also relied on others to have their hair cut by other house members.

In other cases, people bartered for exchange of services or reduced prices. One person taught music lessons in return for some deep cleaning in the house. Another negotiated with her hair stylist to give her free maintenance trims and then later negotiated \$10.00 maintenance trims if a housemate cut her hair.

. The community also tried to include what they called “labor trading” in the house. Labor trading allowed members to get credit for helping each other with tasks that they might have to pay for, like having someone fix your computer. However, house members also had many ways in which to spend time with each other without spending money such as swimming in the lake, going to the park, watching a video, cooking and eating together, attending protests and other activist events together, or having a clothing swap (a time where everyone brings the clothes they don’t want, gives them away, and takes what other people don’t want).

Couples would act as financial partners and assist each other with spending cap issues. In one instance a woman did not buy a new dress for a wedding in order to use some of that money to help her partner purchase a laptop. This small sacrifice wasn’t due to lack of income, but due to the restrictions in place from the spending cap which helped to equalize spending between members.

Relying on each other and self-provisioning outside of the market economy is seen by many to be an important component of a sustainable economy. For example, in Miller’s solidarity economy relying on one another is a vital aspect in reaching sustainability (E. Miller 2004), encouraging social capital, community, and self or community provisioning. Second,

within a sustainable economy people should produce less, work less, and rely more on others (Leonard 2010).

There were other systemic or structural “loop holes” within the spending cap system. For example, some members received financial assistance from family and friends that allowed them to exceed their spending caps. Some members received assistance from family for airline tickets, clothing, being treated to dinner, drinks or other recreation, and receiving gift certificates. While there was some discussion of including financial assistance from families within the spending caps, they were also ways which allowed members to extend beyond them.

When traveling, members might not abide by the spending caps as obligated. While traveling they felt less restrained in spending both because they had to spend more on things like food and hotels, but also because they were “away” from the community.

I ignored the financial situation while [away]. I was driving everyday 80 miles round trip. I spent a lot on food and groceries. I didn't care about the money I was spending. I felt lucky I didn't have the added burden of no money. I spent way more than normal with the plane ticket, driving added to the cost which was around \$800. (Rowan)

Traveling put members within a different social context where they had different needs, social obligations, and were also operating within the dominant society. Members were away from the structure of the community and dropped into a different set of structures, which felt like a different reality. Their general inability to remain within the spending cap while away speaks to the strength of the communities in building an alternative lifestyles.

Stress also impacted members' consumption practices. Rojo residents often bought because of stress, especially prepared food. Members often felt the most stressed by work or lack of time in general.

If you are very busy or preoccupied, the ability for self-conscious reflection isn't necessarily available. If you are stressed it may be more difficult to abstain from activities that feel good or ease your life in some way—like eating out or entertainment. Convenience food was one of the types of spending that was common when people were stressed. However, in general these were small purchases—popcorn or coffee.

Overall, members did reduce the amount of money spent on convenience food in order to spend less money overall. They tried to bring food to work from home for lunches. So, while members consumed more while stressed, the community created alternative pathways for alleviating the need for stressful consumption—such as Rojo having frozen burritos available for people to take for lunch.

In the United States, Americans are constantly stressed and “over spending is how ordinary Americans cope with the everyday pressures of the new consumption” (Schor 1998, 21) and lowering that stress, may be an important factor in achieving more sustainable consumption—through more social supports, shorter work weeks, universal health care, paid leave, and lower debt (Schor 1998; Leonard 2010).

Spending caps were a both an expression of an alternative habitus as well as a self-imposed structure. As support for an alternative habitus, having a disposition or belief in sacrificing ones desires for the good of the many (limiting ecological and social impacts), maintaining social norms around limited consumption, and prioritizing saving over spending were all important. As a self-imposed structure, the spending caps limited their spending, saved

them money, and built “capital” with which to financially support projects that were in synch with their values.

Most importantly the spending caps forced people to change their practices and adopt more sustainable ones. However, success with spending caps seemed to build on a pre-disposition to comply with a certain lifestyle—that of sacrificing some wants and desires or ease of living to obtain the lifestyle or life goals. Some people had a more difficult time than others. Not spending money, especially if one is in the habit of spending money, takes a lot of self-conscious reflection.

From Habitus to Cultural Capital

Questioning the dominant American dream and creating an alternative based on egalitarianism and sustainability led members to question American consumption practices. I can't think of any practice that was left unquestioned, although members found it impossible or impractical not to change everything about their lives.

However, there was a philosophy developed around a critique of aesthetics and consumption. Members were trying to balance having pleasing aesthetics while trying not to get caught up in consumption or remodeling traps. On one occasion I came into Rojo and saw what I considered to be two new-to-them beautiful purple sofas in the living room. I sat down on one of the three sofas to join a few people talking there. I gushed a little over the sofas and asked about them. They had been purchased used on craigslist. The sofa replaced another that had moved out with a former member. . As we talked about the couch someone mentioned the desire to now replace another sofa. And as I looked around I noticed that the other two couches, which had seemed perfectly fine and nice looking before the new couch came in, now looked a bit drab compared with the new brilliantly colored purple couch. I imagined more purple

couches in their stead. Someone else noted the danger of bringing in a new item into the house. When you buy something new, the older items in the house pale by comparison, stimulating a desire to keep replacing old items—the slippery slope of refurbishing or remodeling.

Adopting the alternative American dream along with a range of associated values, such as egalitarianism, is difficult to do unless there are others around to support you. Maintaining a sustainable lifestyle is also about constant vigilance. Reminding yourself you don't need the couch or whatever new toy. However, being in a social group with similar minded people makes it easier to not consume or consume differently. One major reason is through the development of alternative, yet shared, tastes, knowledge, and skills, which Bourdieu refers to as cultural capital.

Cultural Capital

Food



Figure 23 Bulk Jars with unique labels at Violeta. My favorite popcorn topping—nutritional yeast and canola oil.

At “build your own burrito night” there were a number of bowls at one end of the table containing pinto beans (made from dry beans), white rice with cilantro, sweet potatoes, lettuce, salsa, cheese, and flour tortillas. There were only six people at dinner, but enough food to feed everyone—it would get eaten. Everyone there dug in. Everything was made from scratch. Everything was organic except for the tortillas. A member had been preparing the food for the past couple of hours getting ready for the dinner. At that time the burritos were a bit of a house specialty, as these were the fixings of the frozen burritos saved for those who needed to bring a meal to work. However, the meal was also both a good example of what would normally be eaten, what was considered “good” food, although other meals might also contain more vegetables.

Food was a large aspect of the cultural capital in both communities. The cultural capital around food included many factors, including knowledge around production, brands, distance of travel, healthful qualities, cooking, and knowledge of whole grains. One often overlooked aspect of packaging is putting produce and bulk goods into plastic bags to bring them home—an unnecessary use of plastic. Produce was not put in plastic bags, it was just put into the cart and then into a canvas bag at check-out. Containers that contain bulk goods such as glass jars for grains, legumes, or spices, were taken and filled at the food co-op. You only needed to have the weight, called the Tare weight, written on the jar before filling it up.

At both communities members became familiar with a range of grains, legumes, and how to cook them. Dinners at both communities frequently contained quinoa, second only to rice (multiple types of white and brown), as well variety of legumes that were used regularly, including red and green lentils, beans, including pinto, black, garbanzo, kidney, and navy, but also mung beans and adzuki beans among others. Community food also included large amounts

of vegetables from the local food co-op, community supported agriculture (CSA), local farms, their own yards, as well as from dumpsters.

While members of Rojo ate much less processed foods than those at Violeta, both communities had similar diets when members cooked. At Rojo members cooked for the frequent community dinners (and for leftovers), while at Violeta members would cook large amounts of food to share, feeding whomever was around as well as to have in the fridge.

Food was nutritious, filling, and cheap. But it was also a cuisine that I think is very particular to intentional communities in the U.S. All members learn a lot about food by eating with other members—it's impossible not to. Most members (those that have a desire to cook) learn all about whole food cooking—cooking techniques, recipes, and ingredients. Meals are inspired by international cuisine—especially those cuisines that are either naturally vegan or vegetarian including a pan-Asian influence, Latin America, and to a lesser extent an African influence. As part of “giving back” to the community I had a friend from India come to Rojo and give a mini-class on how to cook curry—it was very well received.

When I'm traveling and as a consequence not eating very well, I often crave one of these meals. Here are some sample menus:

- ❖ Chili with a variety of beans, kale, chard, onions, and collards served with couscous (Violeta).
- ❖ Peanut sauce with veggies and rice. (Rojo)
- ❖ Quinoa, lentils and eggplant (Rojo)
- ❖ Vegetable curry with coconut rice and spinach salad. (Rojo)
- ❖ Vegetable quiche and salad (Rojo)
- ❖ Falafel, pita bread, tahini, and veggies (Violeta)

- ❖ Cauliflower and potato curry with brown rice. (Rojo)
- ❖ Vegetable soup, biscuits, and salad (Violeta)

Deserts were frequently made at both communities as well. My personal favorites were the “7-minute chocolate cake” and the homemade biscotti at Rojo. The chocolate cake was vegan, chocolaty and sweet. One of the best chocolate cakes I’ve ever had. At Violeta my favorite was the vegan cheesecake.

Both communities preferred unprocessed foods. But due to a variety of factors processed foods were more common at Violeta than at Rojo. At Violeta members were most concerned about having healthy food available to them in their busy lives. And with fewer members than Rojo to share in the labor of cooking and fewer community meals, members wanted to have more convenient foods available.

At Rojo there was definitely a preference for foods that were minimally processed and packaged. However, processed or packaged foods were completely acceptable in very particular circumstances. For newer members it was sometimes difficult to navigate the dividing line between what was acceptable and what was not. Eventually member’s tastes and preferences for food changed after living in the community.

On one occasion a new member was going to make pie crusts with blackberries they had picked that day (an example of urban foraging). The recipe called for shortening. The new member could not find shortening in the house so walked down the street to the local grocery store to buy some. Later that day another member saw the Crisco shortening container, and alarmed, informed the new member that the house didn’t purchase products like Crisco—which was processed, non-organic, and filled with hydrogenated fake fats which your body cannot use properly. Not to mention it was sold by a transnational corporation. Crisco was no good. Butter

was the better option. The newer member was stunned and perplexed—they had just wanted to bake something after all.

I found the opposite reaction to a processed food on another day I was visiting the community. When I first arrive I would go straight to the kitchen to see who was around, what was going on, or to get a bite to eat. On this particular day two members were eating ice cream (which makes only a rare appearance) from small containers and offered me some. I can't eat dairy products, but I was intrigued. They told me the ice cream was just dumpstered. They opened the freezer and proudly showed me single serving containers of Atkins Ice Cream.

Like Crisco, normally something like Atkins Ice Cream would be a taboo product—it was single serving (too much packaging), artificially sweetened (too processed and unnatural), and a contrived or gimmick diet. However, the Atkins Ice Cream was considered a bit more than acceptable because it was dumpstered (impressive to me especially because it was still frozen). Dumpstered food of any kind was considered to be a way in which to rescue food from the landfill, to minimize one's ecological footprint, and to help society be less wasteful. Therefore eating the Atkins Ice Cream was acceptable, but buying and using Crisco to bake something was not. In this case the fact that ice cream had been salvaged was more important than its health content.

However, finding the dividing line between when it was acceptable to bring processed food into the house was a little more complicated. It was definitely ok to have a hankering for something for a snack food, like potato chips, buy them and bring them into the house. However, only occasional purchases (once a week might be too frequent) might be considered acceptable. One of the newer members commented to me that they wished they could bring in more processed foods. I never saw processed snack food, with the exception of chocolate chips,

purchased by the house (from the community budget). While members in interviews were hesitant to villainize fast food establishments completely (one member, when I asked about whether he would frequent fast food places, said he would be open to eating their [McDonalds] fries), but there was definitely a sense that bringing something like McDonalds to eat in the house would not be acceptable—in part because meat products were not allowed in the house, but also partly because McDonalds is a transnational corporation with many negative impacts on environment and community.

Aesthetics

While all individuals have a unique aesthetic sense, aesthetic sensibility and appreciation for art can be thought of as a particular element of cultural capital stemming from their backgrounds and participation in certain social groups. As a group, community members had a very particular aesthetic taste that can be characterized by the following elements: political, handmade, recycled, colorful, but always non-commercial. Their aesthetic was expressed in their appreciation for and creation of public art, home and room decoration, clothing and appearance, personal items, and choices for gifts. Their aesthetic senses lead to particular kinds of preferences as well as consumption practices.

Good art was political art, local, public, accessible, cheap, and hand-made. For the most part just a few individuals expressed strong sentiments on art, but their sentiments explained most of the aesthetic sense I found within the rest of the community. Their ideas of "good" art were based on the ability for the art to represent their politics and social values in some way and not necessarily related to the artistic skill of the artist or even beauty, in the abstract.

[I like] protest art-art at protests, that which happens in the world that is inspiring.

(Raine)

“Bad” art was seen as anything that did not represent their core values or that glossed over inequalities, oppression and history.

Bad art is pastel kittens. All art takes a stance. [Art] is not neutral.

[Bad art is] that which glorifies oppressive things-like Thomas Kincaid or Norman Rockwell. Beautiful pastoral scenes of American life without any of the complexities...

(Raine)

Political art was found both outside and inside both communities. Political art expressed sentiments of positive futures—free from oppression and hierarchy and encouraging self-actualization. For example many of the images in Rojo depicted scenes of protest or revolt. Images of the Zapatista movement from Chiapas, Mexico, were very popular because they were successful in taking over a town through non-violent means and because they were making a stand for their rights and against injustice. These are images of men and women with black masks and slogans of power and solidarity. One image in Rojo states in Spanish and in English “¡Nuestra Lucha Es Tuya!” “Our Struggle Is Yours!” Another image is a framed photo of three protesters arm and arm. The middle protester facing the camera is an elderly woman with short gray hair and on either side of her are two young men. This image shows that resistance and protest are not just the role of the young.

Political art also represented resistance including protest art as well as everyday acts of resistance. For example, hanging in the Rojo kitchen is stenciled artwork in an old/recycled window frame (Figure 24, page 194). The piece is a series of four stencils. The bottom two stencils both speak to acts of everyday resistance. The bottom left stating, “Insurrection Against the Existing Order of Life” speaks to acting against the expected or sanctioned forms of

behavior—to go against the status quo in order to enact change. The bottom right stencil, “Frivolities That Fit Our Frugality” or enjoying small things in life that have a low impact, but make life more enjoyable. This bottom right stencil expresses a sentiment that I often heard—that they are living a life of relative luxury (they wouldn’t like that word) and comfort even though they are not spending very much money. They would say that their lives are relatively comfortable, that they have more than they need, even that they have more than they need, especially compared with the rest of the world.



Figure 24. Image hanging in the Rojo dining room.

Members also felt it was important for art to be public and accessible. They particularly celebrated public art as resistance or art that was not sanctioned by the city or the state.

One member of Violeta had recently started stenciling which involved creating a single template with an image cut out and painting over the template to paint the image onto an object—such as paper, clothing, furniture, or any other surface. Val began using stenciling as a way to create public art.

I just got into [stenciling] a year ago. A friend was doing it. I liked the idea of public stenciling. [I like art depicting] positive resolutions. I wanted stencils in the central area [that said]“What’s this about gentrification.

(Val)

In this quote Val is expressing a desire to create awareness around the issue of gentrification—a process of pushing out people of color and lower income populations through increasing property values and subsequent increases in property tax and an influx of white middle and upper middle class residents. Seattle’s Central District is a hot spot for gentrification with skyrocketing housing values and rapidly changing demographics. Historically the Central District was the only location in the city where African Americans could live and African Americans had created a thriving local community and economy with churches and African American businesses. As housing prices increase the temptation to sell increases with property taxes that become unaffordable and out of reach. Members of both communities were aware of the issues around gentrification and their part in the process—both communities were situated in areas undergoing gentrification.

However, Violeta’s art also expressed positive resolutions. The stencil was spray painted on the sidewalk outside of the Violeta house. The stencil expressed the sentiment that “Joy Is Within Reach,” meaning that we can achieve happiness if we can break out of our old lives. Near the stencil is another example of community art—pop cans cut and painted in the form of multi-colored suns.



Figure 25: A stencil created by a member of Violeta

The aesthetic within the community was both anti-commercial and utilitarian. Aesthetics, especially within Rojo were given much consideration. Members wished to make their home beautiful and meaningful. However, they also strove (but did not always succeed) to decorate in way that would adhere to their value set by using recycled goods, saving products from the landfill, and not purchasing new goods from corporations. In both communities but especially in Rojo there were bursts of color and community-made art at different locations in the house. Violeta members also wanted to incorporate more color and art into their home—especially in the entry way and up the stairwell that was visible from the entry way. While the painting of the house didn’t happen during my initial period of field work, Violeta did re-use their decorations from the previous “Little Black Dress Party” along the front stairwell.

One of the reasons Rojo might be more thoroughly and colorfully painted than Violeta is because the house has continuously been in the process of remodeling in order to make it

habitable—creating rooms, creating a staircase when there wasn't one, breaking down walls, etc. Much of the interior of the house has been built by the community and thus in need of paint. During my fieldwork the community was building a stairway from the first to the second floor. Up to this point members would have to move from one floor to the other by taking the stairs outside. Once the stairway had been built there was a new large wall that needed paint. Many of the members felt that it would be best to have an artist come in and draw a political mural.

I think the most striking area of Rojo is the third floor. This was painted by Raine. Is striking in both the use of color (gold and red) as well as the artistry on the doors leading off of the main hallway. Everything was painted with leftover paint. The yellow and orange colors are meant to represent a sunrise. The three doors then represent skylscapes: the stars, crows, and the sun. The crows represent the crows that roost nearby in the summer.



Figure 26. 3rd Floor Bedroom Doors Painted With Birds and Sun

Effort is made to re-use partially empty cans of paint for any painting project, however they didn't sacrifice aesthetics. If the left over paint couldn't be made aesthetically pleasing, they bought new paint. In Figure 27, the blue back hallway was painted using 15 different cans of leftover blue paint. In the case of the purple entry way Raine had painted the wainscoting and discovered she hated the color. She and Ryder searched very hard to find a color that would go with it. Years later, in retrospect, since the paint is still up, she thought it may have been better to return the paint for the wainscoting and just pick a better color.



Figure 27 3rd Floor Back Hallway and Entry Way

The aesthetic sense of both communities aspires to make beauty or usefulness out of what is available. It would be unacceptable to purchase some new form of art or home decoration from a store to bring home. Although it would be acceptable, but rare, to purchase more political art from the artist who made it.

In his recent book *Stuff* Daniel Miller (2010) argues for a “dialectical theory of material culture” (p.60). He argues that objects make us just as we make them, that there is no separation

between subject and object, that making things makes us who we are (p.60). This is a different argument than what anthropologists of consumption have made in the past, namely that the material in part signify our identity and social relationships.

Within these two case studies their aesthetic tastes and practices are both creating who they are and expressing who they are. The environment creates or builds on an individual—they way they move through the spaces, what appropriate changes might look like, what appropriate décor is.

I believe these communities are generating cultural capital, a set of aesthetic preferences or taste (cultural capital) that motivates them to construct and in turn to be constructed by their material surroundings. It is an aesthetic that aims to live outside the capitalist domain of commoditization by creating surroundings through their own labor, either building items from scratch (the stair banister made of wood from a cut tree at Rojo) or re-appropriating items made in a capitalist market (paint). Through this aesthetic they are making do with less, adopting previously used items, worrying about meeting utilitarian needs as opposed to aesthetic needs, and creating art that is independently produced.

Clothing

Members had diverse relationships with their clothing. The vast majority expressed a desire for comfort or expressed their style as utilitarian. Some women desired their clothes to express a certain personal style, to have clothes on hand which would allow them to fit into a specific social group, or on the other hand, not to conform to any social group. Although for everyone there was a desire to downplay popular fashion.

Many members were constrained by their work environments and struggled a little to stay within the boundaries of what was acceptable. Those with non-profit executive level positions

tried to at least pass with a more professional style, which in Seattle is easier with more relaxed business clothing standards—button down shirts or blouses and slacks. Those working in or lobbying in Olympia had a small set of professional business clothes. For those working with low-income populations, they struggled to find a medium ground between looking professional but not wearing too new or nice clothes so as to not be too different from the populations they worked with.



Figure 28 Rojo members in the kitchen

The fact that all members obtained the majority of their clothes used was the biggest commonality. Most members indicated that around 80% of their clothes were used, versus about 20% new. A few people had a greater percentage of pants purchased new as opposed to shirts, expressing dismay about the difficulty in finding used pants that fit well. Not purchasing new products was widely considered to be one of the more significant ways to lower your personal ecological footprint. In Colin Beavan’s No Impact experiment, not buying new products was the number one rule (Beavan 2009), the second rule was to “borrow, rent, or buy used (except underwear and socks)” (Beavan 2009, 153).

Those who purchased most of their clothing used had low or negligent expectations from their work and social environments, as well as an overall disregard for fashion. It's not that they disregarded styles other than the utilitarian or functional when that style was available used, but that buying used was more important than conforming to any particular image of self-expression.

The community provided an environment of support and encouragement for purchasing used clothes, or exchanging clothes with other housemates. Many members indicated that they purchased more of their clothing used as a consequence of moving into the community. One member indicated that before they had moved into the community they paid attention to the labor practices around production and sales of the clothes they purchased, but upon moving into community they began to purchase mostly used clothing.

As per Colin Beavan's #2 rule, undergarments, including socks, underwear, and bras were almost exclusively purchased or gifted new. However, his #3 rule was to "buy only organic underwear and socks" (Beavan 2009, 153). As Beavan found, there aren't very many choices for organic underwear and choices for organic bras are virtually non-existent, although one member purchased bras through Patagonia, a company which advertises social and environmental responsibility. A majority of members indicated that they asked for or were given underwear as a Christmas gift (a gift that one is sure to "need" and use and is thus not wasteful). Otherwise, members purchased undergarments at a variety of places. A few members purchased new socks at Goodwill (a non-profit thrift store), although they presumed them to be made with bad labor policies, they were also cheap and easily accessible, as most members shopped at Goodwill. Others shopped at The Bon (a local department store using unionized labor that was later bought out by Macy's) or Nordstrom's which also employs unionized labor, but also, as I found, sells many clothes that are made in the United States, and thus made under better labor and

environmental standards. Otherwise members shopped for the cheapest undergarments, as one member noted she went to “the evil Ross,” because they had better bras at lower prices.

There were significant gender differences between men and women. Not all women were concerned with self-expression through clothing, but it was only women who did. When asked about their clothing style or what their clothes or wardrobe said about them, women offered a variety of styles. For example, one woman mentioned wearing androgynous clothes because she participated in the gay community., another mentioned having a queer hipster fashion sense, another as having an eclectic style ranging between sporty and casual, another that they wanted their wardrobe to represent them as fun, funky, polished, sassy, and sexy. Yet another was intrigued by fashion, and took care of what she wore, but didn’t have time to really pursue a style.



Figure 29 Violeta members in the kitchen

Women also had a greater range of stores including thrift stores and department stores where they would buy clothes. Both men and women had their favorite thrift stores or

department stores. However, women in general had a larger range of stores where they would go. Women also were more likely to borrow clothes or exchange hand-me downs from each other, thereby widening the availability of cloths and clothing options.

Men had less tolerance for shopping in general and would shop less frequently for clothing. Most men had one or two used clothing stores that they would frequent. However, men were more likely, when they really needed a piece of clothing, to just drop into the easiest location, whether a thrift store or a department store and buy whatever was available (although buying any clothing was a rare occurrence). As one man with a professional position said, “I wear whatever is in my drawer. I have a strange relationship with clothes. I’m not interested, but I’m forced by my job to look presentable but I’m not sure I do. As one man with a professional position said “I wear whatever is in my drawer. I have a strange relationship with clothes. I’m not interested, but I’m forced by my job to look presentable but I’m not sure I do. I feel I look preppier than other communards, but a “needs a good ironing board preppy.”

Also, many men expressed that their former and current girlfriends, boyfriends, and wives would buy their clothes for them. In fact one man had a Gap leather jacket that an ex-wife had purchased for him that he hated because it was leather and because it was purchased at the Gap. However, he kept it and wore it because of its utilitarian nature (it was warm) and because he did not want to be wasteful.

Keeping the leather jacket even though it ill-represented his value set, also represented the cultural capital of these communities around clothing, which was also significant for sustainable lifestyles. For most good clothing was utilitarian, clean, and moderately presentable, and had little to no ecological impact. It didn’t matter how you covered yourself—any range of self-expression was supported—however, meeting your clothing needs with the least amount of

impact and trouble was the key. Having people support one another in wearing clothes showing some wear, or not particularly matching, or being able to “wear out” clothes that were named-branded or preppy was ok. What mattered least was what one looked like, rather how they behaved or the content of their character was important. As one member stated “I’m not interested in how people are dressed, I’m interested in the person” (Vincent).

In our society fashion, or keeping up with fashion, or being “dressed for success” is believed to indicate one’s ability to be successful in life, but this also leads to an overuse of resources, environmental problems, and social injustices. As Leonard (2010) writes, it indicates to others how successful one is by doing their part to support economic growth through consumption of new and fashionable clothing. Those who, even in the non-profit world, had to express some professionalism through clothing, were forced to show the most care in how they looked. Devaluing fashion or presentability as a sign of success decreases the need for material throughput of clothes. A sustainable cultural capital around clothing is one that prioritizes functionality over style, disembedding a sense of capacity or worth from clothing.

On the other hand, self-expression through clothing should not be written off. While men showed little interest in taking on any one style of clothing, many of the women did. Women in the community were able to find some kind of balance between eschewing mainstream fashion, valuing used clothing, devaluing status around clothing, but wanting to use clothes for self-expression. . In this case a sustainable cultural capital would also need to support efforts by those who desire it to express a personal style. The study communities assisted with this by allowing women a larger range of clothing choices through sharing or re-distributing clothes.

However, there may need to be a new market for fashionable used clothing. There are a few stores in Seattle that sell re-purposed clothes, taking old clothes and making new clothes, which may offer an alternative source of stylish clothes for those who desire it.

Gifts

Community members were thoughtful with the types of gifts given and situations in which people gave or received gifts. Another norm was to not give gifts at all, nor to ask for them. Some only gave gifts to a select number of people. For example it may be acceptable to give a gift to one's significant other but not to family members.



Figure 30 Member of Violeta making gifts for friends, a card made by a Rojo member for their partner.

When giving gifts community members mostly gave gifts of experience, donations made in the name of the person, Fair Trade items, or homemade gifts. Infrequently “regular” or commercial commodities were also purchased.

Many community members made homemade gifts. Examples of homemade gifts included stencils, drawings, a duct-tape wallet, journals, jewelry, knitted items (scarves and hats), and food.

Gifts to other community members were rarely given, although Rojo residents have had gift exchanges after Christmas. “That’s been fun. Try to do that with things that they have made or with services. Occasionally purchase things with a low cap of five dollars” (Rory). Although, it was not a practice to exchange gifts with other members of the house outside of the gift of time. During Birthdays or Anti-birthdays participation was the gift itself, as was cooking something for the member being celebrated.

Working Together

Finally, an important component of an alternative habitus and sustainable cultural capital is the belief in community as a solution along with the knowledge and skill set to make collective action successful. Or more specifically, envisioning the collective as the primary source of change (habitus) and building the skill sets in communication and decision making (cultural capital) that make collective projects possible, is essential to collective efforts promoting sustainable lifestyles and sustainable transitional societies. I will discuss conflict resolution, communication, and meeting skills in Chapter __: Urban Intentional Communities as Common Property Regimes, but I feel it’s important to finish the chapter with some discussion about a belief in community.

The dominant habitus puts responsibility for one’s life (including health and retirement) on the individual. Similarly the responsibility for sustainability is also pushed onto the individual—as many scholars of sustainability have critiqued.

On the other hand, critics of a growth-centered approach to sustainability emphasize the importance of increased community participation (Sarkissian and Hofer 2009; UNCED 1992; Mackenzie 2010; Daly 1994; Seyfang 2009; Carr 2000), community centered economics through co-operatives (Magnuson 2008), a solidarity economy (E. Miller 2004), a gift economy (Coates and Leahy 2006) as well as simply facilitating more generalized reciprocity. However, community centered changes require collective action which requires both a habitus which acknowledges not only the role of community and interdependence between people, but also the skills in which to facilitate community projects and enterprises.

Recent research has shown that an individual's conceptualization of human nature influences their beliefs about the potential source of social change. Fisher et al. (2011) conducted interviews in the E.U. to ask about individuals views on governance to promote behavioral changes. What they found was a relationship between a negative image of humanity and a disbelief in collective action in enacting behavioral changes. (A. Fischer et al. 2011) Fisher et. al. (2001) argue that individual views on human nature may "lead to self-fulfilling prophecies" (p. 1033). "No matter how reasonable and technically feasible, if a sufficient minority of individuals believe collective action to be unrealistic and thus refuse to participate, it will fail" (A. Fischer et al. 2011, 1033). They believe more research is necessary to understand if the opposite is true—if "individuals with more positive views on humanity act more environmentally friendly?" My research would support this question.

I argue that a concept of human nature is a central part of habitus, one that maps out the role one has in society in relation to other people. Our concept of human nature may be pivotal in our perception of solutions to environmental and social problems. While I did not ask the question directly of community members, I think given their conceptions about people and the

world, that they believe people are naturally cooperative and that they have faith that collective action to address problems is possible. A cooperative belief about human nature may be necessary in promoting collective action around sustainability initiatives, but more research is needed.

Conclusion

In this chapter I demonstrated that more sustainable social practices are adopted through a combination of an alternative habitus as well as collectively creating sustainable forms of cultural capital. The collective development of cultural capital occurred through questioning the dominant habitus as well as questioning mainstream practices and devising alternatives in their stead. The intentional communities both created “structuring structures” facilitating sustainable lifestyles, and created new fields allowing new conceptualizations of the possibilities for different lifestyles and different ways of being. These communities are opening social spaces in which to create, maintain, and experiment with alternative practices and provisioning, allowing for more sustainable lifestyles.

Community members consume less than the average Seattlite and average American. An alternative habitus, sustainable forms of cultural capital that includes the practices of questioning what one knows plays a central role in reducing their levels of consumption. However, habitus and cultural capital do not impact consumption in a vacuum. There are other reasons for community members’ ability to decrease their consumption as well as limitations for consumption. Institutional practices (Chapter Seven) and Worldview (Chapter Eight) also play a role.

Chapter 7: Urban Intentional Communities as Common Property

Regimes

In 2011 I attended the third annual SLICE (Supporting Local Independent Cooperatives Everywhere) conference. SLICE was developed by and for various Pacific Northwest cooperatives, their members, and those interested in cooperative development. During her keynote speech Margaret Lund²⁶, previous director of a cooperative development fund²⁷, read through Elinor Ostrom's eight design principles for successful community management of common-pool resources. Before reading the principles she asked the audience "if they sounded familiar." As she read the principles there were nods of appreciation in the audience--to cooperative members the eight principles clearly applied to their organizations.

I appreciate the connection Lund made between Ostrom's design principles and cooperatives—a connection she also made in a paper (Lund 2011). I made a similar connection when I first dived into the common property literature as a graduate student in environmental anthropology. The case studies of community based resource management were comparable to my experiences living in intentional communities, and Ostrom's design principles resonated with my experiences living in community. I found my positive community experiences occurred when the community was operating within the principles and more negative community experiences occurred when we, as a community, were not in line with one or more of the principles. At a time when we are especially concerned with collective action and sustainability,

²⁷ North Country Development Fund

it seems appropriate to connect the common-pool resource literature with other collective management scenarios including those of cooperatives and collectives.

In the following chapter, I will argue that Elinor Ostrom's eight design principles (1990) for successful collective management of common-pool resources may be applied to any common property regime governing private resources. Broadening the application of Ostrom's design principles to common property regimes, which I will refer to as common property institutions, to any kind of collectively managed resource increases our ability to understand how community or cooperative institutions work and their influence on the sustainable use of resources²⁸.

Discussing urban intentional communities as common property institutions that meet all of Elinor Ostrom's (1990) design elements for successful community management expands the common property literature from natural resources and adds additional areas of inquiry in answer to the questions of collective action and sustainable management of common resources writ large.

Understanding urban intentional communities as common property institutions gives insight into innovative institutional arrangements that result in more sustainable lifestyles for urban populations. Their structured living situation, as well as their common values for social justice and environmental sustainability, enables them to have both formal and informal institutional arrangements that limit their consumption of commodities, thus reducing their ecological footprint. Specifically with regard to consumption I consider market commodities as an open access resource that urban common property systems manage in order to promote more sustainable use of resources and social justice.

²⁸ Where property regimes "manage people and their use of environmental resources" (Bromley 1991, 22), institutional arrangements are a broader, covering social norms and rules extending beyond the scope of the resource and thus I will use "institution" instead of "regime."

On the other hand Intentional Communities may also benefit from understanding of successful and sustainable design principles in the common property literature. For example, intentional communities face perennial challenges, such as conflict around labor, property management, conflict, and membership turnover--problems that the common property literature may help us understand.

In 1968 Garrett Hardin, an ecologist, published a persuasive essay²⁹ in *Science* magazine titled *The Tragedy of the Commons*.³⁰ He argued that over-population and the inherent human tendency to maximize self-benefit (utility) will lead to ecological catastrophe. Here he uses the famous example of a pasture open to all, where individuals will put more cattle in the pasture than the pasture can sustainably maintain in order to maximize their own benefit (make money). Thus, the tragedy is that in the rush to make money they degrade the pasture for future use. Hardin argues that the answer to this “tragedy” lies either 1) in privatizing the commons so that individuals will have greater incentive to manage the land to ensure its continuous production for future profit, or 2) government regulations to curb pollution, limit population growth and inhibit the freedom of individuals and groups to make decisions (Hardin 1968).

The main problem with his analogy of the overused pasture is with the misuse of the term “the commons.” Scholars who had observed management of commonly held resources took issue with his description and argued that the pasture Hardin described was not a “commons,” (which implies common management) but an “open-access” resource (which is land where no rights or restrictions are defined and open to use and abuse by anyone). After hearing the critiques of his work, Hardin later rescinded his use of unqualified term, “the commons” (Hardin 1998). In a reflective essay published in 1998 he wrote “to judge from the critical literature, the

²⁹ In a 1998 retrospective Hardin refers to this 1968 essay as an attempt at interdisciplinary synthesis.

³⁰ While I think that Hardin makes some important arguments in his paper (which I will discuss later on in this chapter), it’s puzzling to me that as a scientist he could write and publish this essay without any empirical evidence.

weightiest mistake in my synthesizing paper was the omission of the modifying adjective “unmanaged” (p. 683). However, the “tragedy of the commons” is now well established within the American ideas of “the commons” and is a sounding call for the current privatization movement.

In reaction to Hardin’s work, the common-pool resource (CPR), common property resource³¹, and community-based resource management (CBRM) literature have focused on the sustainable communal management of natural resources (C. M. Tucker 2010; D. W. Bromley and Feeny 1992). This literature argues that in contrast to Hardin’s “Tragedy of the Commons” communities have sustainably managed common-pool resources successfully for centuries or longer. While scholars of common property systems governing natural resources have come from a variety of disciplines including: anthropology (Netting 1976; B. J. McCay and Jentoft 1998; Acheson 2006; B. J. McCay 1978), ecology (Fikret Berkes 1985; Firkret Berkes 1999), political science (Ostrom 1990), and economics (D. W. Bromley 1991; D. Bromley 1992); the analysis of common property institutions has predominantly been limited to those governing natural resources such as fisheries, forests, grasslands, wildlife and fresh water (Ostrom 1990; Acheson 2006). Recently, scholars are working to apply the concepts to a wider range of resources (B. McCay and Delaney 2010; C. M. Tucker 2010; Fikret Berkes and Davidson-Hunt 2010; Hofmohl 2010).

The most monumental book from the CPR/CBRM literature is Elinor Ostrom’s *Governing the Commons* (1990), which earned her a Nobel Prize in economics in 2009. Here Ostrom

³¹ I will use the acronym CPR to stand for common-pool resource. This body of research often uses the terms common-pool resource and common property resource interchangeably while using the same acronym, CPR, causing confusion (Dietz et al. 2002). One example being Berkes et. al. paper where they use the term common-property interchangeably with common-pool (Berkes et. al. 1989). However, common-pool resource is argued to be more correct as it refers to the resource whereas common property resource conflates the resource and management of it (Dietz et al. 2002).

analyzes the management of CPRs and generates a set of eight design principles she finds lead to successful collective management of CPRs. She draws on the variety of case studies on common property institutions including the work of anthropologists and natural scientists who had studied indigenous management of natural resources. In her work she focuses “entirely on small-scale CPRs, where the CPR is itself located within one country and the number of individuals affected varies from 50 to 15,000 persons who are heavily dependent on the CPR for economic returns” (p.26), while acknowledging the existence of a wider range and very diverse types of CPRs.

Ostrom defines a CPR as “a natural or man-made resource system that is sufficiently large as to make it costly (but not impossible) to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from its use” (p.30). CPRs may be characterized by being resource systems (a fishing ground) from which resource units (fish) may be taken. Resource units are large areas such as a fishing ground, forest, or parking garage, which by their nature make exclusion difficult. Resource units, such as the fish, timber, or parking spaces, may be appropriated (taken) from those resource systems (Ostrom 1990, 30; Dietz et al. 2002) by appropriators. Thus, the main distinguishing feature of CPRs is the subtractability of resource units from a resource system. Subtractability refers to the fact that once a resource unit is appropriated, it is not available to anyone else unless the rights to that unit are transferred (a fisherman selling his fish) or if the resource unit is returned (as in the case of a parking space). If we discuss urban intentional communities as CPRs we might refer to the physical structure of the house as well as the surrounding land as the resource system and individual rooms members inhabit as a resource unit—however urban intentional communities are much more complex.

CPRs are one of four types of “goods” which may be governed by any number of property regimes. The four types of goods include: private, public, toll or club, and common-

pool (Ostrom, Gardner, and Walker 1994). Common-pool resources are distinguished from the governance (or non-governance) of them.³² For example a watershed may be considered a common-pool resource, but the water itself could be managed by any number of different property arrangements. Common-pool resources may have one or a combination of four property regimes: open access, private property, communal property (or common property regime), or state (or public) property (F. Berkes et al. 1989; D. W. Bromley 1991; Dietz et al. 2002; Lehavi 2008; Huong and Berkes 2011)³³. Private property regimes are characterized by the ability for an individual or group to exclude non-owners, make management decisions and have access to the benefit stream (D. W. Bromley 1991). Bromley (1991) characterizes a common property regime as representing 1. “private property for the group of co-owners” (Bromley 1991, 25) where 2. “individuals have rights (and duties)” (Bromley 1991, 26). The literature on common property or common-pool resource management focuses on common-pool resources managed as a common property regime³⁴.

Many CPR scholars, including Ostrom, have argued for the need to extend the scope of study outside of traditional subjects such as fisheries, forests, and pasture. “Many of the lessons

³² There has been some conflation of terms between the resources and the management of them (Dietz et. al. 2002) as can be seen in Berkes et. al. paper where they use the term common-property interchangeably with common-pool (Berkes et. al. 1989). Alternatively, “common property” “implies a kind of management arrangement created by humans rather than a characteristic of the resource itself” (Dietz et. al. 2002).

³³ To make matters more complicated, property regimes are increasingly becoming a mix of property regimes between private, common, or public (Lehavi 2008).

³⁴ Where Ostrom focuses her work on how common-pool resources as goods may be sustainably managed collectively other scholars have taken a different approach. For example, Netting (1978) examined the conditions under which we may find either communal or private tenure. The difference in approach is critical to facilitating a more general study of collective management. Asking the question of “under what conditions might we find communal management” extends the question of communal-management to any number of resources. Netting found that certain qualities of resource systems facilitated common use and management. Netting studied the tenure system in a Swiss village over a 500 year period looking over documents and interviewing current residents. He uses an ecological approach in asking the question of why communal tenure is still practiced in the region. He develops criteria designating some types of property as communal and others as private. He argues that communal tenure is found in areas that have a large land area requiring large investment, but low production, yield or improvement capabilities. Communal tenure thus tends to be found in high altitude grazing and forested areas and waste lands (minimally productive lands). As a consequence communal tenure is way to promote equitable access, optimum production and the conservation of resources (p.145).

learned from the operation of communal property regimes related to natural resource systems are theoretically relevant to the understanding of a wide diversity of property regimes that are extensively used in modern societies” (Ostrom and Hess 2007). On the other hand I believe the limiting factor is the focus of study on the types of “goods” like a common-pool resource, instead of focusing on the type of tenure. For example, why not apply what is learned from the study of communal property regimes governing natural resources to communal property regimes governing other types of resources? Comparing common property institutions across resource types facilitates comparisons between common property institutions managing a range of resources. For example, urban intentional communities do not fit neatly into any of the four categories of goods but have much in common with their common property counterparts governing common-pool resources.³⁵

Scholars have begun to discuss common property arrangements for resources other than renewable natural resources. In 2008 Charlotte Hess conducted a literature review on what she referred to as “New Commons” or commons arrangements outside of traditional arrangements around natural resources (Hess 2008). In 2010 the *International Journal of Common Property* published a volume focused on highlighting commons work outside of natural resources, including non-renewable resources (Tucker 2010), community-based enterprises (Berkes and Davidson-Hunt 2010), and the internet (Hofmohl 2010).

While the literature on common property is expanding beyond its roots in natural resources, there is very little literature linking the governance of intentional communities with the literature on common property management. In fact I found it interesting that while there are references made to intentional communities and community land trusts as examples of common

³⁵ Nor, do all goods fit neatly into these categories. In a future paper I would like to rethink the classifications of goods.

property, there is a lack of peer-reviewed articles. Interestingly in Hess' 2008 analysis of the "new commons" she does not include either intentional communities or community land trusts, presumably due to a lack of literature in the area. In part, the lack of literature may be due to the fact that intentional communities govern a wide range of resources and there is an imperfect fit to a literature based mainly on the use of very specific kinds of resources, or the fact that commons scholars have not yet written and published in the area, or for the fact that there are just so few scholars working with intentional communities.

Two papers in particular link intentional communities with other common property institutions. Sennlaub (2005) argues that communal ownership of housing as a common pool resource is one way to achieve sustainable (Sennlaub 2005). Lockyer (2010) argues that intentional communities are recreating the commons through creating common property institutions. Over time American intentional communities have become more democratic while creating communal institutional arrangements (Lockyer 2010).

I would like to fill this gap. For the purposes of linking intentional communities with the common property literature I will divide intentional communities into two groups. The first group includes intentional communities that either manage natural resources (such as forests, grazing land, or farm land) and/or that manage community enterprises that generate income from the production of commodities like food stuffs or hammocks. Such communities tend to be rural communities such as Twin Oaks in Virginia, the Kibbutz in Israel, or the Hutterites. These intentional communities that manage natural resources or community enterprises are equivalent in many ways to the cases traditionally studied in the common property literature.

The second group of intentional communities are those that manage less traditional types of resources, such as those communities that manage housing resources or other community

assets like money or other property. Resources managed by urban intentional communities may be both subtractable and non-subtractable. Subtractable units within intentional communities may include the harvest from gardening, farming, and forestry, financial resources, individual living space, and land. However, intentional communities also share and manage resources that are not subtractable through individual use. For example, communities provide for each other a communal living space that is meant to be shared by more than one individual or family at a time. Harvests from gardening and farming are also shared—the food is to be eaten together or sold and the money used collectively. In addition, financial resources are also shared and one person might receive more benefit or assistance than another individual depending on need.

ICs as Common Property Institutions

Ostrom (1990) argues that her set of design principles may be conditions for the long-term sustainability of common-pool resources and the common property regime³⁶. She developed these principles after reviewing data on multiple case studies of CPRs from all over the world and over multiple time periods. In developing the design principles she limited her scope to case studies of those institutions that had endured over 100 years, and the oldest system in her study continued over 1,000 years. While her analysis focused on CPRs governing a variety of natural resources (dissimilar to urban intentional communities) she seeks to address problems found in a variety of collective action scenarios which “have to do with coping with free-riding, solving commitment problems, arranging for the supply of new institutions, and

³⁶ A few researchers have endeavored to develop a list of design principles related to successful management of the commons (Wade 1988; Baland and Platteau 1996; Agrawal 2002; Ostrom 1990). Most famous of these are the principles put forth by Elinor Ostrom (1990). I will focus my attention on her work while bringing in additional elements from Wade (1998) and Baland and Platteau (1996) later.

monitoring individual compliance with sets of rules” (p.27). These are issues urban intentional communities also work to address.

Beyond the type of resource, most intentional communities in the United States differ from the cases Ostrom (1990) studied in terms of membership number and duration. Most urban intentional communities have under 100 members and in many cases (but not all) have been in existence for less than 100 years. In addition, membership within these communities may have high turnover rates where few members may live in a community for the majority of their lives.

In this section, I will analyze the congruence of Ostrom’s design principles with those characteristics found within intentional communities. I will focus on the two case studies in my research, and incorporate additional examples of other communities from western Washington State. Ostrom’s design principles are (Ostrom 1990, pg. 90):

1. Clearly defined boundaries
2. Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions
3. Collective-choice arrangements
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict-resolution mechanisms
7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize
8. Nested enterprises (for CPRs that are parts of larger systems).

1. Clearly defined boundaries

Individuals or households who have rights to withdraw resource units from the CPR must be clearly defined, as must the boundaries of the CPR itself (Ostrom 1990, 91).

Both types of boundaries are important to the ability of a group to organize the management of the resource. A resource without clear boundaries may lead to the inability of appropriators to keep others out and therefore the resource becomes impossible to manage sustainably. Not delineating rights to specific users makes restricting the taking of the resource units (water, wood, or fish) impossible and therefore unsustainable.

Intentional communities maintain boundaries of the property, the specific resources held by the group, as well as specify appropriators with rights to use the resource(s). Within the United States, intentional communities are embedded within the system of property rights supported by the state. The property held by intentional communities is either owned by an individual, a collection of individuals, an organization, or some combination. Both Rojo and Violeta are examples of bounded property rights but with different ownership arrangements.

Property rights include rights to the physical structure of the house and the land it sits on (which I will refer to as “the property”) in general and rights to a personal space in particular. General rights to the property include the use all common spaces as well as rights to use any land the house may own (such as a yard or other open space). Common spaces at Violeta include a kitchen, dining room, two living rooms, guest “closet” entryway, basement (which also has a number of rooms), the bathroom, pantry, deck and front porch, backyard, side yard, and front yard. Common spaces at Rojo include two guestrooms, one of which also serves as a living room or reading room, two living rooms, a t.v. room, dining room, kitchen, office, the anti-kitchen, a recreational room, bathrooms, hallways, patios (there are several), and a basement with a work room and storage area. Individuals have the right to use the spaces in whatever manner they wish as long as it does not interfere with other activities or damage the space. Individuals may invite friends over at any time. However, they must ask permission from the

community to have a party or have regular meetings or activities in the house that involve visitors. Bedrooms are the private space of the member, probational member, sublet or guest. A member or probational member has the ability to make small changes, such as painting the room a different color. Any larger changes need to be approved by the community. Large scale landscaping decisions (such as planting a tree, cutting down a tree, or creating garden space) are made by consensus of the entire community and smaller decisions (such as what vegetables are planted) are made either by a designated committee or an individual depending on the project. For example once a garden has been decided upon, a committee might decide how it might be built and either a committee or an individual might decide what to plant.

Shared resources include food, space, knowledge, and household goods including furniture, kitchen and bathroom items, tools, storage space, computers, televisions, networks, land-lines, office supplies, and libraries. Some resources have strict norms or policies regarding their use and others have less. For example, everyone may eat as much as they like (in general). However, at a meal members may take what they consider to be a “fair share” at the beginning of the meal to allow enough for everyone. Because the living rooms are large and accommodate a larger number of people comfortably, members, friends, and organizations may request to use the space for meetings or other events. In such cases an individual will formally ask the community to use the space and try to work out any issues or concerns. Because it is the goal of both communities to work towards social change as well as to introduce the lifestyle communities are eager to host organizational meetings at the house.

Intentional communities also have a system of appropriator rights that range from full membership to visitors under a set of very specific circumstances. As an example Rojo and Violeta have a hierarchy of appropriator status including full members, provisional members as

well as prospective members. In addition, both Rojo and Violeta are embedded within a greater social network and institutional structures at the local, regional, and national levels. There are expectations to share at least minimal resources within these networks and institutional structures.

In the case of Violeta the community manages the parcel of land and the house that on that parcel. The property is owned by a local community land trust, the Puget Sound Land Trust (PSLT). This land trust holds the title to the property and is ultimately responsible for the well-being of the property. However the community has a Use Agreement with the land trust to use the land for the purposes of creating community as well as environmental stewardship. The Use Agreement is a long term lease that gives, for all intents and purposes, the community almost complete autonomy as long as the community maintains a house suitable for habitation and their practices keep within the framework of the purposes of the trust (which include environmentally friendly lifestyles and community development). The most significant restrictions on the community are that they are not able to sell the property and that they need to maintain a minimum of three non-related individuals as members. The community also participates in the operation of the PSLT, by placing two members of their community on the board of PSLT which, at the time, held title to six community-run properties.

The main appropriators at Violeta are the full members of the community. Full members have rights to a personal bedroom and access to all other communal spaces. They have complete rights to participate in the consensus decision making process, to initiate changes through the consensus process (or more informal processes), and to “block” consensus. In addition only full members are allowed to write checks. Full members also have a responsibility to live up to the “Principles of Violeta” as well as the “Articles of Trust” as specified by PSLT. There are

technically no hierarchical differences between members regardless of the length of time in the community.

However, there are other kinds of appropriators with fewer rights than full members. These other appropriators include probational members of Violeta, sublets, members of other PSLT properties, prospective members, and visitors that include friends and the general public. All of these types of appropriators are seen as having certain rights and limitations on the use of the property. Probational members are new residents of the house who have rights to one bedroom as well as access to common areas and common property. Probational members have all of the obligations of full members in terms of financial and labor contributions, and are expected to participate in meetings. However, probational members are not able to initiate changes to house policy (meaning that they cannot propose changes to house policy or create new policies), initiate changes to the property or location of commonly owned items or block consensus (meaning that if the probational member does not agree with the rest of the community, they cannot stop a proposal from being established or changed). After three months the probational member will face a decision by the community to either become a full member with the consensus of the community or be asked to move out. The purpose of the probational period is to ensure that full members are people who will uphold the principles and policies of the community and the PSLT as well as be someone everyone else can live with.

Sublets are individuals who temporarily reside in an empty room or the room of an absent member. The amount of their financial and labor contributions are pre-negotiated by the community. They are not required to attend meetings but may sit in. Sublets are not generally part of the consensus process although they may speak at meetings. Full members and probational members also have the right to ask permission to find a sublet if they leave the

community for an extended period of time (normally a month or more). It is not a given that the request will be granted.

Other PSLT members, members of other PSLT properties, have limited rights to use the property. There are other PSLT properties located in Seattle and rural areas north of Seattle. It is understood that PSLT property members may ask to use the property as a place to sleep for a night with the permission of the rest of the house. PSLT property members may also ask to borrow tools or other Violeta property in case of need.

In addition, visitors, neighbors, and certain local organizations also have access to the property. Violeta offers their property for meeting and event space for local organizations that represent their value system per their community principles. The community has monthly dinners and neighbors, friends, and members of other communities are generally invited. These monthly dinners are social events that are meant to generate community building including building social and activist networks.

The Rojo, the property including the house, is owned by an individual with plans to turn the property over to the community once an organization is established that can take over the title. The community maintains rights to the property through verbal and written agreements. So, while the legal owner holds title to the property, the owner has agreed to waive her rights to the property. During my fieldwork the community was in the process of creating a community land trust with 501c3 status. The idea was that once they created the land trust, the owner would deed the property to the trust. Their vision was to then look for other communities and properties to join the trust--similar to the model of PSLT. However, more recently, the community has turned away from the land trust model, finding 501c3 status too limiting, and is

considering the option of creating a state non-profit corporation which would be the owner of the property.

Like Violeta, Rojo has multiple layers of appropriators. However, there is a wider diversity of rights to resources. Rojo also distinguishes between full members, probational members, prospective members, sublets, and visitors. Logically, full members have both more rights and more responsibilities than other categories of members and of non-members. Full members participate fully in the community, and this means in the economic system as well. Full members are required to turn over their assets to the community including their cars. The financial assets may be returned upon moving out of the community, but the car would not be returned. Full members are also required to put any money that they do not spend (within the spending caps and community dues) into the Social Justice Fund. Healthcare coverage and medical expenses are paid for. Debts are paid back at the minimum rate per month.

On the other hand, probational members are not required to turn over their assets nor is their healthcare coverage or debts necessarily paid for. However, both full members and probational members are required and expected to contribute equally to meetings and the labor system of the house. Both full members and probational members may also participate in the car co-op.

Rojo, like Violeta, is also a member of a larger organization, the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC). The FEC is a national organization with a small number of communities throughout the United States. Rojo is the only member in the Western United States at this time. While the FEC does not share in property ownership like PSLT, there are expectations for sharing knowledge and the ability to visit other FEC communities. FEC members frequently visit other FEC communities and have expectations that when they visit they will be provided

with a bed and food while contributing labor. While I was conducting research, a few members from the FEC came to visit for a few weeks and assisted with various large scale projects within the community. Likewise, members of Rojo also visited other FEC communities during the year I conducted fieldwork.

Rojo and Violeta are also members of local, regional and international organizations. They are both members of the Collective of Collectives (CoC), the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA), as well as the Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC). Through NICA members are often asked to participate in regional events and may be asked (rarely) to offer their property for meeting space. Also, because both communities are registered with the FIC, they are included in an international directory of intentional communities. When members of intentional communities travel, they may ask to stay at another community. Communities are not obligated to take guests, but frequently guests are given permission to stay—either for a small fee and labor contribution or just a labor contribution.

Intentional communities may defy the idea of action for self-interest, especially as it relates to boundary making. Ostrom and other common property scholars have argued that “without defining the boundaries of the CPR and closing it to ‘outsiders,’ local appropriators face the risk that any benefits they produce by their efforts will be reaped by others who have not contributed to those efforts” (Ostrom 1990, pg. 91). While it is certainly true that intentional community members heavily monitor their boundaries, opening their boundaries to the larger community in “safe,” and accords with the value system and strategy of these communities.

Overall, these communities meet the first design principle by effectively defining boundaries, especially when it comes to membership and property.

2. *Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions.*

Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology, and/or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labor, materials, and/or money (Ostrom 1990, p.92).

In other words, there can be no “cookie cutter” set of rules regarding appropriation and provisioning (requirements) of members across communities. Rules need to be specific to the needs of the community. However, rules do need to make sense and be fair to appropriators. Ostrom gives examples from Spanish irrigation systems. She shows that where there is water storage and thus more certainty, farmers have an auction and buy water by the hour. In other systems where water is more scarce, higher degrees of fairness are incorporated by calculating the amount of water allotted to members related to the amount of land under cultivation and organizing the system so that the water can actually get to everyone. Here we see that the appropriation of water is dependent on the amount of water and the terrain—the local conditions. Further, in the case of the Spanish irrigation system the fees charged (the provision rule) are based on the amount of water taken, so those taking the most water have the highest fees.

Likewise there is congruence between the appropriation and provision rules and local conditions within intentional communities. However, I would add that an important aspect of the “local conditions” are the values and social norms that members operate under.

Unlike the irrigation examples, both case studies from my research demonstrate that financial contributions are based on overall equity, or the value of equity, between individuals instead of over shares of resource units. One prime example is that of bedrooms. No one pays more because they have a nicer bedroom. Bedrooms are allotted by seniority. So for example

those who have lived in the community the longest have the first choice of rooms. So, the longer one has lived in the community, the greater the likelihood they will have access to a more desirable room. However, in Rojo and Violeta there was a certain amount of equity to the room selections. All rooms had a certain amount of space and light.

By contrast, at Sherwood Co-op, a student cooperative in Seattle, there was a significant difference between the quality of rooms in terms of size, light, and noise. Upstairs rooms were also preferable to basement rooms. At Sherwood, rooms (a.k.a. resource units) were also distributed by seniority. However, because there was so much difference in quality between rooms, the pricing was different. Nicer rooms could range between \$650-\$750 a month whereas less desirable rooms (especially smaller rooms) ranged between \$300-\$450 a month. New members at Sherwood often moved into rooms in the basement, given that these were the least desirable. However after moving in more desirable rooms opened up quickly, allowing newer members to move out of the basement. Just having the option of a nicer room did not mean that it would necessarily be taken by the next senior person. In fact, the cheapest rooms, those about the size of large closets but with a lot of light, became almost as desirable as the larger, more expensive rooms. So, because the quality of rooms varied so much an extra element of fairness was added—the larger and nicer the room the higher the provision required for the room and vice versa.

Because each of these communities values equity, policies designed to both support and establish equity are built into the appropriation and provision rules. All community members have equal access to common resources, including space, food, and goods. At Violeta, members pay a portion of the food costs related to how much they believe they have eaten in the house. Every month the amount spent on food is calculated, so that if someone only ate in the house

50% of the time, they would pay 50% of an individual share. Rojo follows their egalitarian values by basing the provisioning expectations of members on labor hours rather than on a monetary fee. This means that member provision requirements may be something like 100 hours a month. If two different members both contribute 50 hours of money-making labor and 50 hours of in-house labor, member “A” making \$20 an hour would pay \$1000 and member “B” making \$10 an hour would pay \$500. In this way the provisioning expected by members values labor hours equally and offers a way to decrease financial burdens on those with fewer economic assets.

3. Collective-choice arrangements

Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules (Ostrom 1990, pg. 93).

The ability to change rules is important for a number of reasons. First, rules can be tailored to local circumstances which may change over time. Rules tailored to local circumstances, including the particular set of individual appropriators and the specific environment, are thus a fit for that group in that place. Second, I will argue that the ability to discuss and modify rules allows for more direct communication. This should diminish hostility and allow rules to be tailored to individual needs leading to greater satisfaction with the rules and the community in general.

Ostrom (1990) also notes that “the presence of good rules, however, does not ensure that appropriators will follow them” (Ostrom 1990, pg. 93). Ostrom cites theoretical models that may explain cooperation. In these models either everyone cooperates, or if one deviates then all will deviate. She argues that even in situations where there are collective-choice arrangements,

and despite the importance placed on maintaining one's reputation and shared norms around compliance with rules, there are still instances of rule breaking. Thus, monitoring and sanctioning are necessary for compliance.

Intentional communities don't officially use the term rules to describe standards and expectations of behavior, except in a derogatory sense. Instead, they use the terms "agreements" and "policies." Both Rojo and Violeta have a substantial number of agreements and policies. Agreements and policies are central to the maintenance of community; however, they are balanced by a wish to promote individual freedom and expression.

In both communities agreements and policies and their modification or withdrawal are decided at house meetings through the consensus process. For the purposes of this section I will talk about decisions that require compliance by all members as "policies." Establishing and even modifying policies may take a number of meetings or even years to be resolved. In general, the more significant and impactful the policy, the longer it takes to initiate or change it. For example, at Rojo members discussed the spending cap policy for more than a year before it was initiated. Whereas a consensus decision (agreement) to purchase additional glass food storage containers took 10 minutes



Figure 31 Rojo members testing for consensus at a meeting

In my experience living in community as well as from observations from field work, collective-choice arrangements are vital to the well-being of social relations. Many rules are affirmed by consensus and thus all members agree to follow those rules. However, there is a high degree of non-compliance for certain kinds of rules. These are rules where appropriators face unforeseen challenges or where appropriators understand the rules differently. It is a classic community phenomenon that new members and visitors find that members have different ideas of rules, expectations, and procedures. A common quote would be, “I asked three people about a policy and each said something different.”

In January of 2005 Rojo initiated its spending cap policy. The policy did two things. It limited the amount of earned income individual members could keep and spend to \$450-650 a month for discretionary spending. In addition, the policy created a fund into which all members would deposit both their assets and all income above their quota to the house. The “fund” was to be both a forced savings account as well as a way to generate a large pool of money to lend to organizations and causes that matched their value system by promoting social justice in some way. For example, the community made a short term, no interest loan to a local soup kitchen that was in a difficult financial situation. However, ultimately the fund was to be used to help fund new egalitarian communities.

All members of Rojo agreed to the spending cap. All of the probational members also agreed, but as they were not full members they were not obligated to participate in the social justice fund. At least in theory everyone agreed that the spending cap was a good thing. All were excited about the possibility of limiting their spending (and thus their consumption and environmental impact), saving money, and being able to help worthy endeavors. . During the

first month most were optimistic about the ability to spend within the spending cap. However, most soon ran into conflicts. One person had a family member fall ill and had to go home. This incurred travel costs as well as other expenses that exceeded the spending cap. Other members realized that certain expenses, such as mental health expenses and maintenance of musical instruments, would not be covered and became concerned about their ability to pay for those expenses while living within the spending cap. The ability to then modify the spending cap policy to allow for exemptions for certain forms of spending or to ask that their situation be given specific consideration (like not having their travel expenses deducted from their discretionary spending) became essential for both tailoring the policy to “local conditions,” that is, tweaking the policy to fit a real world situation instead of a theoretical one, and to provide a “release valve” for frustration, anxiety, and conflict due to the spending cap.

Like all intentional communities that I have visited, Violeta had a number of communication methods for discussing community issues ranging from informal to formal. At Violeta they had more informal discussions in common spaces, such as over the breakfast table. They also had a more formal places for discussions and for making small decisions –the spiral notebook next to the phone in the entry way. There was also a recently established e-mail list-serve over which some members of the community would participate in lengthy conversations over issues. The community members writing the e-mails assumed that everyone was reading them. Sometimes ad-hoc decisions would be made over e-mail with assumed consensus buy-in. This was not always the case. There was at least one person who checked their e-mail infrequently and irregularly and so was not privy to the e-mail discussions and others who felt too busy and overwhelmed to check their e-mail. It was clear to many members of the community that this was a problem. The emergence of e-mail as a form of house communication

was a new phenomenon and the current norms around decision making were not applicable. The issue was brought up at a house meeting and members vented their frustrations—from lack of readership to the inability to establish consensus. After some discussion the community re-agreed to make decisions only at meetings or via “the notebook” and created a new agreement to use e-mail as a means for discussion only.

4 & 5. Monitoring and Graduated sanctions

4 Monitors, who actively audit CPR conditions and appropriator behavior, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators (Ostrom 1990, 94).

5 Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offense) by other appropriators, by officials accountable to these appropriators, or by both (Ostrom 1990, 94).

Monitoring refers to the built-in “policing” of appropriators by other appropriators. Graduated sanctions refer to a series of consequences from small to large for each “rule breaking” episode and that small infractions or situational infractions would merit a small sanction while infractions that have a greater impact would face larger sanctions.

Both Rojo and Violeta have very specific expectations of their members. In each community, members are expected to fulfill expectations. When members don’t fulfill their expectations the community intervenes. If there has been a slight or recent lack in fulfilling expectations (such as missing back-to-back meetings or not completing a task) someone would ask that member about the missed commitment. If community expectations are continually

disregarded, that person's behavior may be brought up at a house meeting and steps taken to work with that individual to meet their obligations. If the member in question still misses commitments and is unwilling or unable to make amends, that member might be asked to leave.

Rojo has an even more elaborate monitoring process. Each member tracks and submits their completed labor hours for the community monthly. If a member does not complete all expected labor hours they are considered to be in "labor debt." There is an expectation by the community that if one is in "labor debt" that labor needs to be made up by completing extra labor hours in future months to make up for the difference. Many individuals at one point or another accrue "labor debt" and are able to make up this debt. However, there are individuals who are not able to make up the labor debt and each month fall further and further behind. During my fieldwork I found that individuals who accrue too much labor debt eventually move out of the community.

There are some potential activities by individual members in both communities that may result in immediate expulsion from the community. These include theft and physical abuse within the community. They may also include activities by an individual that defy the trust and values of the community. There were stories of a member of Violeta who cut down a tree without the consensus agreement of the group, or even seeking discussion or advice. It was so egregious in the eyes of the community that he was given the ultimate sanction—eviction.

However, for expectations about labor, Violeta did not have the transparent system that Rojo did. In Violeta each person had a set of "chores" they agreed to complete as well as additional tasks individuals at house meetings would agree to fulfill (such as to call a repair man). If someone didn't complete a task, the person was asked about their uncompleted task, either in conversation or at a house meeting. However, there was no long term tracking of total

hours or total completed time. Therefore Violeta members were given much more latitude with regard to uncompleted tasks. The member in question could just say, “I’m sorry, I’ll do better,” and the issue would be dropped until it came up again. To a certain extent the more lenient system in Violeta was less stressful to members (no one was “in debt”)—especially members who fell behind in the work for the community. On the other hand the more lenient system created more tension in the community. In the long run, the more transparent system of labor hours at Rojo was a way to filter out individuals who were not prioritizing community labor (or as rational choice folks might say—“free riders”).

The Sherwood Co-op, while I lived there, had a system that fell between Rojo and Violeta. Members were required to complete their chores and other volunteered tasks, attend meetings, cook two dinners a month, and clean the kitchen twice a month. Chores were noted as completed or uncompleted by other members of the community (monitoring). All members were responsible for monitoring other community members. Members paid small fines for uncompleted chores. Too many chores or meetings missed in a year were grounds for eviction. Thus, Sherwood had graduated sanctions from fines to eviction. At Sherwood Co-op, like Rojo, there was transparency, but by paying fines instead of owing time members who were too busy to complete their tasks could maintain their status in the community without falling into “time debt”.

6. Conflict-resolution mechanisms

Appropriators and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials (Ostrom 1990, 100).

Long-term CPR institutions must have mechanisms to resolve infractions, consider extenuating circumstances to the infraction, and multiple interpretations of the rules. Conflict-resolution mechanisms may be informal or well-developed (Ostrom 1990, pages 100-101). Conflict often occurs around interpretations of a rule or of what constitutes an infraction of the rule or an inability to fulfill the communal needs of the institution. “Rules” governing the behavior of appropriators over resources are ambiguous and may be open to individual interpretation. Ostrom (1990) uses the example of a rule in which each appropriator must send an individual to participate in maintenance of the resource. If the term “individual” is not defined, an appropriator may send a child or someone too old to be fully useful. What if someone forgets or cannot attend the day of labor? In these instances, there must be processes in place for appropriators to resolve conflicts around perceived infractions.

Rojo and Violeta as well as other intentional communities have conflict-resolution mechanisms. For conflicts around house policies and agreements, the expectation was that members bring up their issues or proposals for a change of policy at a house meeting. Interpersonal conflict resolution mechanisms were mainly in the form of agreements and norms. Interpersonal conflict was first expected to be tackled directly by the parties involved. If the conflict was unresolved through direct conversation, a mediator (usually another housemate) would be asked to help by mediating a conflict between two people. If the conflict is still unresolved, then the conflict may go to a house meeting, a rare occurrence.

Both communities felt that conflict was a natural and necessary part of social life. Conflict, when dealt with intentionally and skillfully was seen as a way to bring people closer and create a more cohesive community. However, conflict was never easy. Most struggled with the realization that white middle-class American culture teaches us to avoid conflict. Many

members became self-aware of their own reactions to conflict—such as avoidance. Thus, living in community forced members to figure out strategies of dealing with conflict.

At Rojo members sought create new social norms and that made dealing with conflict more comfortable.. Through meetings and personal discussions members were attempting to eradicate a culture of conflict avoidance or its opposite, characteristic of mainstream society. By working on directly addressing conflict to resolve issues they believed they would maintain healthier relationships and strengthen community. They worked on deliberately utilizing their conflict resolution policy and attempted to expose negative feelings in their meetings by allowing one person a week to “gripe” about what irritated them in the house.

“In the last year there has been a deliberate attempt to not turn away from being upset—which has been good” (ROJO03: 44:1). One member designed a “conflict calendar” which hung in the dining room as a reminder to face conflict instead of avoiding it. The calendar, is not a standard Roman calendar. Rather it is a series of images and quotes aimed at encouraging members not to run away from conflict.

How conflict was manifested and resolved was highly formalized. The ideal practice of conflict resolution for individuals was to first pursue personal conversations (non-violent communication). If personal conversation didn’t work or someone felt too uncomfortable, then there was “mediated talk.” Mediated talks were meetings where one or two people were asked to sit in on a conversation. A mediator’s job was to ensure a “fair” discussion and to offer moral support.

The main expectation around conflict was to use direct and non-violent communication (even though not all members used this language). Direct communication has to do with being able to express what you want or what you’re problem is clearly to the person or persons you are

having a problem with. . In my experience both living and working in these communities, direct communication can be very difficult for many people. For direct communication to work individuals need to be self-reflexive about their feelings and the situation, self-assured of their value as individuals (and confident that their feelings matter), and able to articulate their problems, desires, and experience. Direct communication runs counter to main-stream American societal values, where most people avoid conflict. This indirect communication is especially prevalent in the work place where subordinate workers are not able to voice their problems directly with a superior or when managers complain about certain workers indirectly through the worker's immediate supervisor.

Direct communication is an aspect of non-violent communication (or NVC). NVC emphasizes actively listening as well as expressing yourself in a way that does not place blame on the other person. Not all members had formal training in NVC, but all members adopted some forms of NVC from other members. NVC does not place blame on an individual. Three of the goals of NVC are to articulate your own feelings with "I" statements, empathize with the other person's situation or experience, and collectively discuss resolutions.

Using direct communication and NVC are not always enough. For interpersonal conflict, members are expected to try to work out the issue between themselves. However, sometimes the members in a conflict cannot work out the issue or the issue is so sensitive that the members may ask another housemate to mediate. Mediation is another skill members of the community learn. Mediation requires active listening, summarizing the discussion, and ensuring fairness. For example, if someone is using "blaming" language the mediator will intervene. Likewise if someone seems to be setting unrealistic expectations the mediator will intervene. During my fieldwork two members had a long-standing conflict about the development of a community

policy. They had such strong feelings about it that they asked both their partners to mediate their discussions. All four members, the members in conflict and their partners, met a number of times over the course of several weeks to work out their differences.

Conflicts also occur between one member and the rest of the community. When a member of Violeta put a lock on their door, the rest of the community was upset³⁷. In a community wide conflict the issues get addressed at a meeting.

If a member has a conflict with the community as a whole or with a community policy, that member is expected to discuss their issues with other community members, informally and/or at a meeting. Their conflict would either be addressed through a change in policy or a discussion of why the policy was important to others or to the community. Here again, members are encouraged to use the skills of direct communication and NVC.

In the case of Violeta, community wide conflicts might also be mitigated by the PSLT board. In this case a committee of board members would meet with the community and propose a course of action to resolve the problem(s) creating the conflicts.

7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize

The rights of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities (Ostrom 1990, 101).

³⁷ At all of the intentional communities in shared housing I have lived with, the norm was to not lock your door. Although the norm and practice is not to enter another person's room. In this instance one member put a lock on his/her door after a robbery. Other members were very upset about the lock and the act of putting a lock on the bedroom door sparked a lot of discussion both in and outside of meetings. Putting the lock on the door, especially without a house discussion first, was felt to be inappropriate by everyone else in the community. The same reaction—discussions followed by a house meeting—occurred in a community I had lived in after a new member put a lock on his/her door

This principle is simply that institutions be able to create and monitor rules without being challenged by an external governmental authority. For example, if local fishers define a set of rules governing a fishery, they will be able to self-enforce the rule. The government considers the fishers to be legitimate rule makers—that the fishers have the right to define and monitor their own rules. However, if the government does not consider their rules to be legitimate it would be difficult for the fishers to sustain their institution. For example, if the government were to grant others outside of the group the right to fish or if the government enforced and monitored another set of rules, the fishers would not be able to maintain their common property institutions.

Urban Intentional Communities in the United States have certain rights to organize and make decisions regarding their own properties. However, communities are also constrained by a number of zoning laws, building codes, and other regulations. As long as communities work within those constraints or under the radar of government, there is no government intervention.

In the last 40 years intentional communities have become better at working within a legal framework that lends legitimacy to their organizations. However, this framework is also constraining as it limits the ability of intentional communities to pursue some activities that would further their goals and values. For example, gray water systems (systems that allow households to recycle water from their showers and sinks to use in the yard) have not been approved for urban neighborhoods³⁸, thus a community that wants to install a gray water system in order decrease their water use is unable to do so.

Both communities are also given the right to organize by the “owners” of the property. In the case of Violeta, the PSLT essentially views Violeta as an autonomous community with rights to make decisions and changes to the house as the community deems necessary. However,

³⁸ Currently the City of Seattle is in the process of creating a code for residential gray water systems and some Seattle intentional community members have been part of that process.

PSLT does pose some restrictions on the community's actions—the community cannot sell the property and also needs to be operating within the framework and values of the land trust. For Rojo, the technical owner of the property has given verbal and written rights to the community to make all decisions regarding the property, including the sale of the property.

8. *Nested enterprises*

Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises (Ostrom 1990, 101).

Complex and enduring CPRs are organized in layers of nested enterprises. These levels may be found both within the institution itself (for example a tertiary canal is a smaller enterprise within a larger irrigation system) but also within governmental jurisdictions at the local, regional, and national levels.

The State governs the organization, property rights, as well as zoning and coding for intentional communities. For example, the Federal Government regulates the organizational rights of intentional communities as nonprofit corporations or 501c3s. As 501c3s intentional communities have a number of tax benefits as well as a number of limitations placed on their activities. The State of Washington minimally regulates organizations as corporations or as associations. Intentional communities wishing to be more formally organized may easily fill out the paperwork to become a non-profit corporation through the State of Washington. However, the amount of money to become a federally recognized 501c3 is seen as substantial with the inclusion of legal fees and the process may take a year or more to complete.

One intentional community in downtown Seattle, APEX, is also considered to be part of the affordable housing stock in the city. The community received money to purchase the property from the city as both artist housing as well as affordable housing with the stipulation

that a certain percentage of the rented rooms are to those who meet the minimum income requirements.

The state also regulates property rights. Properties inhabited by intentional communities may be owned (but not always) by an individual, a group of people, or an organization. Many, if not most urban communities residing in single family housing are owned either by an external landlord or by one of the residents in the community. Either way, residences not owned and managed by the community may be at risk for a number of issues. Not least of which is having the house sold to someone else.

There are numerous examples where one member, a fraction, or the entire community own all or a portion of the house. One type of community is when an individual purchases a home with the thought of long-term financial gain and then attempts to create a community by renting rooms out of the house. This type of situation is not a common property situation in that community members have little real power. There may be meetings with some semblance of consensual process, but the owner of the property has the final say. Another form, as in the case of Rojo is when one person formally purchases the house, but has an agreement with the community to donate the house to them once the community becomes organizationally stable (i.e. creating a 501c3). In this instance, the owner is only so in name, but not in practice. It is the community that makes all decisions regarding the house that a traditional owner might make including amendments to the structure, remodeling, maintenance, and room allocation.

McCay and Jentoft (1998) argue that too much influence by the state may lead to institutional failure (B. J. McCay and Jentoft 1998). While intentional communities may benefit from some state support, interference in the daily activities of intentional communities is unlikely. However, if the experience of urban sustainable communities as a way of increasing

the affordable housing stock in the city is used as a model for state initiated intentional communities it is conceivable that the state would try to regulate those relationships. Intentional communities may not be sustainable as communities per say with too much state intervention.

An example within the communities' movement of the effect of top-down management impacting the strength of communities can be seen in the example of the North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO). NASCO owns and operates many student cooperatives within the United States. This model has been very successful in increasing the stock of cooperative housing for students. However, NASCO as an organization maintains overall control over the pricing, amenities, and maintenance of the buildings. While some of the student cooperative housing facilities have been successful in generating both a sense of community as well as successful common property institutional practices, many have not. Miller (2010) says that in general student housing cooperatives may or may not be an example of intentional communities in that some houses are simply places where students may seek affordable housing as opposed to other examples where students are able to come together for a greater purpose. Student cooperatives owned by a larger entity may experience "community failure" in that there is no reason or will to generate collective action. NASCO then makes the majority of decisions for the would-be-community and there is no practice of group decision making or sense of ownership over the property. However, when student housing cooperatives take initiative and form or continue to operate under a set of values or shared commitments even those communities operated by NASCO may in fact be considered successful common property institutions. One example of successful NASCO community is The Lorax in Eugene, Oregon. This community continues to thrive even with rapid turnover. One of the essential aspects of these communities,

like the intentional communities in my study, were that the communities must be able to make decisions for themselves on a number of levels including membership.

In other situations vertical (nested) relationships between communities and governing organizations may be beneficial to intentional communities. Violeta is an example of being embedded within a larger organizational structure (PSLT) that has some responsibility for ensuring that the community and the structure of the community and land are viable.

ICs learning from the CP literature

The Intentional Communities Movement is a growing movement—both in terms of numbers as well as sophistication. Intentional Communities are constantly analyzing their processes and building their skill sets. In my experience there is little knowledge of the common property literature by intentional community members. However, I believe that the findings from this literature may be helpful in refining decision making processes and inter-personal relationships within communities. Especially useful are the principles of monitoring and graduated sanctions and conflict resolution mechanisms.

A deeper understanding and recognition of the role of monitoring and graduated sanctions is vital for successful communities. It's hard to monitor and sanction members who don't complete work for a number of reasons, not least of which is the desire to avoid conflict. In this instance Rojo has a better system than Violeta. At Rojo, there are very clear time requirements and not meeting labor means you go into quota debt (or time debt). At Violeta the labor system is not so transparent, which may result in more (or unnecessary) conflict.

Conflict resolution mechanisms are vital in getting through difficult community conflict with minimal hardship or long-term damage. In recent years I have witnessed many communities creating conflict resolution processes. Often however, thinking through and

creating meaningful processes occurs *after* a community experiences a painful conflict.

Understanding the importance of conflict resolution mechanisms and sharing processes with each other may help alleviate some of the uncertainty and potential damage conflict may inflict on a community.

Overall, Ostrom's design principles might be a vital starting point for those communities just starting, or having problems, or who are trying to refine their processes. The principles may help pinpoint both weak and strong areas of community organization.

IC's and Networks or Horizontal Enterprises

I define horizontal enterprises as connections made between other organizations that are non-hierarchical (in contrast to nested enterprises) but offer support and mutual aid on a number of levels. The ability for intentional communities and their members to network with similar organizations allows for the sharing of skills and resources which often assist with their ability to solve problems—including among other things structural renovations, legal issues, and conflict resolution.

Horizontal enterprises create supportive networks for success. For example, Rojo is a member of the FEC along with a number of other communities. While the relationship between Rojo and FEC is nested, the FEC being an umbrella organization, the relationships between Rojo and other FEC member communities are not nested. There is frequent communication and mutual aid given between FEC member communities. By linking similar minded groups through the FEC the community gains the experience and skills of a larger range of individuals and communities. Rojo also gains social and psychological support for their project, by being part of a greater organization they are less isolated.

The Collective of Collectives (CoC) is, as the name suggests, a collective of collective houses. This is a grassroots organization that allows Seattle area intentional communities (referring to themselves as collective houses) to share skills and knowledge related to community living and activism.

Similarly, Seixas and Berkes (2010) found that partnerships with supportive organizations to be an “ingredient” of successful community self-organization. They analyzed the cases of Equator Prize finalists for community-based conservation (CBC) and integrated conservation and development projects (ICDP) to understand the factors leading to a successful project. They found that linkages with supportive organizations to be a factor (Seixas and Berkes 2010). Supportive organizations may also be classified as horizontal enterprises based on assistance, including capacity building.

However, within Ostrom’s design principles, there is no indication about any relationships other than hierarchical .between common property institutions Ostrom’s design principles focus on individual institutions and their hierarchical relationships within larger institutional structures (vertical relationships). Similarly, other efforts to delineate those factors that lead to successful common property institutional arrangements also neglect to mention networked or horizontal relationships (Wade 1988; Agrawal 2002; Baland and Platteau 1996).

ICs and Unstable Populations: Turnover

Ostrom and others argue that social norms and reputation are key elements in maintaining cooperation within successful institutions. Bromley (1991) writes that groups have certain common interests and norms. Ostrom indicates that successful CPRs are those that have endured an extended length of time in a particular place. Thus, “when individuals have lived in such

situations for a substantial time and have developed shared norms and patterns of reciprocity, they possess social capital with which they can build institutional arrangements for resolving CPR dilemmas” (p.184). However, in a globalizing and fluid world of migrations the creation or maintenance of place-based institutions may prove difficult if not impossible.

Urban intentional communities may offer insight into how collective-action may work towards sustainable practices even when individual members have not lived in the same place for an extended period of time. Urban Intentional Communities, especially those that reside in single family houses, are in a unique position in that there is a high degree of turnover in each community. Yet, despite the turnover these communities are able to endure these transitions, maintaining institutional arrangements created by previous generations of community members.

Intentional Communities, especially urban communities, do not exhibit the longevity in place that is said to be required. Rather, the opposite is the case, in that Urban Intentional Communities exhibit high turnover rates thereby limiting relationship to the community. However, there is a larger population of people with community experience that move from one community into another community. So, while the exact population changes within specific communities, there may be less change or even growth of the “community” population. Thirteen of the 19 members of Violeta and Rojo had previous community experience, both in Seattle communities and in other communities in the United States. My own experience of living in three different communities is far from unique.

Community members may move horizontally between communities based on their interests or life situation. Looking back on the last 12 years of my relationships with Seattle area communities and their members I see a lot of movement, yet consistency. Just looking at the communities I have lived in and those in my study: Rojo, Violeta, Sherwood, and PRAG, we can

see many of the same people moving out of one community and into another. To start with Rory the founder of Rojo stayed as a sublet in Sherwood when he moved to the area. Many ex-Sherwoodites have moved from Sherwood into other communities including Rojo and Violeta. Rojo has been the home for at least four ex-Sherwood members or their partners. Violeta has been the home to a partner of a Sherwood member and at least three other Sherwood members (including myself) have lived at PRAG. In addition, after I completed my research one of the earlier member of CLOSe moved into Violeta and one member of Violeta moved into Rojo and out again.

This movement between communities has been understudied so far. However, I would like to argue that while membership within housing cooperatives and housing collectives tends to have high turnover rates, they maintain their culture through the use of their mission statements, policies, and by setting specific cultural practices that are learned very quickly (within the period of three months to a year). However, most important to continuity may be the fact that there is a larger shared practice and skill set of living in intentional community that the larger community population maintains.

With a high turnover rate it would be expected that the community would not be able to maintain a sense of cooperation along with social norms that would allow successful management of the community. In fact, the opposite is true. Even with a high rate of turnover, these communities manage to maintain a sense of community as well as established social norms, adapting to high turnover rates.

These communities have adapted to high turnover rates—even using these to their advantage at times. I believe that communities are able to maintain these CPRs successfully due to the following factors:

- 1) New members are screened (both by community members and the prospective members themselves) by their agreement with the principles, values, and objectives of the community.
- 2) A large percentage of the Potential and existing members of intentional communities are also members of a larger intentional communities movement—meaning that they have either lived within similar intentional communities or they have had friends living in other communities or close relationships with other communities. These experiences have enabled individuals to obtain high degrees of social and cultural capital allowing them to more quickly create trust and social cohesion within one community at any given time.
 - (a) Members are “socialized” in practices found across communities such as shared labor, shared food, and consensus decision making.
 - (b) They have skill sets in consensus decision making practices
 - (c) They are comfortable opening up their personal lives and feelings for public display.
 - (d) They have shared language around communal practices and politics.
- 3) New members go through an intensive process of “learning the ropes” where they must quickly adapt to existing social norms, and learn about the current policies and practices as well as the social and political relationships in the house in order to successfully participate in meetings. This intensive process is both instigated by the rest of the community for whom an able-bodied member is essential for making decisions and for comfortable day-to-day activities. This intensive process is also instigated by the new resident in order to increase their comfort

level and comply with the expectations of the house and to make as few “waves” as possible.

- 4) The high rate of change in membership also means that the community is ‘training’ new individuals into the communal culture of the intentional communities movement—individuals without previous experience are given initial training and individuals with previous experience are able to gain additional experience. Members living within the community use their new skills in other situations outside of the community. As members leave they may apply their new skills in other communal situations they find themselves in.

ICs and Possibilities

While the primacy of private property has virtually eliminated the option of other forms of property ownership and management, participation within common property institutions allow members to think outside the neoliberal box and envision possibilities for other economic practices. Mackenzie (2010) argues that the process of collective ownership and rights allows members themselves to engage in alternative discourses, calling into question the norms and reality imposed by neoliberalism, capitalism, and the free market. She frames her argument using Foucault's theorization of the norm, the domain of possibility. Mackenzie analyzes the process by which members of the West Harris Crofting Trust on the isle of Harris in Scotland are able to engage in economic practices outside of the norms of private property and the market creating opportunities to imagine and act on new possibilities. Through the processes of decision making around collective over corporate wind farms and securing affordable housing for residents over vacation homes, crofters altered their discourse from one around individual rights

to give priority to collective rights. In addition, Mackenzie found that through the process of creating and working within a common trust, members also are re-attaching the concepts of nature and culture in relation to themselves.

Similarly, through participating in an intentional community, members get hands-on experience with alternative property regimes and alternative economics. Being exposed to alternative options widened the range of possibilities not only for their own lives, but also in their activism. For example, when working to increase the stock of low-income housing, community members work towards low-income housing solutions through a community land trust where owners have limited equity instead of through government housing, section eight, or conventional market rate home ownership.

IC's and Sustainable Consumption

On a more global scale the CPR and CPM literature, like mainstream policies, assume that the unsustainable use of a resource is an institutional problem and that management of renewable resources through successful CPM is one path to the conservation. The assumption here is that if we get the institutional arrangements right, we won't overuse resources. "There is increasing consensus that the cause of resource degradation is institutional. If we get the right rules and governance structures, natural resources will be used wisely and conservation goals will be met" (Acheson 2006, pg. 118).

While I agree that management strategies are an essential aspect of sustainable societies, sustainable resource management also depends upon the larger socio-cultural, economic, and political context for ownership and use as well as the lifestyles of society in general—including the consumption of natural resources. Thus while most of the literature on common property focuses on the extraction and production of natural resources, common property institutions

(such as urban intentional communities) may also influence the sustainable of consumption of those resources.

Intentional Communities as CPI institutions may further utilize their institutional framework as a way in which to also manage their social and consumptive behavior to be more sustainable, or in other words to achieve greater social equity and smaller ecological footprints. Urban Intentional Communities may offer important insights into the application of common property institutions in forming environmentally and socially sustainable communities through a framework for the sustainable consumption of resources.

By comparing and contrasting the degree to which sustainable practices are carried out by the community in relation to the design principles I would like to show that Ostrom's design principles may also relate to the ability of community members to achieve more sustainable practices. I think the issue of food in both communities is an excellent example.

Like many other intentional communities both Rojo and Violeta share food. Both communities have values around purchasing organic food with minimal processing and eating meals together. Both communities also valued eating at home as opposed to eating out. However, from interview notes, surveys, as well as ethnographic data, I found that Rojo members ate more meals at home and less processed food in general than members of Violeta. In the surveys I distributed I found that Rojo members ate out for lunch about 25% of the time and ate out for dinner only 13% of the time. In contrast, Violeta members ate out for lunch 48% of the time and ate out for dinner 32% of the time (I counted dinner at a friend's house as eating at home). I will argue that the biggest reason for this discrepancy lies in their labor systems.

Rojo's labor system requires each member to complete a specific number of hours of work in the community. Cooking dinner for the community constitutes an appropriate way to

fulfill labor hours. There are a number of people who consistently cook dinner for the community. When a member wants to cook dinner they sign their name up on the calendar on the fridge alerting other members that there will be dinner. The member cooking dinner then cooks enough for everyone, regardless of who is expected. Normally only a few people (less than half of the community) is actually present for dinner. However, the leftovers are put into the refrigerator and everyone eats leftovers. I often saw members coming into the kitchen to grab food before and after dinner instead of attending the communal dinner. I will also attest that whenever I was hungry while conducting fieldwork, there was never a lack of leftovers to eat.

In contrast, Violeta's labor system consists of a set of chores. Cooking dinner for the community is on a voluntary basis. There is an expectation that everyone would cook dinner for the community at some point, but there was not very much pressure to do so. Community members signed up when they had time, but they also knew it wouldn't be a big deal to back out if they were too busy. However, everyone desired to have both more communal meals as well as more leftovers. The issue of food, or the lack of food was a frequent agenda item. The need for convenience food was also one of the reasons why members continued to shop at Trader Joes even though it went against their overall value structure. Shopping at Trader Joes allowed the community to access quick food that did not need to be prepared.

During meetings about food and communal meals specifically there was a general pledge that members would cook more frequently. At times, members did cook more frequently and there were weeks when there would be a communal meal each week. However, given the busy lifestyles of members, not all members would show up to the scheduled meal. Interestingly, Violeta members had two major food issues—not having enough prepared food in the refrigerator and not having enough communal meals where everyone would show up. I don't

know that given their busy lifestyles and intricate social networks whether it would be possible at all to have all members show up consistently, however it would be possible to focus on having more food and more opportunities for people to eat dinner together. Since cooking dinner at Violeta was voluntary, there were fewer instances of meals cooked by members. If however, cooking a house dinner became an expectation with consequences (sanctions), house dinners might become more frequent and members would not need to eat dinner out as much or turn to convenience foods.

The Sherwood Co-operative, another urban intentional community and also a member of PSLT, requires each member to cook twice a month. Because there are 14 members, there are 28 community meals a month. Members are required to cook dinner and clean up the kitchen afterwards. The consequence of not cooking a meal was a fine, and if frequently negligent, the member might be asked to move out. For these meals members are required to cook enough to feed all members. Members who know they will not be able to eat dinner with the rest of the community may ask to be saved a plate of food. There are normally leftovers regardless.

Unlike Rojo and Violeta at Sherwood all members are required to cook regardless of their ability. There is a benefit to this system in that everyone learns how to cook something, and many people are really able to hone their cooking skills by learning from others. The discomfort and lack of knowledge of cooking—especially with whole foods—was an issue for some members of both Rojo and Violeta. A system in which members were encouraged or required to cook increased the knowledge base and skill level of its members in general.

The slow food movement advocates the preparation of whole local foods followed by a shared meal as a means to achieve a better relationship with food, healthier eating habits, create community, and as a way to contribute towards a more sustainable society. Intentional

communities that share food are working towards these goals. However, communities may also struggle with meeting their food needs without the proper tools.

The contrast in both meal preparation as well as differences between eating at home versus eating out may also be considered a difference in structure. Structural differences between the communities had an impact on individual and community consumption patterns around food.

Conclusion

Ostrom's eight principles may apply to any group with shared resources. One can easily see how any group governing a resource successfully should be able to participate in making decisions on topics that impact their lives (collective-choice) dependent on their specific situation (congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions), be able to identify who can use a resource (clearly defined boundaries), enforce rules (monitoring and graduated sanctions), constructive ways to resolve conflict (conflict-resolution mechanisms), and knowing that their decisions or resources won't be usurped by outsiders (minimal recognition of rights to organize) are arguably important for any group with shared resources. More studies are needed to test whether these principles for success are important for common-property regimes governing a diversity of resource types.

Intentional communities, by their very nature of being experimental, may in fact offer insight for commons scholars into how people are able to collectively manage property together especially with regards to the role of values and beliefs and the creation and maintenance of social norms. In the next chapter (Chapter Eight) I will discuss the relationships between worldviews, structure (including common property institutions), and practices.

Chapter 8: Worldview, Structure, and Practice

“What people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them” (White 1967).

In the previous chapters I argued that in adopting an alternative habitus and living in community, members were creating a sustainable cultural capital (Chapter Five) and collective economics (Chapter Six). In Chapter Seven I argued that intentional communities can be considered common property institutions that promote sustainable lifestyles. In this chapter I will examine the influence of worldviews on individual and institutional practices. I will argue that a biocentric worldview is not enough to generate and motivate the adoption of more sustainable lifestyles. Instead, sustainable practices are predicated on the combined values of social justice, including egalitarianism, and environmentalism; as well as the participation in structures built on those values.

Many sustainability activists and scholars have articulated the need to understand which worldviews may lead to a more sustainable society and the relationship between worldviews and institutions. Fischer et. al. (2007) write:

“Critical analysis of foundation and longer-term issues (e.g. values, beliefs and motivations) is needed to link short-term policy actions with agreed longer-term sustainability targets. Such analysis should draw on the humanities (e.g. history, anthropology and moral philosophy) and social sciences (e.g. institutional theory) to reflect on alternative values and institutions, and how they can foster or prevent the attainment of sustainability. Arguably, one of the greatest challenges at a societal level is to engage in constructive discussion aimed at identifying core values that can be

sustained and that are worth sustaining. That is, the analysis of foundational issues must go beyond which institutional arrangements are needed, and must confront the ethical and normative dilemmas of modern consumer and aspirational societies” (J. Fischer et al. 2007).

Researchers in anthropology, environmental psychology, ecological economics, and environmental studies have all examined one or more of the relationships between values, worldview (paradigms and beliefs), knowledge and their roles in patterns of behavior. However, the links between practice and knowledge, and between practice and worldview (including values and beliefs) are tenuous. Though researchers in some cases have been able to show some links between practice and knowledge or practice and worldview, the connections remain unclear (R E Dunlap and Van Liere 1978; Riley E. Dunlap et al. 2000; Steg et al. 2011; Hobson 2003).

Most environmental and social activists, government officials, teachers, and the general public (including my students) believe in environmental education as a means of changing behavior. However, there are many examples of people who continue to follow practices they know are harmful—from managing resources to personal practices—even though they may be aware of the negative impacts. For example, the people most likely to use harmful pesticides on their lawns are the same people who have the most knowledge about their ill effects on human and pet health as well as their environmental impacts (P. Robbins 2007). When knowledge of environmental impacts of behavior do cause pro-environmental behavior, the changes may be only those that cost little or nothing and are easy to implement—like turning off the lights or recycling bottles and cans (Hobson 2003) which do not lead to a sustainable use of resources by an individual or a society.

Research has also shown a tenuous link between worldviews and actions. In a famous 1978 study Dunlap and Van Liere coined an emerging environmentalist worldview as the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) and tested its acceptance by residents of Washington State. They constructed the NEP based on a number of environmental concepts beginning to circulate in the 1970s articulated in the metaphor of “space ship earth.” These 1970s environmental concepts included the limits of growth and the need for a steady-state economy (R E Dunlap and Van Liere 1978). They placed the NEP in direct contradiction to the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP), as described by Pirages and Ehrlich in 1973, including dominant beliefs, attitudes and values such as beliefs in growth and private property rights, faith in science, technology, and a laissez-faire economy (R E Dunlap and Van Liere 1978, p 10). Dunlap and Van Liere created a survey to test the acceptance of NEP on both the general population in Washington State and among people involved with environmental groups. They found that while the NEP had a higher acceptance among environmentalists, the majority of the general public surveyed also accepted the NEP implying a wide acceptance of environmentalist thought. In other words, the majority of Americans, at least in Washington State had adopted a biocentric worldview.

In 1990 Dunlap and Van Liere followed up with a second research study, revising the NEP survey to reflect new vocabulary. They referred to the revised NEP as the New Ecological Paradigm (instead of the New Environmental Paradigm). When testing the NEP again on Washington State Residents they found that agreement with the new NEP had increased in the areas of balance of nature (it’s delicate), human domination (it’s bad), and ecological catastrophe (it’s imminent). However, there was a decline in the percentages that agreed that we were approaching ecological limits. Dunlap and Van Liere’s research findings that NEP was widely adopted suggest that worldviews may be easily altered or at least that many Americans have

shifted from the dominant worldview to NEP. However, the authors cautioned that there was only a tenuous link between attitudes (NEP) and behavior. However, if one's worldview is not responsible for behavior then what is?

Since the generation of NEP in 1978 over 69 studies (Hawcroft and Milfont 2010) have used variations of the NEP scale to understand the adoption and consequences of environmental attitudes. However, researchers have inconsistently applied NEP and environmental attitudes (EA) resulting in a "noncumulative and a theoretical nature of much research on EA" (Hawcroft and Milfont 2010). I disagree that the inability of NEP research to understand behavior should be blamed simply on how inconsistently NEP is applied. I feel the problem with the studies is methodological, including a focus on reductionism instead of using more holistic research.

For example, Steg et al (2011) wanted to measure practices by personal norms, which were presumed to be at the "behavior-specific level," but what they actually surveyed were feelings of obligation to reduce energy in homes, not whether or not subjects followed through by reducing energy. Two example questions they gave were, "I feel personally obliged to save as much energy as possible," and "I feel guilty when I waste energy" (p. 354). It seems problematic to equate the feeling of obligation with an actual practice. Thus, similar to other studies, the range of tested norms was very limited both in scope (not including a larger range of practices) and depth (only conventional choices such "not wasting energy" as opposed to questions about having fewer household items that rely on electricity in the first place).

Kempton, Boster, and Hartley's (1999) research is an example of a more holistic approach. They examined the interconnection of values, beliefs and action in a study of American environmentalism. They were interested in discovering how mental models (held by an individual) and cultural models (mental models shared by a group) of Americans, formed

through a combination of beliefs and values, are used to represent and interpret the world and solve problems (Kempton, Boster, and Hartley 1995). They conducted their research with a variety of groups in the U.S. using semi-structured interviews and surveys. They found that Americans had similar cultural models of the environment and of environmental problems across a number of social groups, and in general expressed a willingness to make changes in order to protect the environment.

However, a willingness to make changes is not the same as actually making them. Data on American consumption and environmentalist values demonstrates a disconnect between the two. By-and-large Americans have adopted environmental values and some pro-environmental behaviors, but not enough to achieve sustainability. Since 1990 61%-73% of Americans have adopted environmentalist sympathies (Kempton, Boster, and Hartley 1995; Riley E. Dunlap 2010), and even some “green” practices—90% of Americans say they recycle and 85% try to reduce household energy use (Riley E. Dunlap 2010). Yet, American environmental impact continues to increase. For example, American greenhouse gas emissions increases by 0.7% a year (U.S. EIA 2009) and material consumption in the United States increased by 57% between 1975 and 2000 (Rogich et al. 2008). In addition, on a global scale the Living Population Index (LPI) as measured by the mean population trends of vertebrates has declined by 31% since 1970, a decrease of around 1% a year (Butchart et al. 2010). Why is there a disconnect?

Some research suggests a need to examine the influence of non-environmental values (Milbrath 1989; P. C. Stern, Dietz, and Guagnano 1995; P. M. Brown and Cameron 2000; Golland 2002; Steg et al. 2011) and the role of structure in influencing sustainable consumption, practices, lifestyle or society (Maniates 2002a; Spaargaren 2003) or both the influence of non-

environmental values and the constraints of structure (Hobson 2002; Isenhour 2010a; Evans 2011)

One reason for the disconnect between environmental values and behavior may rest on an assumption that the adoption of sustainable practices are founded on simply a care for the environment. In contrast, research indicates that “pro-social” or social justice values may be just as or more important. Brown and Cameron (2000) suggest that a pro-social and pro-environmental value orientation is characterized by “values of nonmaterial goals such as social justice, preservation of the environment, a world of beauty, self-esteem, cooperation, and altruism” (P. M. Brown and Cameron 2000, 35). They hypothesize that “people with pro-social and biospheric value orientations will adopt pro-environmental worldviews more readily than people with consumeristic value orientations” (P. M. Brown and Cameron 2000, 36).

Similarly, Steg et.al. (2011) tested the relative predictive ability of values (egoistic, altruistic, or biospheric), worldviews as measured by the NEP or environmental concern in relation to environmental norms or policy. They conducted two sets of surveys, the first with a random sample of people on the street and the second with university students. They found that values predicted intention of sustainable practices and acceptance of environmental policy. Egocentric values, or self-interest, are less likely to engage in environmental activism or personal norms. On the other hand both biospheric and altruistic values were positively related to activism, and acceptability of energy policies (Steg et al. 2011).

Ethnographic research of people participating in Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) also supported the importance of a diversity of values in adopting sustainable alternatives. Goland (2002) examined the attrition rates of CSA membership. She found that those joining a CSA did so based on a variety of reasons including environmental values, social justice values or

for health reasons. She found that a combination of both environmental and social justice values were the foundation for continuing CSA membership. In contrast, members who joined a CSA for either environmental or health reasons were not as likely to renew their membership (Goland 2002). Her research speaks to the importance of social justice as a motivator in adopting more sustainable practices.

A combination of pro-social and pro-environmental values addresses, in part, the motivations for adopting more sustainable practices, but the combination in themselves does not result in sustainable lifestyles. Ethnographic research with individuals trying to adopt more sustainable practices also confirm the importance of social values, yet demonstrates the structural constraints for these individuals in achieving sustainable lifestyles.

Isenhour (2010) found that the value for social justice was a primary motivator for people who were most active in both adopting environmentally friendly behavior and environmental activism. Isenhour conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Sweden with households seeking to minimize their environmental impact. She found that only 21 percent of people in her study were motivated by a concern for their own wellbeing or environmental risk. Whereas 76 percent were most concerned about equality, social justice, and how their consumption affects other people in low-income countries. Further, she classified a long list of sustainable practices. Categories included those commonly associated with being green such as food choices, waste reduction, and travel. But she also included activities such as citizenship, working less, and self-education. She found that those who were motivated by environmental risk adopted practices in only six different areas whereas those concerned for others adopted sustainable practices in nine different areas. The type of activities differed as well. People who were concerned about environmental risk tended to focus on practices such as buying organic food or products free of

chemicals. However, those who were motivated by a concern for social justice participated more in politics and tried to buy less overall.

Isenhour writes:

I was overwhelmed when conducting interviews by how many people expressed the need for solidarity and global equality as part of any program designed to ensure sustainability. These people clearly saw their actions as part of an agenda to consume less so that people in low-income economies would have the ability to consume more. These positions suggest a clear emphasis on equality within the sample. I am not sure if this emphasis on sustainability is unique to Sweden, and Scandinavia more generally, but it makes sense given the region's political history (Isenhour 2010a, 520).

And yet, even those adopting the most sustainable practices in Isenhour's study were constrained by a multiplicity of structures—they found that as individuals or families they could only do so much on their own. Isenhour writes that

these committed consumers faced significant barriers when trying to consume in a more sustainable way. Issues surrounding pricing structures, the availability of alternatives on the market, social pressures in a highly conformist and consumer-based culture, imperfect information, and the amount of time it takes to research and find more environmentally friendly alternatives are only a few of these barriers (Isenhour 2010a, 518).

Similarly, Evans (2011) conducted 28 interviews in England with individuals who self-identified as someone who tried to consume more sustainably. "Out of the 28 respondents encountered, only one stressed the importance of consuming less on ecological or non-anthropocentric grounds" (Evans 2011, 114). Instead, they "stressed the importance of making reductions to personal consumption in the interests of the public good" (Evans 2011, p114) "and

appear to be exercising commitments and responsibilities toward remote (across time and space, unknown others and in doing so practicing an ethic of caring at a distance” (Evans 2011, 114).

In his 2011 paper he argued that conventions theory--how people give meaning to or account for their actions--in conjunction with practice theory is useful in understanding social agreement between actors as to what counts as legitimate worth. For example the accepted convention is the market convention that individuals make decisions of "worth" solely or primarily on price and economic value. However, other conventions, which Evans takes from Boltanski and Thevenot, 1999 are civic, domestic, opinion, inspired and industrial. Evans identified the conventions used by the respondents in his study in an attempt to determine if there might be a "green" convention. He found that a green convention is embedded in an ethic of caring for distant others through more sustainable consumption. "So whilst practices of sustainable consumption involve the exercise of care and compassion toward a range of distant strangers; these concerns are manifest in the practical imperative to consume less and reduce environmental impacts" (Evans 2011, p114). He argues it is important to understand how environmental conventions might emerge and what knowledge those green conventions will be based on.

While Evans found a connection between social values and motivations for more sustainable practices, again their attempts to lead sustainable lifestyles were thwarted by structural constraints. For example both market conventions (being a good consumer in terms of cost and image) and domestic conventions (driving your child around to be safe) decreased their ability to consume sustainably. He found that structural forces in the form of social conventions limited sustainable practices “to little more than tinkering around the edges” (Evans 2011, 115)

which speaks to “the perversity of individualizing responsibilities for changing patterns of consumption” (Evans 2011, 115).

Isenhour’s (2010) and Evans’s (2011) research demonstrate that structure matters and that one’s ability to lead a sustainable lifestyle as an individual is limited. A number of questions remain. What are the factors, including structures and worldview that may result in sustainable practices? How might we develop institutions (as structures) that facilitate sustainable practices and what worldviews might influence them? My multi-method study of intentional communities attempts to engage these questions by examining links between structure, worldview, and practice holistically *in situ*. I examine the worldviews, knowledge, and actions of people who are actively making changes in their lives, and trying to live by those values.

In interviews I asked members about their social and environmental values, political ideology, religious beliefs, how people conceptualize the environment, nature, society and their relationships with these environments, and their knowledge and beliefs about environmental and social problems and solutions. I also asked questions about and observed their consumption practices, material life, social norms, and decision-making practices within the intentional community as a common property institution. I used some of the interview questions from Kempton, Boster, and Hartley’s study in an attempt to make comparisons between case study members and the general American population.

Kempton et. al. (1999) , in their investigation of the environmental values of Americans, broke down environmental values into three categories God, humanity, and nature itself. When their study participants talked about values in the category of “humanity” they referred to wanting a better environment for their children or future generations. None of their examples made reference to wanting a better environment for other people in the current generation outside

of their own families. I'm surprised that the component of caring for others wasn't directly addressed by their interviewees nor incorporated into their analysis by the researchers. By contrast, valuing the quality of life for others was a main theme in my interviews as well as apparent through my participant observation.

My research finds many similarities as well as some differences with Kempton, Boster, and Hartley's research. While the community members I talked with exhibited similar cultural models to the Kempton study—for example a belief in the interconnectedness of people and the environment—my research also highlights an important difference. Members I interviewed demonstrated greater empathy towards other people—in particular people who are disadvantaged. Further, community members connected social inequity with environmental problems. I argue that social values in this sense are more important (or just as important) as environmental values when predicting environmental action. While Kempton's research is important, cultural models of the environment do not go far enough in predicting behavior. There are far too many other factors influencing behavior, including institutions and the economy, and cultural models in areas besides the environment, such as the economy and attitudes towards work and family. Thus, I was looking for a way to frame the link between worldview, structure (especially in terms of institutions) and practice.

The literature on traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) makes connections between worldview, structure (as management systems and social institutions), and practice. Berkes (1999) examines the relationship between traditional ecological knowledge and resource management. He defines "traditional ecological knowledge as a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adapting processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one

another and with their environment” (Berkes 1999: 8). He analyzes the relationship between traditional ecological knowledge and resource management at four nested levels of analysis within the Knowledge-Practice Belief complex. The four levels are: 1. Local Knowledge, 2. Land and Resource Management Systems, 3. Social Institutions, and 4. Worldview. These levels influence each other.

While Berkes uses this model to analyze traditional ecological knowledge and related practices and beliefs, I argue that this model can really be applied to any society’s knowledge, beliefs, and practices. Scholars have frequently argued the importance of the way we think impacting the way we relate to the world (White 1967). All human practices may ultimately be embedded in specific worldviews, manifested in institutions, and implemented in management systems. Further, the knowledge that we have of the world is influenced by our worldview, institutions, and need-to-know. Making connections between worldview, structure, and practice may help explain many different kinds of practices in a variety of institutional contexts.

Since knowledge of all sorts is filtered through worldview, I think this model also helps explain why knowledge alone isn’t enough to make changes in our behavior. What then is needed to change behavior? I argue that to live more sustainably requires changes to the entire model including changes to the worldviews and institutions that govern our practices.

Figure 33 depicts the relationships between worldviews, structures and practices. In previous chapters I discussed the relationship between structure in the form of collective economics and common property institutions on sustainable practices (Chapters Five and Seven), as well as the relationship between experience and capital (as alternative habitus and sustainable cultural capital) and the adoption of sustainable practices (Chapter Six). In this chapter I will discuss the influence of worldviews more broadly in achieving sustainable practices. First I will

discuss the worldview of the community members in both case studies. Second, I argue that their worldviews leads them to a more accurate perception of the problems facing us as opposed to a purely biocentric worldview or a focus on individualized responsibility. Third, I will discuss the influence of worldview on practices through particular structures and the limitations of individual practice in achieving sustainable lifestyles.

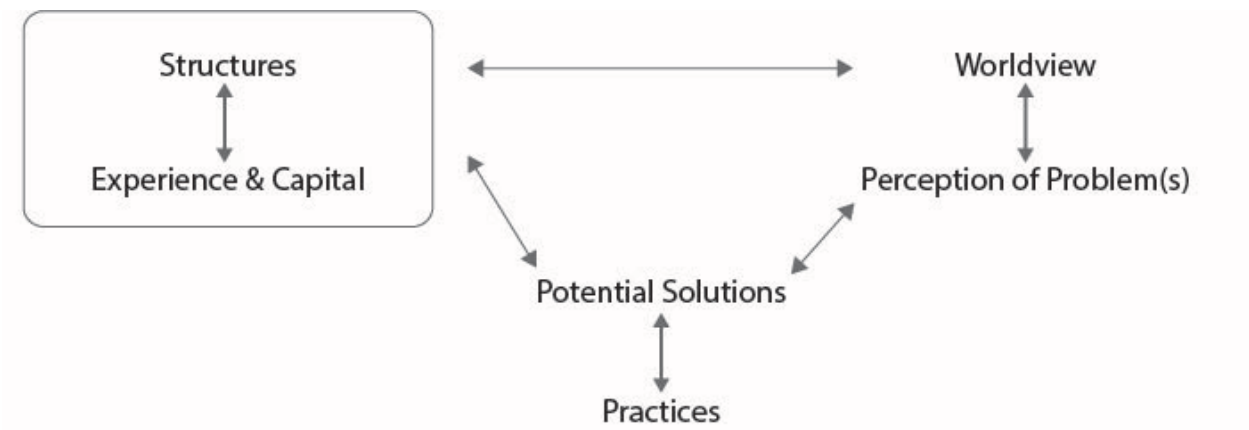


Figure 32 Wordview, Structure, Practice Model

Worldviews

I will use worldview as an umbrella term for the set of mental and cultural models, values, beliefs, and perceptions that define one's view of the world including our relationships with others. Not everyone would agree with this definition. For example Brown and Cameron (2000) as well as the work of other environmental psychologists suggest that values and worldview are distinct concepts that inform each other. I disagree and think that it is difficult to pull apart values from other beliefs. Similarly Berkes (1999) definition of worldview includes religion, ethics (which might be considered a form of values), and belief systems.

I define worldview as the lens through which people interpret the world around them and what they desire the world around them to be. A worldview is created through one's

experiences, knowledge, and culture. I think one of the easiest descriptions of a worldview as a lens is to describe how people look upon a landscapes, for example a recent clear cut. To a rural resident who makes a living through natural resource extraction a recently logged clear cut may demonstrate an example of enterprise³⁹. On the other hand to an urban environmentalist the clear cut may represent misuse or even a rape of the natural world. Both “readings” of the clear-cut derive from the degree of personal dependence, personal experience, knowledge, culture, and practices especially those around ideas of nature.

Most of the information is derived from analysis of interview questions through Atlas TI. During interviews I asked about their perceptions of nature, environment, and social and environmental problems and solutions. I also asked about their social values, environmental values and their political beliefs and activism. In the following section I rely heavily on quotes of individual members to bring out their voices. In most cases, I chose those quotes that best represent the sentiment expressed by many or all community members. As you will see, many of their values and beliefs were interconnected and interdependent.

Environmentalism

There was no consensus around environmental beliefs and there was not a shared cultural model around the environment—except perhaps that many expressed some fear of environmental collapse. However, even among those who feared environmental collapse they were split on what the ultimate effect of environmental collapse. Some expressed a fear that environmental collapse would lead to the death of life as we know it on earth, whereas others expressed a fear that environmental collapse would be the end of human life, or make life difficult for future humans, but that the earth would ultimately recover.

³⁹ See (Smith 2011) for a discussion of different perceptions of forests and wildlife between three different communities in the Oregon Cascades.

In general, members conformed to what might be considered classically American perceptions of nature and the environment. Like the findings from Kempton, Boster, and Hartley (1995) study, members saw the environment as interconnected and that the environment should be in a state of balance.

We're changing the balance of [natural systems]-- global warming, pollution, species extinction... Existing species are having problems surviving; humans might not be too far behind. We will pollute ourselves out. We can't live like we do.

(Rory)

However, similar to Cronon's (1997) and environmental justice arguments, many members also had a critique of the human/nature dualism. Cronon argues that a sustainable society must be based on understanding ourselves and our built environments as part of nature, to encourage and protect non-human nature and natural processes where we live as opposed to just the "wilderness." Similarly, Environmental Justice activists and scholars create a new framework for the environment as not just "wilderness" or the "natural world." Rather the environment is where people "live, work, play, go to school, and worship," and that everyone has a right to do all those things and live out their life in a "clean and healthy environment" (Robert Doyle Bullard 2000, xiii)

I critique the way we relate to the environment as an object distinct from ourselves.

(Ridley)

[I have a] bigger sense environmentalism is framed in white [male centered] way. I like Environmental Justice. I don't like dichotomy of wilderness and city. I don't believe in the way

wilderness is viewed. I'm interested in how people can create balance where they live.

(Val)

The principle [of our responsibilities to the environment] should be that A-we don't really know what is going on and B it doesn't really take a high tech solution. Not necessarily a zero sum game. It's ok to sacrifice "pristine" nature to build a city. I'm more concerned on hinterlands. The human footprint is more vast than the apartment building they live in. Nature is not the other, not a spiritual, don't view it as either a Muir cathedral or a new agey "earth is our mother." Nature is what it is and we're part of it. We're the spoiled brats of nature. We're the equivalent of a bully hording marbles on the playground.

(Ryder)

Interspecies Justice

Most members of these communities also valued interspecies justice for other animals and demonstrated those values through their diet by practicing veganism (not consuming any animal products at all) or by being vegetarian (not consuming meat, including or excluding fish), or limiting the amount of meat products eaten. Because Rojo did not allow meat in the house, meat eaters only ate meat outside the house, and as a consequence, meat was an infrequent part of their diet. Violeta did not completely forbid meat in the house, though meat was rarely cooked. Because both communities shared the cost of food between members and all food purchased for the house was vegetarian, all members ate a mostly vegetarian diet regardless of their personal dietary choices.

Interconnected, Interdependent

Linking the relationship between people and the environment, people with other people, and people with other species to our overall well-being was a common theme. As I will argue later the belief of the interdependence among people as well as interdependence between people and the environment stems in part from members' political ideologies and a common cultural model in establishing beliefs about how people should behave towards each other.

If the norm is "look out for number one" and world view is "get all you can because the world is a nasty place" then the mindset is also. It doesn't acknowledge a reciprocal relationship between people and other species for our own survival, well-being and contentment.

(Rory)

Q: So we've talked about this before in other contexts, but is there a connection between living an environmentally responsible lifestyle and a socially responsible lifestyle?

Yeah, to me it's completely connected. I think if I were to draw a diagram there would be socially responsible as my overarching label and there would be off-shoots like environmental responsibility, like human rights responsibility, and animal rights responsibility. And that to me would be the interconnection between human, animal and environment and supporting all three is a socially responsible lifestyle. And I think you've got to be thinking of all three, because if you're just thinking of one you're not, like I'm thinking of where I used to live in Boulder and they have a really good greenbelt policy built in so it's a really attractive place to live because there's a lot of, there's bike trails, there's beautiful nature to hike into, but it's completely unaffordable to live in for most people because rent and housing is skyrocketed

because there is nowhere else to go. You know so it's like ok, we're not thinking of the whole system here. Affordable, is like that beautiful and for who question? There's got to be a way of thinking about everything. If you're too focused on one thing you're not really living a socially responsible lifestyle.

(Vance)

There was also value of our relationships and our interconnectedness with other people was expressed in the sentiment that people needed to be good and moral to both people and the environment. That you needed to look outside of yourself, see the consequence of your actions, and act on them.

What are people's responsibilities to the environment? Morality is not inherent. It did not exist until humans realized their actions had consequences. Got the idea that it is important for how we behave-totally human construct... We have an obligation to be wise – to the universe but in terms of being moral agents in the universe to create as little suffering and as much joy as possible.

(Ridley)

Q: Do you think there is a relationship between environmental problems and social ills?

Probably just being selfish, to just worry about yourself. When you just think about yourself you're not worried about other people or you're not worried about the environment. But then you could see yourself, your neglecting the connection to other people and your connection to the environment. By neglecting other people you're hurting yourself. So, it could be in people's self-interest to protect the environment and other people. But it's a pretty daunting task if you're the only one.

(Vincent)

Q: How would you describe that connection between people and the environment, and animals?

I think it's that sense of it's the earth that provides me shelter, the resources that come from the environment are what keep me warm and safe. It is humans and animals that meet those social needs that I have. And sort of that idea that if another person hurts I hurt. Or if, even if a tree is cut down in a way, when a living thing is destroyed that I'm connected to other living things and I'm impacted by, sort of understanding that. I think ultimately if we're going to have a sustainable society, sustainable environment where all sort of have equal opportunity, we are going to have to understand that we are impacted by, you know we're all impacted by decisions we make around how we treat the environment and how we treat other human beings. And unfortunately I think you know there are groups of people, groups of animals and the environment that are impacted greater, but until I as someone from a privileged group of people understand that well I lose my humanity in this equation, ultimately I live a less happy life when we're destroying the planet, when we're incarcerating people of

color at astronomical rates. Like, I've got an understanding that that really impacts me too. And so, that that's sort of how I think of it. That I need to do things that remind me of that interconnection. To create a more just and equitable world, but also for me to be a better human and happier too.

(Vance)

Egalitarianism

Among community members participating in my case studies, I found that their common worldview revolved around the value and belief of egalitarianism including an ethic of care and solidarity. Egalitarianism is a common value and goal for each case study participant. The value of egalitarianism determines their ideas about what they would like society to look like, the path to achieving a sustainable society, as well as the critique of the inequities of the current system. Egalitarianism may be simply defined as equality between people including access to decision making, resources, and the right for everyone to achieve their human potential.

I definitely would characterize myself as strongly egalitarian. So, people being as equal as possible, which doesn't mean that they are actually equal, because that is not possible, but to try and mitigate differences of power as much as possible, it's very important. On the basis that I think we all have an equal right to existence, an equal right to the resources of the planet, so the way is to equalize that despite natural and social differences and power is an important part of our project in the world

(Ridley).

Social Justice

Social justice for community members encompassed a variety of issues. To achieve social justice meant to achieve egalitarianism within multiple facets.

Those movements really intrigued me throughout college and I knew that I wanted to be a part of that movement and part of the upcoming movements...

Q: Can you describe more about the movements that you're talking about?

Well, life from a personal standpoint, being gay, the LGBT equality rights, marriage, etcetera--that's a big movement. But then, every movement intrigued me in college--the environmental and sustainability movements, simple living, simplicity, racial movements, feminist movements, queer movements, and just the way you live your life as well. The slower paced lifestyle. Social Justice. I think that's the term people use to incorporate all of those different movements under one broad umbrella term. I was interested in all of those.

(Vincent)

Stemming from a value of egalitarianism, but also from what might be considered an ethic of care and solidarity, all case study members expressed empathy for people living in conditions of poverty, oppression, and isolation.

Ok. there is one thing where I became much more, my eyes were kind of opened when I studied abroad. I went to Guatemala and we studied economics, community, and environmental sustainability in Latin America. And we studied Marxism. I think that's the point, when I first learned about Marxism, that became more political. ... And I think maybe another aspect where I became, where I formed my political ideologies may have just been learning about the other. Like you are forced to take a language course and you learn more about Spanish culture and Hispanic. You read books from a feminist perspective or people of other colors. You just learned about the other. Other people's

experiences and a wider perspective of reality and backgrounds, needs, and wants. And then at college too, you're immersed in a totally different environment.

Q: So did you see anything in Guatemala that also influenced you?

Yeah, the hardest moment was when I saw this one priest that I just randomly met on the street, he took me. Like I was telling him that I hadn't really seen real poverty. And here I was in the countryside and a city, kind of a touristy city but not a big touristy city. It was kind of like Santiago I believe. I told him how I hadn't really seen real poverty. And he was like well go way out into the countryside and you will find real poverty. Because I think like 80% or some huge amount of people in Guatemala are living 150% below the poverty line. It's just outrageous as to how many people and to what extent their poverty line is. And I really didn't experience that. But then he said oh, well let's go over here and meet my friend. Here she was just off the side of the road and she was, she was a single mom, living with a kid, and it was just a one room house, and the toilet in the backyard which was nothing and like one campfire--the heater was stove and they were sleeping in a hammock together and that was it. The campfire, and the hammock, and the toilet out back, and one light bulb which was getting its electricity from next door illegally. And just to realize that that was right off the main road, right there, but hidden you know. I would never have been able to go in there if it wasn't for this one priest.

(Vincent)

Most community members expressed a self-consciousness about their position of power, privilege or prosperity relative to others—especially to people of color, the poor, and LGBT persons. Members would use terms such as: “prosperity consciousness,” “white privilege,”

“hetero privilege,” or “male privilege” to reflect this self-consciousness of power relationships in the world. Many expressed solidarity with identity politics – anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-patriarchal, anti-homophobic. In both communities to express sentiments contrary to the values of identity politics would be socially unacceptable and depending on the context might have been grounds for “de-membership” (a community term for expulsion from the community).

I socialize with people, hang out with people, that have an analysis of race, class, gender. People aware of white privilege. We do things like go dancing, make food together, [jump on trampoline or rap on traveling?] artistic and [perform?] do art projects, write.
(Val)

I'm always challenging myself to challenge power and privilege.
(Vance)

Members also recognized the issues of class and race implicated in the mainstream environmental movement. I believe that for many members their reluctance to identify themselves as environmentalists was connected to their desire to stand in solidarity with the poor and people of color. Community members recognized that mainstream environmentalism which worked to preserve and protect “wilderness” was a product of their privileged position in society meaning that they are able to focus on environmental protection (Bullard 1993) because they don't have much else to worry about (like racism, justice and money).

The environment is a complicated issue. A lot of political work gets done by [the] middle class. I see these organizations fighting for “preserving” environment and species in different places on the planet. They are white and middle class they have rooms in their minds for it with the money to support it. In my consumer choices everything [in my] room [was purchased] used. I don't purchase

new things. I buy clothes at Goodwill and Value Village⁴⁰. It's good to support goodwill. I don't want to support the for-profit world and fashion. [But my consumption choices are] less about environment and more about not wanting to support the evil machine. I care about the environment, but don't do much around it...[I have] Actions around the environment but it is secondary. [My actions] are around politics-what does my money benefit.
(Vanessa)

There was also value of our relationships and our interconnectedness with other people was expressed in the sentiment that people needed to be good and moral to both people and the environment. That you needed to look outside of yourself, see the consequence of your actions, and act on them.

What are people's responsibilities to the environment? Morality is not inherent. It did not exist until humans realized their actions had consequences. Got the idea that it is important for how we behave-totally human construct... We have an obligation to be wise – to the universe but in terms of being moral agents in the universe to create as little suffering and as much joy as possible.
(Ridley)

Q: Do you think there is a relationship between environmental problems and social ills?

Probably just being selfish, to just worry about yourself. When you just think about yourself you're not worried about other people or you're not worried about the environment. But then you could see yourself, your neglecting the connection to other people and your connection to the environment. By neglecting other people you're hurting yourself. So, it could be in people's self-interest to

⁴⁰ Value Village is a for-profit thrift store chain in the Seattle metropolitan area. Many members went to value village reluctantly, citing its for-profit status.

protect the environment and other people. But it's a pretty daunting task if you're the only one.

(Vincent)

Q: How would you describe that connection between people and the environment, and animals?

I think it's that sense of it's the earth that provides me shelter, the resources that come from the environment are what keep me warm and safe. It is humans and animals that meet those social needs that I have. And sort of that idea that if another person hurts I hurt. Or if, even if a tree is cut down in a way, when a living thing is destroyed that I'm connected to other living things and I'm impacted by, sort of understanding that. I think ultimately if we're going to have a sustainable society, sustainable environment where all sort of have equal opportunity, we are going to have to understand that we are impacted by, you know we're all impacted by decisions we make around how we treat the environment and how we treat other human beings. And unfortunately I think you know there are groups of people, groups of animals and the environment that are impacted greater, but until I as someone from a privileged group of people understand that well I lose my humanity in this equation, ultimately I live a less happy life when we're destroying the planet, when we're incarcerating people of color at astronomical rates. Like, I've got an understanding that that really impacts me too. And so, that that's sort of how I think of it. That I need to do things that remind me of that interconnection. To create a more just and equitable world, but also for me to be a better human and happier too.

(Vance)

In fact, the care for other people and humanity in general were much stronger values than those relating to the environment. All members were concerned about environmental problems, and thinking through the environmental impacts of their practice was important to them. However, for all of them social justice issues were just as important and for the majority social justice issues were more important.

So, mostly I care about the environment because I don't want to see the end of life on the earth. I think life on the earth is a swell thing. The way we are headed is not going to be so viable. I think yes, there is some degree, some moral value around people should not destroy the things around them, or the people around them, but I'm much more concerned with people.

(Ryder)

Q: Would you say that protecting the environment is important?

Yeah, but there are lots of things that are important as well. But yeah, it's a concern. It's something I support. ... But it's not something I'm passionate about to work for day in and day out.

Q: What are some things you place as higher importance?

People.

(Vincent)

[The environment is] very much a practice of my lifestyle, but not a place of my activism. But I think it's hugely, hugely important... As far as anything that I consume it's right there, it's what I'm thinking about...like only buying clothes at thrift stores... that being primarily an environmental and also a human rights decision as far as how these things are produced and not wanting to be part of increasing that buying used.

(Raine)

What I want to point out here is that community members did not feel guilt about having a privileged social position or buying something damaging at any given time. Instead I would argue that the better or more correct motivation is empathy and the belief that they can do something about another's plight (solidarity). Whereas guilt implies either feeling bad about inaction or action to make oneself feel better. Acting out of empathy and solidarity on the other hand implies action to make the other person feel better and fulfill a moral obligation to act. One should help others, because that is what people do (in the case of solidarity) or one should act to make oneself feel better to alleviate guilt. Guilt is a negative feeling versus solidarity which is a positive feeling. The people I interviewed did not feel guilty or powerless. They knew they could not live a lifestyle without any negative impact but they did what they could and didn't feel guilty about instances where they couldn't.

Freedom

The concept of freedom is a value expressed by many of the case study participants. The neoliberal argument also uses "freedom" as a way in which to mobilize people to come onboard with their ideology. However freedom in the neoliberal context refers to the freedom of free enterprise and consumption which increases social injustice (Harvey 2005). Freedom for case study members is conceptualized differently. It is not the idea that you can do anything you want. Rather you can do anything you want as long as your actions do not negatively impact someone else—you cannot hurt someone else or take away their access to resources. For them freedom refers to the right of personal expression and creativity both of which also relate to the value of diversity.

For everyone to realize their full and authentic humanity affects
work, art, reproduction, freedom of speech and action.

(Ridley)

People should be free-express the way you want to express.

(Ryder)

I'm Idealistic - want a world where diversity is fully a society that harmonizes human aspiration to fulfill potential with society's needs-there is no room for oppression.

(Ridley)

In order to gain that freedom they realize that an individual needs both time and space in order to pursue those goals. At Rojo in particular the value is institutionalized through the goal of minimizing the amount of work members need to contribute per week. With less work hours per week member have the flexibility to work part-time for paid employment or work only for the house allowing more time for personal interests and social activism.

All community members value diversity to a degree, but not to the extent that they value a diversity of practices that fall too far outside of their worldview. For example, they are not in favor of supporting diversity if it means supporting a society that is based on hierarchal relationships, oppression, or environmental devastation.

Simplicity

Most members expressed valuing simplicity in some form or another. Simplicity may be categorized as three separate concepts. First simplicity may mean simplifying one's life—having minimal commitments and minimal “stuff.” Second simplicity may also be considered an extension of egalitarianism in that one leads a simple life because it is immoral to have more

than you need, taking resources that might otherwise be used by someone else. Third, simplicity meant having a smaller footprint.

While all members valued simplicity in either form, some case study members explicitly distanced themselves from the voluntary simplicity movement—a movement practiced in Western countries that involves working less, purchasing less, and living more simply overall. The criticism of the voluntary simplicity movement (VSM) within academia is that it is a movement of the upper middle class—of people who have made their money, purchased their house, and as a consequence can work less but still live in relative luxury (Maniates 2002b). Some members have a similar criticism and distanced their practice of simplicity from the VSM.

Voluntary Simplicity is rooted in privilege not just understanding how the world works—such a liberal project.
(Ryder)

I don't like the term "simplicity". Feels like a righteous thing people choose to do. Most people don't consume like this. Smacks--doesn't include poor people. Feels like a limited statement.
(Raine)

Domination is Immoral

The values against oppression and hierarchy and for egalitarianism also were found in community members' critique of the capitalist system. Some members framed the problem of both social and environmental ills as a problem of domination, because domination is seen as a fundamental practice of capitalism.

Yes, [the relationship between environmental and social ills is] the whole mind frame that it is ok to dominate others to make money. It's fine to pillage land and destroy it in order to make money.
(Raine)

At a fundamental level I believe that domination is bad. We should have a little humility and shouldn't be dominators and masters of everything. Less purely rational. Comes from a belief that domination is bad. It's not so hard to say the relationship between domination of people and domination of the environment. It starts with a feeling that humans should be liberated.
(Ryder)

Political Ideology

Ideology is an underappreciated concept in American civil society. It is assumed that strong ideologies are reserved for those on the far left, such as Communists, and now for those on the far right. People often incorrectly assume that if you share the dominant belief system (or common sense) you do not have an ideology. However, as Alan Greenspan stated after the 2008 collapse "Everyone has an ideology." A political ideology is a set of beliefs around how societies (including the economy) should be governed and is largely resistant to change. The set of beliefs is entwined with beliefs about human nature and the structure of relationships between people and the environment.

Alan Greenspan was forced to concede that his ideology was incorrect when faced with colossal empirical evidence against it. Conceding that one's ideology is incorrect is a very rare occurrence. Most people at most times will attempt to rationalize inconsistencies between their ideology and observations to the contrary Greenspan's ideology, was one of economic liberalism which may also be described as neoliberalism. The ideology of neoliberalism is now

shared with a growing number of business folks and politicians. Neoliberalism includes the following beliefs, assumptions and goals: That of an unregulated business allowing the invisible hand of the market to meet everyone's needs. That businesses working competitively against each other are better adapted to meet people's needs than slow acting, bureaucratic, expensive and stagnant governmental control. That the market is not directly controllable and should not be regulated. That the way for the market to meet everyone's needs requires everything needed to be part of the market and thus privatized. Communal property and public property are ineffective and inefficient. Individuals, like businesses should also compete with each other creating a meritocracy. Individuals should also be personally responsible for themselves and their families—government 'handouts' lead to laziness and abuse (Harvey 2005). This neoliberal ideology has spread over the last 40 years and is now entrenched (although contested) in the dominant American worldview helping determine the organization and goals of institutions, management of social and ecological systems, as well as controlling the form and accessibility of knowledge (Harvey 2005).

My hometown of Pontiac, Michigan is an example of neoliberal takeover in the extreme. In the summer of 2011 I found out in a conversation with my uncle that the city council of Pontiac had been forced to sell the Pontiac Silverdome to a private interest. The selling price? Half a million dollars to a Canadian company (Guarino 2009). Since then the state of Michigan enacted Public Act #4 which allows the Governor to appoint someone to take over financially troubled cities. In September 2012, the Governor appointed Louis Shimmel to take over the city of Pontiac (Abowd 2012) thereby overriding democratic processes of control.

Intentional community members share political ideologies that are in part developed in opposition to those of neoliberalism. Like the neoliberal ideology, the political ideology of intentional community members also affects the shape of institutions.

Overall, as one might assume, the politics of intentional community members fall on the “far left.” There is a diversity of political ideas, knowledge, and comfort levels with politics. Less than half of the members solidly identified with any one political ideology.

None of the members identified with any political party. The main reason members did not identify with a political party is because of political ideological commitment to direct democracy—or the ability for everyone to have a say in making decisions that impact their lives. They felt that by supporting a political party, one is buying into a whole range of positions, some of which an individual may support, but also including other positions that an individual may not support. They also felt that the whole idea of political parties went against the idea of diversity of opinions and direct democracy.

I’m idealistic. I see all political structures as flawed. They are far from what my ideal would be. I never joined a party. I’m a freewheeler informed by my experiences in other countries and my friends’ experiences. I see issues fitting into global scheme fits into a radical liberal label. I never used the term anarchist. I’ve never studied it. I feel like it is a loaded word but believe in human freedom and that society should allow everyone to be safe and healthy and lead a fulfilling life.

(Reba)

When asked about their politics many expressed antipathy towards political parties:

The Democratic and Republican Parties are evil, the Green Party is stupid... I’m influenced by my work which is non-partisan. I work

on issues and believe in supporting people not politicians, believe in influencing politics but not being a politician, but I gave money to the democrats in the last election.

(Vanessa)

My parents are Democratic, but I don't associate with political party. I like liberation politics or social justice politics-with the critique that the capitalist system is not working. I am for empowering communities.

(Val)

A few labeled themselves as a “radical liberal”, but overall the label of “liberal” was considered a bad word⁴¹. Being liberal was being equated with being white and sympathetic to issues of equity but failing miserably at seeing the problems as they really were. Liberals were also seen as not working towards workable solutions. In part because they didn't have a firm understanding of the problems, but also because they were seen as not wanting to be uncomfortable or lose any power or wealth that they held. Liberals were associated with a dangerous worldview which placed themselves as the holders of knowledge with the ability to “save people from themselves.” There were occasionally derogatory comments about Democrats. At one Violeta meeting there were jokes about “democrats sucking too, but less than republicans.”

Liberals hearts are in a good place, but they really look at a lot of reform and look at small steps of change as being ok, adequate.

They don't want change that will make them uncomfortable. We

⁴¹ In Seattle the biggest chasm between the more radical/progressive folks and the liberal folks came to a head at the Northwest Social Forum. The result of this event is a good example of the divergence between the two groups.

as a nation need to look at what ways our need for stuff and convenience is wreaking havoc on the world.

(Rae)

Of those who strongly identified with a political ideology most identified as themselves as anarchists, making up a quarter of all case study participants. One member strongly identified with socialism. However, all members were sympathetic with a range of beliefs that classically belong to anarchism and socialism. A basic definition of anarchism is that “it is an attempt to imagine a better society and insofar as possible to ‘prefigure,’ to anticipate that society by beginning to live it out, on the ground, here and now” (Lynd and Grubačić 2008) and include values and beliefs of “solidarity, community, mutual support, mutual aid and so forth—opportunities for creative action” (Chomsky and Pateman 2005, 231).

The biggest divergence between members’ political ideologies occurred between anarchist and more socialist ideologies about the role of government in managing social needs and responsibilities—although anarchism and socialism as a means to redistribute wealth and resources are not mutually exclusive (Chomsky and Pateman 2005). However, while Americans are generally undereducated about socialism (and Marxism) and anarchism in general, anarchism has essentially been extinguished entirely as a political option, even though it was a more popular movement at the turn of the twentieth century. As Staughton Lynd argues “I believe the anarchist tradition was suppressed and crushed by the hegemonic ideologies of Marxism and Liberalism” (Lynd and Grubačić 2008, 3). And yet, we are currently seeing a resurgence of anarchism (Day 2005; Lynd and Grubačić 2008; Graeber 2009) from the Zapatistas, to the WTO, and now Occupy Wall Street.

To summarize the views of anarchism and socialism within these communities⁴²—anarchism works towards realizing a democratic and egalitarian society in which everyone has a right to pursue individual interests without harming or interfering in the rights of others, that individuals have a right and obligation to participate fully in the decisions that affect them, and that no one should have greater relative power than someone else. Socialism agrees with these goals, however where they differ is on the role of the government or state. Anarchism would say that a state system naturally maintains a power differential between people (thus the State is not egalitarian). An anarchist believes that it is the local community that should meet the needs of the people around them—they can do this by realizing the problems and allowing everyone to have a voice in the resolution through a process of direct democracy and assisting those in the local community or around the globe through the value and practice of solidarity. I want to highlight here a serious misconception in the mainstream of anarchism as being equal to not having a government, that is incorrect. Anarchists have a critique of power held by a state entity, but not by people governing themselves—even at a larger regional or national level. By contrast socialism believes that the state has an important role to play in the re-distribution of resources (food, healthcare, and transportation) as well as in regulation for the protection of people and environment.

Further, many that did identify as anarchists or socialists would describe themselves as being anarchists with a little a or socialists with a little s or both. “Little a” anarchism or “little s” socialism represents a belief in the basic principles of the ideology without being fundamentalist. So a little a anarchist may hope for an ultimate future with no central

⁴² There is an extensive literature on anarchism, socialism, and Marxism which I do not touch on here. In particular, there are many different varieties of anarchism in particular. My discussion of anarchism and socialism here are based on how community members articulated anarchism and socialism.

government, yet support a government sponsored or single payer healthcare system if it is the current solution on the table that will benefit people now—especially the poor.

Specifically anarchists in the communities, along with other community members, were motivated by a desire to wipe out inequalities specifically in the form of domination and assist others through mutual aid and solidarity:

Q: How would you describe your politics, your political values?

I identify as an anarchist. And to me that's about understanding all the various forms that domination takes and trying to eradicate all the various forms that domination takes. Typically talk about that in terms of all the "isms" that people talk about, all the oppressions, racism, classism, and sexism, you know. But also capitalism is a horrible way to meet human needs. And I think the government as we know it, the state, is a terrible way to make decisions together about our communities.

So I believe in directly democratic ways of making decisions.

Typically consensus based decision making, I don't know if that can work on a societal level, but, so direct democracy. I believe in socialism with little s as a way of meeting human needs and wants. And I think that the people can and do and need to more find ways to support each other in developing to their full potentiality.

I also identify as a feminist. Try to be anti-racist. For me anarchism kind of encompasses all those things for me, it gets at all the pieces of my politics.

And I also think the ecological piece is important to me so finding, so also not dominating one another, human beings not dominating each other, also not dominating the planet, and finding sustainable and healthy ways to live in relationship with the natural environment.

(Veronica)

All members identified with certain goals of anarchism including direct democracy, egalitarianism, and ending oppression and hierarchy whether or not they identified or sympathized with anarchism. Some didn't use the label "anarchist" for a number of reasons. First and foremost many believed in the distributive role of the state in meeting human needs. Others didn't use the anarchist label because they felt uncomfortable with the anarchist "scene." Also, to use the label meant members felt they had to be extremely well read on the topic—one of the reasons I think that members mentioned not being educated enough on anarchism. In reality, they are more educated on anarchism than say the general American public is on representative democracy.

Q: What is it about anarchism that you don't quite identify with?

I think I identify with it theoretically. But I think that the way that I've seen it play out with people, is that I've seen it be a very white male dominated, um, and to use it as a way to put people down. I don't think it needs to be that way and I think people would identify with it more if it wasn't dominated like that. The way some people would identify with being queer, gay, and lesbian if it wasn't so white washed, white middle class, as its represented. So the way that I see anarchism represented in this way that hasn't, its not a community I want to belong in.

(Val)

Others felt drawn to anarchism (while still believing in the distributive role of the state), but felt uncomfortable identifying as an anarchist because of the social stereotypes and incorrect assumptions about anarchism in the general public.

I don't fit into the Democrat, Republican... Maybe socialism. Probably most likely anarchism I haven't worn that as my [identity, but I] identify with it. I'm just afraid to come out of the closet. [laugh]

I think a lot of it is a little bit of fear because in terms of, I think people have such a misunderstanding of what anarchism is. That unfortunately when you do call yourself that people conjure up images that are completely false of what you really believe in.

(Vance)

And yet another did not adopt the anarchist label because she disliked long processes related to decision making.

Probably the best group that I could fit myself in would be socialists. I actually think a lot of the ideology around anarchism fits better for me in a way because still [in] socialism some big entities in charge and the question of who that is. I do not have it in me, I do not have it in me, to do these God awful lengthy processes as a group so that is a part of me that says [laugh] well ultimately I want somebody in charge.

(Vivian)

Many believed that the state would be required to distribute and provide resources (like university health care) and regulate for environmental sustainability and social justice—aspects belonging to socialism although many didn't use the label.

Q: What are your social values?...

I mean I definitely believe in basic needs. That everyone should have food, water, housing, education--that's huge, it's not a basic need or our society doesn't see it as a basic need--healthcare

definitely. And access to the internet because that is huge. The government should pay for huge computer stations. And equality too. I mean the list could go on and on. But, the basic needs... Yeah, I definitely believe in the separation of church and state. So like the government shouldn't impose on peoples religious beliefs, the government shouldn't discriminate, the government shouldn't have an agenda above and beyond just providing basic human rights.

(Vincent)

I believe in people taking care of other people. The government should be structured to ease disparity [where] taxes are good chunk of your income and should benefit other people. It should come from respect and love, in wanting human kind to live in peace and have their needs taken care of. I believe in community versus individuals.

(Vanessa)

However, the majority of members did not identify with either anarchism or socialism. Many who did not identify with anarchism also mentioned that they didn't feel they had enough of an education to use the term. One individual who had recently moved into the community felt that:

Anarchism, and socialism are loaded terms, I don't have the education to use those terms... I never had an in-depth reading on anarchy.

(Rae)

Anarchism and socialism were influential to all case study members' politics in one way

or another even if they did not directly identify themselves with either. Their political ideology also framed their motivations for consuming less or consuming more sustainably.

Political Ideology and Environmentalism in the U.S.

Political ideology may be an important component in understanding motivations for environmental practices. My research demonstrates a link between political ideology and practices. However, a link between political ideology and practices is also apparent in the larger population.

A recent drop in American environmental sympathy highlights the role of political ideology⁴³ in the change. In 1990, 73% of Americans considered themselves to be environmentalists through a Gallup poll (Kempton, Boster, and Hartley 1995). However, from 2000 to 2010 the percentage of Americans who considered themselves to be “an active participant in the environmental movement or sympathetic towards the movement” dropped 10 points from 71% to 61%⁴⁴ (Riley E. Dunlap 2010). An even bigger change occurred in the percentage who think “the environmental movement in this nation has done more harm than good” increased 15 points from 21% in 2000, to 36% in 2010.

Comparing answers between Democrats and Republicans, Democrats were less likely than Republicans to show a decline in sympathy towards the environmental movement, but more likely to be actively involved in the environmental movement, and to adopt major lifestyle

⁴³ Gallup differentiates between political ideology (liberal, moderate, conservative) and political party (Democrat, independent, Republican). According to Gallop measurements there is a small group of Americans who fall outside of the stereotypical relationships between political ideology and political party. For example, there are those who define themselves as conservative Democrats or a liberal Republicans. Of white Americans 6% consider themselves to be conservative white Democrats and 11% consider themselves to be moderate/conservative white Republicans (Newport 2009). However, for the purposes of my dissertation I will equate political ideology with political party, but when talking about the Gallup pole results I will use Gallup’s specific designations and refer to results as being attributed to either political party (democrat/republican) or political ideology (liberal/conservative).

⁴⁴ This drop may only be partially explained by the economy as the percentage of Americans active in or sympathetic to the environmental movement has fluctuated between 61% and 70% between 2000 and 2010.

changes. Between 2000 and 2010, Republicans showed a 13 point decline in the percentage in people who were sympathetic to the movement while Democrats only showed a 3 point decline (Riley E. Dunlap 2010). Further, there was an increase in the number of Democrats identifying as being actively involved in the environmental movement (from 14% to 24%) while Republicans active involvement increased only one point from 14% to 15% (Dunlap 2010). When asked about adopting lifestyle changes 20% of Republicans indicated that they had made major lifestyle changes to protect the environment compared with 32% of Democrats (Jones 2008)

Differences in attitudes of climate change also run along ideological lines. While Americans in general are less likely to believe “the effects of global warming are already occurring dropping from 61% in 2008 to 50% in 2010. In 2010, 74% of liberals versus 30% of conservatives “say the effects of global warming are already occurring” and for those who believe the news exaggerates the seriousness of global warming 26% are liberals and 67% are conservatives (Jones 2010). The change in responses to questions on global warming between 2008 and 2010 also highlights ideological differences. Conservatives who believed that the “effects of global warming are already occurring” dropped 20 points from 50% in 2008 to 30% in 2010. On the other hand liberals showed a 2 point increase from 72% in 2008 to 74% in 2010.

The difference between Republicans and Democrats or conservatives and liberals in beliefs and attitudes about the environment and the environmental movement indicates that political ideology or overall worldview may be an important component in understanding the differences in motivations towards environmental activism, environmental practices and solutions for change. The differences in environmentalism between conservatives and liberals may be linked to beliefs about equality and justice, but more research is needed. I argue that

overall worldview in general and political ideology in particular were not only strong motivators for a practices among community members, but also led them to particular framings of both problems and solutions.

Perception of the Problem(s) and Solutions (s)

Many of the case study members' common values are based in a critique of wider society in general and capitalism in particular. Three critical aspects emphasized are domination, oppression and hierarchy. All three are in opposition to their value of egalitarianism. Oppression includes unequal power relationships, whether at the micro- and macro-level, racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ethnocentrism. Being against hierarchy includes opposing income and wealth disparities, and the very idea of landlords, bosses, the police force as well as the traditional teacher/student relationships⁴⁵.

They see environmental and social problems as being interconnected and coming from the ability, and indeed state sanctioned domination, by both the state and capitalist interests.

Q: Maybe you could talk a little bit about how capitalism destroys the environment?

[chuckle] Um. Well I don't believe, there is a lot of misunderstanding. A couple of ideas. One is this idea that capitalism is a new phenomena, well ok, where do I start. There are some myths about capitalism and the environment. One of them is that capitalism is a new phenomenon. The other is that what existed in the socialist era and what existed in the soviet

⁴⁵ Interestingly, but not surprisingly since some members were extremely well read on the French Revolution and because some had read the book *Transforming the Revolution* I am quoting here, the values and beliefs of egalitarianism, freedom of expression, and solidarity are reflective in the famous slogan from the French Revolution "liberty, equality, fraternity" (Wallerstein 1990, 13). As Wallerstein writes "this slogan inspired what in its broadest sense came to be called the social movement—that is, the struggle of the oppressed "working classes" to obtain liberty (full rights of political participation, access to a secure economic base to make possible political and social choice, social control over the workplace and living space), equality (elimination of political, economic, and social differentials), and fraternity (mutual aid and solidarity of the working classes which would thereby make possible the fraternity of all humanity)" (Wallerstein 1990, 13–14)

countries was not capitalist. And the other is that the problem is greed. So, those are the myths and I think that the underpinning of all of capitalism is profit so that capitalism has always been environmentally detrimental. For hundreds and hundreds of years in the massive resource exploitation and colonization through imperialism which isn't anything like the capitalism we have now but it was a kind of capitalism. The massive accumulation of wealth is like the world wide plunder of resources and exploration is not really a new thing at all...

And there is this idea that everyone has that somehow it's people's greed that's like bringing about ecological destruction and it doesn't like everyone...but it has nothing to do with... it's people caught within a system that has a certain logic. So if you have all the CEOs of all the corporations had the kindest hearts and you know loved their children and were generous people and gave lots to charity and really wanted to make the world a better place, their caught within this logic where those corporations and those CEOs and those boards of corporations, if they don't make decisions which maximize profit will die, they just don't survive in capitalism. **And so there is a natural evolutionary weeding out of any organization that is not completely oriented around maximizing profit and the way you maximize profit is that you externalize all of your costs. You make all the impact on the environment but you don't have to pay those and you don't, you make it so that you don't have to ever deal with any of the consequences of your actions and you can make it so that all your decisions, all other factors other than how to maximize your profit are secondary. And sometimes as most often the case in practice don't even enter into the equation in a remote way. And so that logic, is a logic which can only really create one outcome. And that's kind of an ecological devastation of**

everything. And just the need to produce more, to consume more, manufacture more and to extract more resources, I mean there is no, the earth is a finite system and capitalism is an economic system which only exists by growing, by growing profit. So, there's obviously new frontiers which there are boundless frontiers in which technology might develop and we could expand, but unless we somehow start colonizing all the worlds, that need for continual expansion, for unending profit, and the need to externalize all of the consequences of the actions. **It's kind of a recipe for total disaster. This idea that somehow, it's just logic built into the system, so the idea that decision making on the parts of greedy individuals is somehow responsible or even that you could somehow devise a green capitalism—which even the author of the book green capitalism has said that it really wouldn't be capitalism—is just completely ludicrous.**

(Ryder)

This then is a system perspective of the problem—the problem of a system that sets up profit as the ultimate goal, and that that goal naturally leads to domination (through externalizing social and environmental costs) and inequality (in the concentration of wealth by a few). To be systemically true we would need to see proof of the consequences of externalizing cost and a growing concentration of wealth—which is what we are seeing today.

For example, Wal-Mart has gained dominate economic, political, and market power by externalizing costs and forcing suppliers to continually reduce their costs through “bullying tactics” where by “if suppliers choose not to sell on the terms dictated by the monopsony [the power to dominate output and input sides of the system], their market share will collapse”

(Magnuson 2008, 283). Wal-Mart and similar corporate entities are assisted by the state through de-regulation and free-trade agreements.

We are also seeing an increase in national inequality. Since the 1970s as the protections of the New Deal, civil rights, and environmental protections are getting de-regulated, we are seeing a decrease in inequality. For example, we're seeing a trend of decreasing union membership from over 30% in 1948 to under 15% in 2002 (Magnuson 2008, 280), and an increase in inequality as measured by the Gini Index (an equal society would have a measurement of 0 and a completely unequal society would have a measurement of 1) which has gone from almost 0.50 during the great depression, to 0.40 after World War II until the early 1980s, to 0.47 now (Magnuson 2008, 272–273). The average Gini Index for OECD member countries is 0.31 and United States now has the second highest Gini Index of any OECD country after Mexico (which has a Gini Index of .52) (Magnuson 2008, 275).

The mainstream approach to solving environmental problems is to make adjustments through the current system—buying “green” (enforcing a “greener” capitalist system still based on consumption, efficiency in production, and approaches like carbon credits which allow for greater inequality in the distribution of environmental “bads.”

However, as this dissertation and other research show institutions matter (Kopelman, Weber, and Messick 2002, 145)⁴⁶. All of the individuals through living “in community” as well

⁴⁶ Another example of the power of institutions on behavior, by way of an unintentional experiment in my courses, is through comparing the experiences of playing Monopoly versus playing Co-opoly. Co-opoly is a cooperative board game developed by a U.S. cooperative in 2011 which attempts to mimic the experience of participating in a worker owned cooperative. Students first reflect on their experiences playing Monopoly, a board game designed on the premise of competition and the concentration of wealth. Students predictably relate almost traumatic experiences of playing the game—feeling hopeless, competitive, having family divisions, hurt feelings, etc. Co-opoly on the other hand is based on solidarity, mutual aid, and egalitarianism. The game is played as a team where players are members of a cooperative playing against the board. To win all players must be financially solvent and the “cooperative” must save enough money to start a second cooperative. Students reflect on this experience positively—while playing they felt a connection and care for the other players, and found great enjoyment from working together (a surprise for them). The students enjoyed playing Co-opoly more than Monopoly. While I

as by their activism participate actively in building new institutions and creating new avenues and practices for social interaction. Rojo especially saw themselves as creating as a larger political project—that of building new institutions based on politics and values. Both communities saw themselves as teaching skills in direct democracy. The new institutions are created in order to be model for other people to follow or take inspiration from.

This process is what anarchists called the Prefigurative Revolution. They were building the institutions and gaining the skill sets needed to grow yet more institutions and networks based on an alternative ideological and value set that would prepare the ground for a more sustainable society. Further, they believe that the only way to create a more sustainable society is from the ground up, and that traditional revolutions only created more domination and oppression.

Most revolutions lead to oppression, the only way for it to work is if there is a broad social power through building broader institutions to create a free society is to build a democratic...The prefigurative revolution - create alternative revolutions that replace and resist the current institution system.

(Ryder)

That we need to dismantle capitalism but showing the world that it is possible to do that through working and living together in a very intentional way... Ultimately through living in community we are developing the skills we need to build a new society.

(Rhianna)

assigned this board game in class to give students a taste of a cooperative experience, it also ended up being an example for the power of institutions on individual action. The games themselves, as micro and temporary institutions, changed the way people felt and behaved towards each other and their personal and collective resources.

Institutions matter, and social change cannot happen without collective and institutional change. However, what this dissertation research demonstrates is that social change is also predicated on individual responsibility. I think a vital aspect of the processes of building new institutions is a desire to work towards what is right, to work against the problem believed to be true, even if it was improbable. And therefore a certain level of individual responsibility is required—one needs to be able to acknowledge the problem and do something about the problem on a personal level

So, in a very micro level, I'm not talking abstract philosophically, my environmentalism comes purely from a sense of needing not to be a hypocrite. Also from a sense of such a huge degree environmental impact is tied to disastrous economic systems. So, there's a neat symbiosis between withdrawing from capitalism and withdrawing from ecological destruction. So the less economic involvement one has in capitalism it often proportional to ones ecological footprint. But I think it's an idea that comes up a lot in our house, the idea of trying not to be a hypocrite. And I think that it's obviously impossible, but we're trying a lot harder than most people. And so, like if, it's really shocking to me actually how many people hold certain values and they just really don't live by them. I mean, just to be an American is to be a hypocrite, obviously. To hold values of truth and equality and justice and then to act in the complete opposite way throughout the world. And to I think to like even notice that and to kind of stand quietly by as most Americans do, those who do notice it, are overwhelming privileged by that position even if they criticize it, and do little to change it. But whatever, you can't change everything all the time. So I think you can try to change as much as you possibly are able and start from there.

(Ryder)

Worldview, Structure, and Agency

The worldviews of community members influenced the way in which they approached their intentional community as an institution. These communities placed an emphasis on egalitarianism through a lack of hierarchy, decision making practices, spending caps at Rojo, and the common property regime. Their value of mutual aid, solidarity, and community also influenced their intentionality of decision making, and inter-personal relationships and communication as well as their personal and community dedication to assisting projects outside of their community.

One way in which worldviews affected sustainable practices happened during the processes of decision making. Egalitarian decision making, consensus decision making based on the values of the institution and the group, forced them to adjust their assumptions and desires. During my fieldwork, Violeta was planning on remodeling their kitchen. During the discussions issues of class and the environment came up, causing the community to re-think the project. The process of consensus and the guiding values of the institution impacted their decision about a large-scale consumption practice normalized in the dominant culture. When asked about what happened with the kitchen remodel, Vivian responded.

We just kind of got focused on other things. Ultimately, we could not ever get past some of the way that class. And maybe that is what happened, we decided to discuss our class issues, because they [were] manifesting in the kitchen... Veronica kept being like "I grew up in poverty, the fact that we have a kitchen that works and there are not holes in the ceiling is amazing to me, and we're going to put what kind of resource into that [a kitchen remodel] when there's other issues and the larger community would benefit from this money?" It was interesting because Virgil would have loved a kitchen remodel, yet he also grew up in poverty. It was

fascinating, a really important awareness to me because I was all gung ho “lets remodel the kitchen.” And then Veronica brought up the things I was like “that’s an excellent point.” And it brought into awareness, because I really did grow up upper middle class, about what our assumptions are, where our priorities are and like blah, blah, blah. So I feel like we kind of decided we needed to talk about our class identities and that we couldn’t make a decision. Veronica was basically trying her hardest to go with the group where there was some energy around doing the kitchen remodel and we got an architect to come up with some drawings. But she never fully got comfortable that we would take out a loan, I think was part of it, and we then we just kind of never pursued it beyond getting those architectural images. And then there was just little stuff that would come up that was more immediate that we had to deal with. Both physically, but also group dynamic.

(Vivian)

Aside from just creating new institutions, what is also important is the role of experimentation and creating new models. I think it’s obvious that the dominant models we use are problematic. However, it’s almost impossible to finding alternative solutions without trying them out, or looking around for other models. We do not know what we don’t experience. And living in community, looking for and trying out other models really not only results in new institutions, but also results in new ways of looking at problems and solutions.

Members related being frustrated that people without community experience had a narrow range of what was possible. For example, in working with homeless advocates the only options housing options on the table were renting or owning. Another example is just thinking about sharing. When Vance moved out of community and into a single family home (a home he

purchased because there was a lack of other options) he was appalled by the number of tools each house used.

What's been challenging for me but important when it's happened is finding ways to share with neighbors. I very quickly got overwhelmed by the sense of needing new tools or new things to maintain a house. And I'm like, I bet everyone on this block as a 10 foot or higher ladder, for example, why would we all need a 10 foot or higher ladder? So who would have a ladder on the block? I found out that [one couple] have a fourteen foot ladder. I'm thinking a lot about those things and I would love for there to be a tool library, I've heard other neighborhoods have that. There isn't officially that but we've done some borrowing. Our neighbor maintains a [neighborhood] website that's a neighborhood source; it's a wiki so anyone can update it. That's been nice to keep on top of neighborhood stuff.

Limitations of Individual Action

While I argue that a sense of individual responsibility is necessary, it is not enough. For social change to occur, individual responsibility must be combined with collective political action including the building of new institutions based on both social and environmental values. For example, the intentional communities described in this dissertation created structural environments that helped individuals and the collective minimize their consumption. Individually, once members moved out, they were unable to maintain that minimal level of consumption.

I conducted "follow-up" interviews with members after they moved out of community between 2005-2012. Some members moved out of one community and into another. Yet, a

number of individuals and couples moved out of community and into a single family home⁴⁷ or apartment. For all of these members their consumption level's shot up dramatically—they were forced to consume and drive more than they had living in their respective communities.

Couples and individuals that did not have a car living in community had to purchase one when they moved out. For example, when I asked about changes in consumption one individual responded, “oh, God yeah,” meaning that they had to consume much more in their new home. Another responded “It’s really hard to live your values alone. So much comes from collaborating with people in an intimate [in terms of proximity] way.”

I think the difference of consumption living within a community as opposed to a single family home is important. The difference here is especially important given the worldviews and motivations of the individuals in this dissertation research. If these individuals, who are extremely motivated and have dedicated their lives to social change, find it impossible to consume sustainably living alone, it speaks to the difficulty of others less motivated to reduce their consumption without larger social change.

Increasing the Scope or Translating Up

So the big question is, how can these communities inform change on a larger level? One of the ways they are creating change is by creating smaller institutions and organizations that support their worldviews and goals. Another way is by inspiring others to also create change. However, the next step would be to create larger networks of similar organizations and institutions. These networks do exist in other areas such as in Quebec, Canada, the Basque region of Spain, and to a certain extent the Minneapolis/St. Paul area.

⁴⁷ Although not all of those members moved into traditional single family market housing. Some moved into co-housing, and one couple purchased a home through a local land trust that maintains affordable housing by maintaining ownership over the land and stipulating a re-sale price based on limited equity.

The Mondragon Corporation in the Basque region of Spain is a cooperative business group based on the values of “co-operation, participation, social responsibility, and innovation” (Mondragon 2012). “the Mondragon Cooperative Movement (MCM) is a complex of industrial, agricultural, retailing, service, housing, banking, social insurance, and schooling cooperatives linked together” (Carr 2000, 86) with “84,000 employees, 9,000 students and 85% of...industrial workers are members” (Mondragon 2012). Like other large cooperative centers, the MCM has not been negatively impacted by the global recession starting in 2008. They have been extremely successful indicating that large scale projects focused on social values can be successful. One of the downsides is that, the organization founded in 1956, is not based on strong environmental values and as such, is not environmentally sustainable. However, the success of Mondragon indicates that it is possible to create successful alternative systems.

Another major question is how to envision direct democracy at a larger level? The communities were attempting to model egalitarian practices within their community structures through the consensus decision making process. In the consensus process, every voice is important and everyone has an equal say in the decision making process⁴⁸. In addition, the community members participating in the consensus process are also changed in some way—by listening to each other, their views or perspectives. I for one, was inspired at the ability for Occupy Wall Street to have general meetings using the consensus process with hundreds of people (Meerkat Media Collective 2011). However, other democratic models do exist and may be the platform to build from.

⁴⁸ This version of consensus along with the belief that every person holds the truth comes directly from the Quakers—a connection which some community members acknowledged. I also believe that the practice of the Quaker consensus comes in part from the activities of the Movement for a New Society (MNS) in the 1970s (Cornell 2011), but I did not find community members give reference to the MNS. On the other hand in 2011 the Collectives of Collectives read Cornell’s book *Oppose and Propose!* as a study group, which is how I discovered the book.

The spokecouncil model used at large scale protests such as the WTO protests in Seattle and the FTAA protests in Québec City (Graeber 2009) work well with larger groups. As one community member reflects on her WTO experience:

Q: How would you define democracy?

There's lots of different ideas about what democracy is, so I don't mean democracy like we have right now. Direct democracy is a way to say it that works for me. And so people have control over the decisions that affect their lives. And people come together to make decisions that affect people's collective lives. And everyone participates in the process. And I think for smaller groups I think consensus is ideal... With larger groups I don't know that consensus is really always possible.

Q: So what would that look like for larger groups?

I think with the WTO protests there was the spokecouncil model that seems to work pretty well for larger groups. Where people, it's that idea where people can break up into smaller groups and can do consensus within those groups. And then you can send a person to get together with some people who are members of those other groups and they can get together and make decisions and then so I think there are ways of doing that that are non-hierarchical. And it's different than representation in the way that it typically happens where people aren't accountable to the groups that they come from. So like the people we have in government right now aren't necessarily accountable. They might take that as a personal responsibility, but the idea for me is that those people are kind of like delegates. Like they're really there to take the voice of the group forward. They are not there to make decisions for themselves. They put the group's concerns on the table and can take information back to the group. And I think that the value of

like in the northeast town hall meetings. Just having a space where everyone in a given community can get together to voice their concerns. It's time consuming and efficiency is not the primary value there. It's about participation of everybody, and creating systems that actually value people's participation.

(Veronica)

This dissertation demonstrates that intentional communities, as common property institutions, are effectively generating structures that facilitate sustainable lifestyles. These communities are basing their practices on a particular worldview that emphasizes egalitarianism, social justice, and the environment. This research shows clear connections between institutional structures and sustainable practices. As such, these communities serve as important models for additional institutions that might serve to “scale up” the institutional structures to include more people. Scaling up may include creating networks of cooperative institutions based on social and ecological values as well as experimenting with different democratic processes.

Bringing It All Together (By way of a conclusion)

Intentional Community members were able to live out their values and social critiques within a supportive environment. But more importantly the influence of the worldview on their sustainable practices was significant. Their value of egalitarianism led them to seek out ways to limit the damage done to other people and environments due to consumption.

Through their conceptualizations of nature, social justice, and their inter-relationships, Intentional Community members demonstrate the conceptualization of a sustainable lifestyle where “the environment” is context for, and an integral part of, a political project of social transformation...ultimately founded upon the principle and ideal of social justice” (Hobson

2002, 104). The conceptualization of the environment in a larger context, lies in juxtaposition to the mainstream environmental movement (or perhaps sustainability movement now)

Scholars, policy makers, NGOs, communities and individuals need to re-evaluate the role of empathy and social justice in working towards sustainability. This research demonstrates the centrality of empathy or care for others in motivating dramatic lifestyle changes toward sustainable consumption. Perhaps in light of this research we need to re-think the way we approach concepts such as “ecological citizenship” and re-frame and re-name them to be inclusive of social justice concerns.

Intentional Communities and community members are working against neoliberal efforts at privatization, “free-trade,” and efforts against democracy. Naomi Klein (1994) describes the “movement of movements” a web of local groups or coalitions of coalitions who work against “the privatization of every aspect of life, and the transformation of every activity and value into a commodity (p. 220).” These groups all share a the spirit of a “radical reclaiming of the commons, (p.220)” participatory democracy, and a globalization of hope—focused against “free-trade” and the power of corporations to dictate the terms of trade, instead focused on the power of local communities to protect their local economies and food security and for the free movement of people and ideas. These local movements work locally, individually, but converge at events—such as the WTO protests in Seattle.

Klein (1994) sees the movements of movements as taking back the commons from the grip of privatization. The members of the intentional communities are doing just that. Through commonly held housing, common gardens, collective food, taking housing off of the market, building an internet commons. Through the power of their worldviews and their experience living in community members are normalizing the commons—making obscene the idea of

privatizing resource for personal gain. And in normalizing the commons they are creating new institutions based on a worldview of egalitarianism and hope.

Rojo and Violeta may be thought of as part of two movements—the intentional communities movement as well as the “movement of movements” an international movement against neoliberalism and economic globalization. The “movement of movements” advocates for breaking down state barriers to the free movement of people and information but also for localism or protectionism of local economies, people, and environments.

As part of the movement of movements these urban intentional communities work to create new localized institutions. At the same time they are connected informally or in sympathy with other localized movements around the globe. These new institutions are local, but globally connected. The new institutions are seen as a way to create an alternative and parallel system to capitalism. Their participation within intentional communities is not just about the communities themselves, but the communities are nodes where subjects can connect with other individuals and groups working towards common goals. The interconnections at these nodes become catalysts for alternatives and social change—new cultures and new institutions.

Intentional communities are important places for individuals to learn democratic skills as well as places in which to imagine and be supported in possibilities outside of the neoliberal capitalist system. As part of the movement of movements these communities are fluid and can be associated with different definitions of success and failure than the traditional categories. It is the people, their skills, their social and activist networks that are the resource here. The community itself may not last very long due to a transitional population or having a rented house sold out from under them. Yet, they create alternatives that suit that particular group for a particular need in a particular place at a particular time. Success or failure of a given community

cannot be thought of traditionally in terms of duration. Rather, the success of a community may be determined by the actions of that community and its members.

What I find interesting and in need of future research is a potential link between beliefs about human nature and willingness to engage in significant behavior changes but also a belief in collective action. Fischer et.al. (2011) found a negative correlation between the belief in the limited ability for humans to cooperate and collective action. Rather, a negative view of human nature resulted in a belief in top-down approaches (A. Fischer et al. 2011).

In my research I did not ask about human nature directly, however, their belief systems seem to point towards a belief in human nature as empathetic and cooperative. I suspect that beliefs around human nature may directly correlate with the willingness to significantly change one's lifestyle or community structures.

Chapter 9: Protecting the Idyll But Not the Environment: Second Homes, Amenity Migration and Rural Exclusion in Washington State

By, Michell Kondo, Rebeca Rivera, and Stan Rullman Jr.

NOTICE: This is the author's version of a work accepted for publication by Elsevier. Changes resulting from the publishing process, including peer review, editing, corrections, structural formatting and other quality control mechanisms, may not be reflected in this document. Changes may have been made to this work since it was submitted for publication. The definitive version has been published *Landscape and Urban Planning* 106 (2012): 174-182.

© Elsevier B.V.

This chapter was the result of my interdisciplinary team dissertation research in Urban Ecology, an IGERT Ph.D. program at the University of Washington. Including this chapter fulfills the graduation requirement of the Urban Ecology Program.

Preface by Rebeca Rivera

I had a unique experience researching points on opposing ends of the home ownership spectrum. The central focus of this dissertation are intentional community members who owned no property on their own and shared a single family home (albeit large one) with other unrelated adults. This chapter centers on second home owners who as individuals and families own and live in more than one home. In chapter five I argued that by sharing a house, intentional community members were able to lower their ecological footprint simply because of the fact that they had less square footage per person than the American average and through sharing household goods and furniture. In this chapter on second homes in Washington State, the opposite is true. By owning and residing in two or more homes, second home owners shelter

themselves with more space per person and they have to supply two homes with furniture and goods, thus increasing their ecological footprints. Second home owners also increase their ecological footprint by traveling between their primary home and their second home by car a few hours each way, every time they move between houses.

Yet, there were similarities between the two groups. Like intentional community members many second home owners (but not all of them) expressed care for the environment and desire for community. Many second home owners saw themselves as stewards (although ineffective) of the environment by saving land in a rural area from further development. Second, many second home owners used their second homes to gain the community they didn't have around their primary homes. Many used their second homes as community gatherings spaces, frequently inviting friends and family to spend time with them. Others, followed friends to their second home community or found more like minded people in their second home community.

Introduction

Exurbia, a development typology characterized by “very-low density, amenity-seeking...residential settlement in rural areas” (Taylor, 2009, 324), is becoming common in the United States and beyond. It is occurring in post-productivist rural landscapes, in which economies center around the production and consumption of “experiences” (Hines, 2011, 2; Taylor, 2009). In fact, the conversion of agricultural, forested, and other previously undeveloped land to low-density residential construction was found to be the main form of land development in the U.S. in 2005 (Brown et al., 2005; Theobald, 2001, 2005). Despite economic recession, this type of development has continued its expansion in some parts of the U.S. (Hutyra et al., 2011; Wheeler and Beebe, 2011). Nationally, exurban areas occupy as much land as urban areas (Clark et al., 2009). But because exurbanization is often not guided by comprehensive

growth management plans and because this type of development can have profound ecological, economic, and social consequences, its unchecked expansion is causing concern.

Amenity migration refers to “the purchasing of primary or second residences in rural areas valued for their aesthetic, recreational, and other consumption-orientated use values” (McCarthy, 2008, 2). It is a key driver of exurban development in rural areas across the U.S. (McGranahan, 1999; Rasker and Hansen, 2000); this phenomenon has also been observed and studied in the U.K. (Boyle and Halfacree, 1998) and Australia (Gurran and Blakely, 2007). It has been shown that the desire to migrate to non-metropolitan areas is correlated with increased age (Wilson, 1988), so to that extent that retirement funds remain despite the recent economic recession, more conversion of amenity-rich land into residential communities could occur over the next two decades (Hansen et al., 2002; Stynes et al., 1997).

A significant factor in exurban growth is the development of occasional-use, vacation, seasonal, or second properties (hereafter referred to as second homes) (Hall and Müller, 2004; Luka, 2010; McIntyre et al., 2006). This paper builds on previous studies that recognize the contribution of second homes to exurban growth. Second homes have played a large role in bringing suburban-scale development to exurban areas (Luka, 2010). Nationally, second homes represent roughly 50% of total homes in outdoor recreation areas (Woodward and Damon, 2001). In rural areas of Washington state, second homes represent as many as 36% of all homes at the county level and as many as 98% of homes at the census tract level (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). It is important to understand the dynamics of second-home construction, not only because of the impacts on the land, but also because second-home owners are increasingly influential in land use and planning decisions in rural areas (Clendenning et al., 2005).

As a point of entry, this study focuses on amenity migration patterns and second-home development in Washington State, a place that is experiencing exurban growth. In the Seattle Metropolitan Area, transition of forested areas to low-density development is the predominant mode of land conversion (Hutyra et al., 2011; Robinson, 2005). Yet few previous studies have addressed amenity migration and second home development in the Pacific Northwest (notable exceptions include Charnley et al., 2008; Rudzitis and Streatfeild, 1993). Most existing studies have sought to quantitatively characterize exurbia as a spatial typology or assess its environmental impact (Beyers and Nelson, 2000; Hansen et al., 2002; McGranahan, 1999). In contrast, we investigate the structural and behavioral aspects of amenity migration using qualitative and spatial analysis.

Our findings are twofold. First, second-home owners are motivated in large part by a desire to be geographically isolated in an amenity-rich environment, which contributes to specific land use patterns and spatial distributions. Compared to primary homes, second homes are more often located in spatially remote areas of high ecological sensitivity. Second, second-home owners tend to support the use of regulations to restrict broader access, prevent future development, and protect their image of the rural idyll. Landscape planners in these amenity migration areas should be wary of promoting policies which primarily support newcomers' vision of the rural idyll at the potential cost of social and ecological health of existing communities and landscapes.

Amenity Migration

People move to rural areas for both economic and non-economic reasons. In the case of amenity migrants, studies have shown that non-economic "drivers" or "pull factors" are paramount (Marcouiller et al., 2002; McGranahan, 1999; Rudzitis, 1999). Natural amenities such as water bodies, temperate summers, warm winters, topographic variation, wilderness, and

outdoor recreation all increase the attractiveness of rural areas for business and residential development (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Hansen et al., 2002; McGranahan, 1999, 2008). Social and cultural factors can also be draws to rural areas (Beyers and Nelson, 2000). In North America, second homes are a common occurrence in ski towns, coastal areas, rural and inland hill or mountain areas (Nepal and Jamal, 2011).

The class dimensions of rural in-migration, and the notion of rural gentrification, have been explored largely in the U.K. (Phillips, 1993; Phillips, 2004; Smith and Phillips, 2001), but also applied in the U.S. (Darling, 2005; Ghose, 2004; Hines, 2011). Studies of exurbanization and rural gentrification have exposed processes of production and protection of a rural idyll that involve aspects of the natural environment among rural in-migrants (Cadieux, 2011; Halfacree, 1995; Smith and Phillips, 2001). For example, in Hebden Bridge in West Yorkshire, England, Smith and Phillips (2001) found in-migrants were motivated by a desire for green residential space. In the state of Texas, Friedberger (1996) found that rural gentrification was driven in part by migrants' interest in equestrianism and livestock raising as hobbies. Studies of the Rocky Mountain West have found the image of "the frontier" (Hines, 2007) plays a strong role in rural gentrification.

Conflicts over control and ownership of the landscape can arise between long-time residents who have a historical resource-extraction interest in the natural environment and in-migrants who value preservation of an idealized or mythical rural aesthetic (Charnley et al., 2008; Walker, 2003b). Increasingly, in-migrants are using their collective power to enforce their cultural preferences and protect their investments by influencing local policy decisions (Sandberg and Wekerle, 2010; Buller and Lowe, 1990; Cloke and Thrift, 1987; Ghose, 2004; Hines, 2010). For example, Ghose's (2004) study of rural gentrification in Missoula, Montana,

showed that newcomers became involved in local politics to push more restrictive land use regulations to protect their real estate investments and preserve the rural character of their new homes. Sandberg and Wekerle (2010) described rural and exurban gentrification in the Oak Ridges Moraine of Ontario, Canada, as a form of “neoliberalization of nature.” In-migrants supported legislation that essentially aestheticized the landscape, which served to promote class privilege.

Studies have shown that affluent residents in amenity-rich rural areas often believe they are better able to protect natural resources than the long-term residents who have participated in traditional resource-extraction economies (Hansen et al., 2002; Hunter et al., 2005; Smith and Krannich, 2000). Newcomers from urban areas tend to be more supportive of preservation-focused management of public lands (Beyers and Nelson, 2000; Hansen et al., 2002; Rudzitis, 1999), and tend to be attracted to areas with existing environmental protection policies (Charnley et al., 2008). In a survey of high-amenity counties in the rural West, Rudzitis (1999) found that in-migrants more strongly valued protection of federal lands than long-time residents. In a study of areas in the greater Yellowstone ecosystem, Hansen et al. (2002) found that participants in outdoor recreation and technology economies more closely aligned themselves with a philosophy of environmental conservation than participants in traditional extraction-based economies.

Exurban development in the U.S. is occurring at higher than average rates near ecologically sensitive areas (Frentz et al., 2004; Hansen et al., 2002; Knight et al., 1995; Marzluff and Bradley, 2003; Riebsame et al., 1996; Schnaiberg et al., 2002; Theobald et al., 1996). Exurban residential development means more homes, roads, and other infrastructure. Low-density, large-lot residential construction increases impervious surface area, water and resource consumption, and contamination (Arnold and Gibbons, 1996). For example, septic

systems can be a major source of nitrogen contamination in surface water (Shields et al., 2008). Road networks fragment and reduce habitat and wildlife populations, increase noise and associated stress in wildlife, decrease native biodiversity, and introduce non-native plant species (Forman and Alexander, 1998).

Introduction to the Study Area

The population of Washington State has grown rapidly over the last three decades. It is one of the 12 fastest growing states in the U.S. Washington has 29 nonmetropolitan counties (counties without urban municipalities with more than 50,000 people). Between 2000 and 2010, Washington's nonmetropolitan population grew by 15.3%, and the number of second homes increased by 45.1% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010). In 2010, seasonal homes constituted an average of 17% of all homes in these counties, and a maximum of 36% (San Juan County). At the census tract level (Skamania County), second homes were as many as 98% of homes.

Despite an in-depth literature on amenity migration in the West and the New West, the phenomena of amenity migration to exurban areas of the Pacific Northwest remains underexplored. Previous studies have shown that the transition of forested areas to low-density development is the predominant mode of land conversion in the Seattle Metropolitan Area (Hutyra et al., 2011; Robinson, 2005). Hutyra et al. (2011) found that between 1986 and 2007, low-density urban development (between 20-50% impervious surface lot coverage) increased from 7.0% to 14.6%, while forested land cover decreased from 58.9% to 38.4% in lowland areas (below 500m elevation).

Washington State contains diverse landscapes of the Pacific coastline and the Cascade Mountain range (which bisects the state longitudinally). We selected a nonmetropolitan county in each of these landscapes (San Juan and Okanogan, respectively) for targeted research based on

their status as popular vacation destinations for Seattle area residents and their high percentage of second homes. First, San Juan County (pop. 15,769 in 2010), shown in Figure 34, is also known as the San Juan Islands, and is located in the northwest corner of Washington state. It is made up of 176 named islands, totaling 175 square miles, and is famous for its shorelines, ferry access, and marine recreational opportunities.

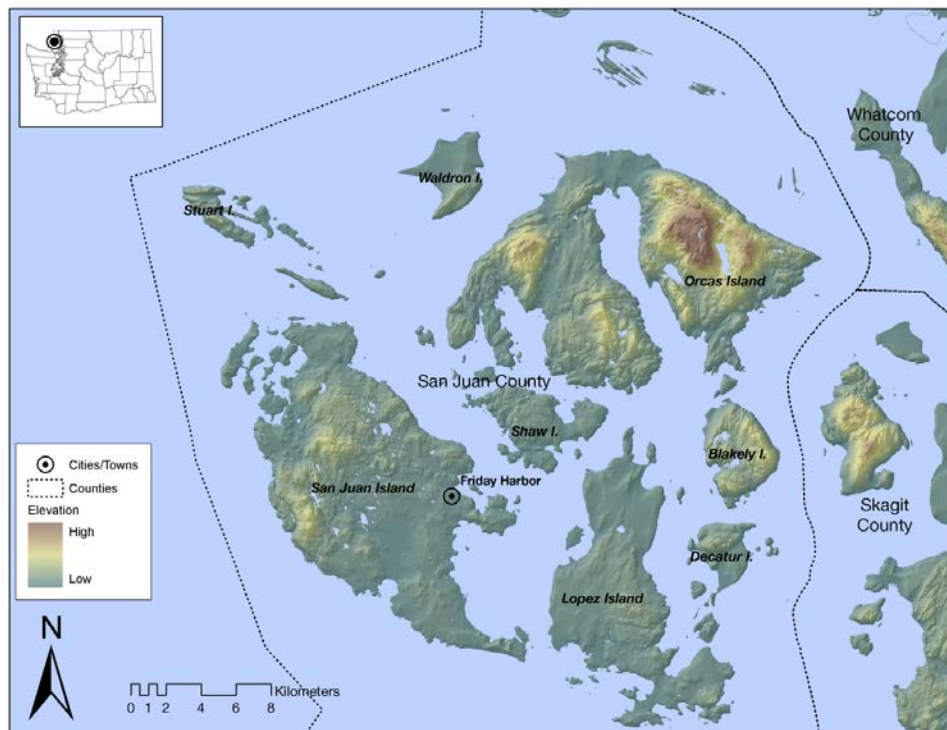


Figure 33 Map of San Juan County with regional location

Created by: Andrew Bjorn

Industries including limestone quarries, salmon canneries and farming have been in decline since the 1970s; seasonal residential use and recreational tourism now drive the area's economy (Cocheba et al., 1973). During peak tourist season, the islands' population increases by approximately 60% (San Juan County Parks Department et al., 2005). According to a survey of 262 migrants to the county by Rudzitis and Streatfeild (1993), noneconomic drivers such as

environmental quality, landscape and scenery, climate and pace of life were more significant draws than economic factors such as employment opportunities and cost of living.

San Juan County has the highest percentage of second homes of any county in Washington; the percentage of second homes grew from 20% to 36% between 1990 and 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2010). The pace and type of development in San Juan is causing major social, economic, and ecological change. For one thing, median housing value has nearly tripled in the past two decades, going from \$169,800 in 1990 to \$487,500 in 2009, compared to a 2009 estimated median of \$185,400 for the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2009). In response, four community land trusts have been formed to address the need for affordable housing and open space preservation.

The construction of second homes in sensitive natural areas is also having an ecological impact on the region (Hansen et al., 2005), for example, by depleting groundwater aquifers (San Juan County Health and Community Services, 2004) and damaging shoreline habitat. The Washington Biodiversity Project identifies human-made shoreline modifications as among the most dangerous to the Puget Trough Ecoregion, which includes San Juan County (Washington Biodiversity Project, 2007). Marine shorelines are labeled “priority habitats” by the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (2005) because of their high biological diversity and close linkages between terrestrial and marine ecosystems.

Second, Okanogan County, shown in Figure 35, is the largest county in Washington by area (5,281 square miles) and has a population of 41,120 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). It lies on the eastern side of the Cascade Mountains and borders British Columbia, Canada, to the north. Okanogan County is a popular vacation destination especially during winter months, and is recognized for its mountains, foothills, waterways, and snow-based recreational opportunities.

Traditional industries, including apple farming, livestock, mining, and timber are all in decline, giving way to seasonal tourism. The establishment of the North Cascades National Park in 1968 and construction of the North Cascades Highway in 1972, which connected Okanogan to western Washington, catalyzed a regional tourism boom.

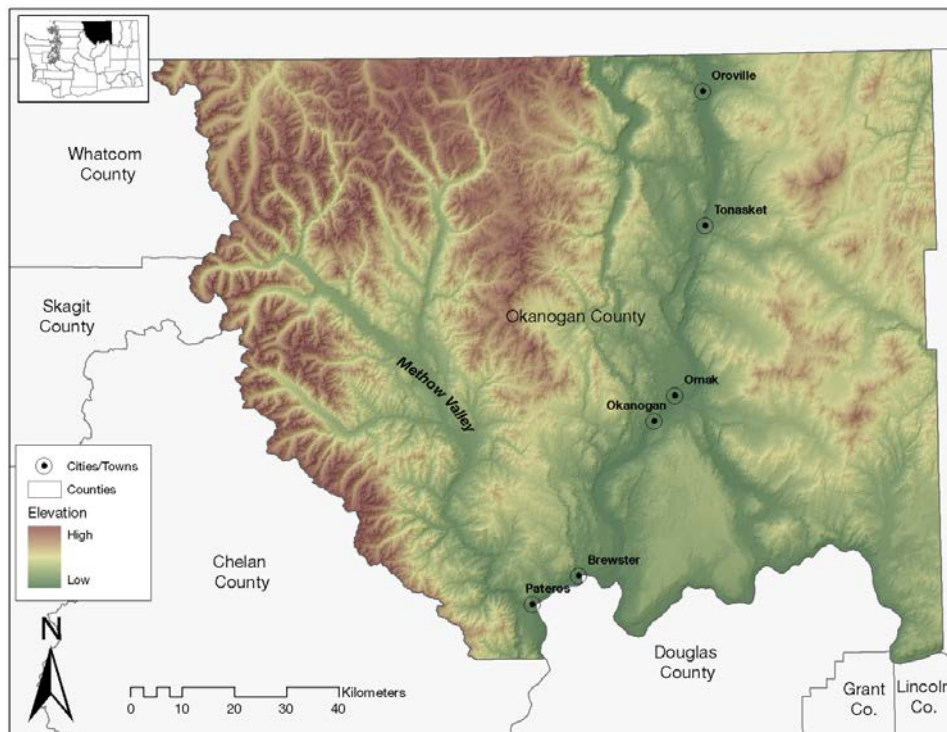


Figure 34 Map of Okanogan County with regional location

Created by: Andrew Bjorn

Today, 20% of the land in Okanogan is privately owned, and the portion of that used for second homes is growing; second-home stock increased from 12% to 18% between 2000 and 2010. Median housing value for all owner-occupied housing units in the county has more than doubled in the past two decades, increasing from \$50,600 in 1990 to \$146,800 in 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2009). According to one realtor, prices of homes near the Canadian border almost doubled from 2004 to 2005. While a boon for some, housing affordability is a growing

concern among long-time residents. The effects of development on ecologically sensitive state and federal lands in Okanogan are also a major issue. In its Comprehensive Wildlife Conservation Strategy, the state's Department of Fish and Wildlife (2005) named residential development and suburban sprawl as having significant, negative long-term effects on the Okanogan Ecoregion.

Methods and Participant Background

This study responds to calls similar to that made by Walker (2011), for interdisciplinary, mixed-method, or combined quantitative and qualitative studies of amenity migration and exurban development. Walker (2011) claimed that "that there has been little effort to integrate the ethnographic and geospatial representations" (p. 442). Our study simultaneously investigates the geographic characteristics and social patterns of second home development. First, we sought to understand the geographic characteristics of second homes, in contrast with primary homes. Specifically, we used a binomial logistic regression model to characterize the differences between primary and second homes, and ownership status served as the dependent variable. For the purpose of the spatial analysis, our unit of analysis was the parcel, for which we determined primary or secondary ownership status. To determine ownership status, we used county tax assessor databases and assumed that properties owned by individuals with tax addresses located outside of the county represented second homes or properties. (Because Washington state does not incur an income tax, there is a possibility that out-of-state owners are claiming their second homes as primary homes. However, only 10% of our sample had out-of-state tax addresses, and therefore any mis-reporting would affect less than 10% of our sample. In addition, while commercial properties such as resort hotels, or institutional amenities such as schools, might play a role in amenity migration, we eliminated commercial and institutional properties from the

sample to solely focus on residential development patterns.) We then used responses from interviews to confirm the reliability of this identification scheme. Secondary parcels did not all hold homes or buildings; some were open lots which owners would use for recreation. Total sample size was 15,876 parcels for San Juan County and 42,386 parcels for Okanogan County. While parcels were used in the spatial analysis, we refer to these parcels as second homes in the remainder of the paper.

To select independent variables we generated a preliminary list of geographical features using existing amenity indices (Deller et al., 2008; Kwang-Koo et al., 2005; McGranahan, 1999; Shellito, 2003), our knowledge of the state, and information collected from interviews (Table 6). Independent variables included attributes such as slope, adjacency to developed parcels, and the parcels' distance to a variety of physical, environmental, and social features. For each landscape variable, we used ESRI's ArcInfo software to calculate Euclidean distance from the centroid of each parcel to the nearest landscape pixel (30 x 30-foot grid cells).

Table 6 Landscape Variables for San Juan and Okanogan counties

San Juan County	Okanogan County
Parcel Area	Parcel Area
Slope	Slope
Adjacent to Development	Adjacent to Development
Ferry access	
Shoreline	
Tax Status (indicating communally-owned properties)	

Improvement Value Only (indicating parcels where only the home is owned)

Distance to:

Streams, rivers, lakes & wetlands	Major, minor streams & lakes
Urban Lands	Tribal land
Rural Lands	State land
Natural Lands	USDA-FS land
Public & Private roads	Roads (State, County and Private)
	Trails
Towns (below or above pop. 500)	Towns (pop. <1000, 1000-4000, >4000)

In addition to independent variables shared between both counties, our models also included variables that are unique to each county, such as ferry access and distance to shoreline in San Juan County. We then checked for multicollinearity in both models. Using variance inflation factor calculations for independent variables, we found trails were highly correlated with USDA-Forest Service (USDA-FS) lands in Okanogan County, so removed trails from the model. In San Juan County, we found public roads were highly correlated with private roads, so removed public roads from the model.

Spatial autocorrelation, the possibility that proximity to one another actually explained the similarities between parcels, was a potential issue in both counties. If present, spatial autocorrelation would lead to inaccurate estimates of coefficients or standard errors in our regression results (Anselin, 2003). We tested for the presence of spatial autocorrelation by generating residuals from the regression models applied to each of the two counties. For each set

of residuals, we evaluated the nature and extent of spatial clustering in our observations by using GeoDa software (Anselin, 1995) to calculate Moran's I statistic as a univariate local indicator of spatial association (LISA). The spatial weights matrix generated for each county was based on the 10 nearest neighbors to each property (Anselin, 1995). Moran's I values can range from -1 to 1; a value near 1 indicates clustering of similar attributes, and a value near -1 indicates clustering of dissimilar attributes. The Moran's I values were 0.0410 ($p=0.001$) for Okanogan County and 0.1246 ($p=0.001$) for San Juan County. Thus, there is no evidence of spatial autocorrelation in our analyses.

In addition to this quantitative data, we solicited interviews with 300 second-home owners in each county using the geographic random sample generator in ArcGIS. We requested face-to-face interviews with second home owners who lived inside the state of Washington, and phone interviews with those living outside of the state due to travel feasibility. Our response rate was approximately 18% for each county, lower than expected for a survey solicitation, but not an unreasonable response given the amount of time requested for interviews. In addition to triangulating our interview findings with findings of the spatial analysis, we increase validity of our research by using interview data not to generalize but to give context to our findings. We conducted 46 interviews of second-home owners, mostly between August 2004 and January 2005. Distribution was almost equal between the two counties, with 24 interviewees in Okanogan County and 22 interviewees in San Juan County. Fifty percent of participants had primary residences in the Seattle Metropolitan Area, while 13% to 19% (Okanogan and San Juan counties, respectively) owned primary residences outside Washington State.

Second-home owners in both of the two study counties fit the typical demographic of second-home owners across the U.S., according to the *2005 Profile of Second Home Buyers*

(Bishop et al., 2004). Participants in our study were predominantly middle-class, Caucasian, and between the ages of 41 and 76. Most were highly educated professionals; 49% held graduate degrees and in 80% of households at least one member worked in professional services or academia. It is important to note that we found that a significant number (38%) of our interviewees were attracted to their second home locations due to their own personal history with the area; they had either grown up in the area or spent vacation time there as children. While a stark difference in history with a specific rural landscape between primary and secondary home owners may not exist (Smith and Krannich, 2000), we focus on geophysical and social impacts of second home owners on the landscape.

The research team conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with second-home owners using open-ended questions and allowing room for variation in response (Bernard, 2002; Fontana and Frey, 2000). We designed interview guides based on existing literature, informal conversations, and pilot interviews with second-home owners. Interviews took approximately one hour and were conducted at a variety of locations, including second homes, primary homes, workplaces, and restaurants. Questions regarded the purchase process, features of the second home, and opinions about the surrounding community and regulations.

To further increase the validity of our research, we interviewed nine real estate agents and two county planners. Interviews with county planners focused on regional history, land use, and the phenomenon and impact of second-home development in the two counties. Interviews with realtors focused on buyer motivations, location preferences, and general trends regarding second-home purchases in the two counties.

The research team audio recorded, transcribed, and coded interviews for key themes using AtlasTI version 5 software. We developed a code set based on interview questions and common themes that emerged while conducting, transcribing, and reading the interviews.

Results

Using qualitative and quantitative analyses, we explore the conduct of second-home owners in the Pacific Northwest, and the relationship between the rural idyll, geographic isolation, and regulation.

Privacy and proximity to public land and shoreline

According to interviews with second-home owners, many regard their second home as a place to escape from people, noise, and traffic and to forget about work and professional responsibilities. The second home becomes, in a sense, a living fantasy. Some described their rural outposts as offering a “sense of place” and being a “Shangri-La.” Twenty-two percent of interviewees placed a high value on the rural character of their home, such as this San Juan County second-home owner:

One of the attributes that we also liked about it was that it’s just very rural there...you know, a big herd of sheep running through the field. We really enjoy that you feel that you have gotten a world away when you get there.

The connection to a rural idyll extends beyond the aesthetic to the social aspects of life in an isolated community. Second-home owners described being able to enjoy a “safe” environment, leave their doors unlocked, allow children to roam without danger, and trust neighbors to check in on one another’s homes. They discussed the value of a “country life” and fondness for “country people.”

I found myself wanting to find a way to live there...I've always grown up in the city, [but out there] the pace is slower and the people are wonderful.

(Okanogan County second-home owner)

The islands tend to have people that are outgoing...They like their privacy, but there's friendliness and there's a rapport that you don't find downtown.

(San Juan County participant)

Central to the concept of a rural idyll was the desire for privacy and isolation. Forty-six percent of participants mentioned finding privacy or peace and quiet as a primary purchase goal. As illustrated by the following quotes, for most participants, privacy meant they could be unaware of other people when at home.

We wanted a fair amount of land. So that you have a lot of privacy.

(Okanogan County participant)

We don't have a neighbor that we can hear. And there's thick forest. And we're off the beaten track. It's the peacefulness, it's the ambience.

(San Juan County participant)

The statistical results shown in Table 7 and Table 8 support the contention that the preferences stated above are also reflected in landscape patterns in both study areas; second homes do tend to be more geographically isolated than primary homes. In Okanogan County, all but three variables (distance to larger towns, distance to rivers, and slope) were statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). According to our model, second homes are more likely to be located closer to National forest land, and less likely to be located adjacent to other developed properties. In addition, according to our model results and supported by the histogram in Figure 36 Histogram

comparing distances of primary and second homes to private roads., second homes are more likely to be farther from highways and county roads, and closer to small private roads than primary homes.

Table 7 Odds Ratios and Significance for Variables in the Okanogan County Model

Okanogan Variable	Odds Ratio	Beta
		Coefficient¹
Parcel Area	1.018	.000
Slope	1.010	-.010
Adjacent to Development	.544	-.608*
Distance to:		
Tribal Land	1.018	-.018*
USDA-FS Land	.950	.052*
State Land	1.047	-.046*
Towns < 1000	1.017	-.017*
Towns 1000–4000	1.033	-.032*
Towns > 4000	1.002	-.002
Highways	1.072	-.072*
County Roads	2.140	-.761*
Private Roads	.348	.706*
Small Lakes	1.095	-.091*
Rivers	.999	.001

* $p < 0.01$

(1) A positive beta coefficient indicates that second homes are more likely to be closer to the feature, and are more likely to have positive association with these factor variables

Table 8 Odds Ratios and Significance for Variables in the San Juan County Model

San Juan Variable	Odds Ratio	Beta
--------------------------	-------------------	-------------

	Coefficient¹	
Parcel Area	1.000	.000
Slope	1.043	-.042*
Ferry Access	0.184	-1.691*
On Shoreline	2.169	.774*
Adjacent to development	0.415	-.881*
Distance to:		
Urban Lands	.983	.017
Rural Lands	.916	.087
Natural Lands	1.040	-.039
Towns < 500	1.035	-.035
Towns > 500	.935	.067*
Private Roads	1.278	-.245*
Shoreline	.948	.053
Lakes	.931	.071
Streams	.852	.160

* $p < 0.01$

(1) A positive beta coefficient indicates that second homes are more likely to be closer to the feature, and are more likely to have positive association with these factor variables

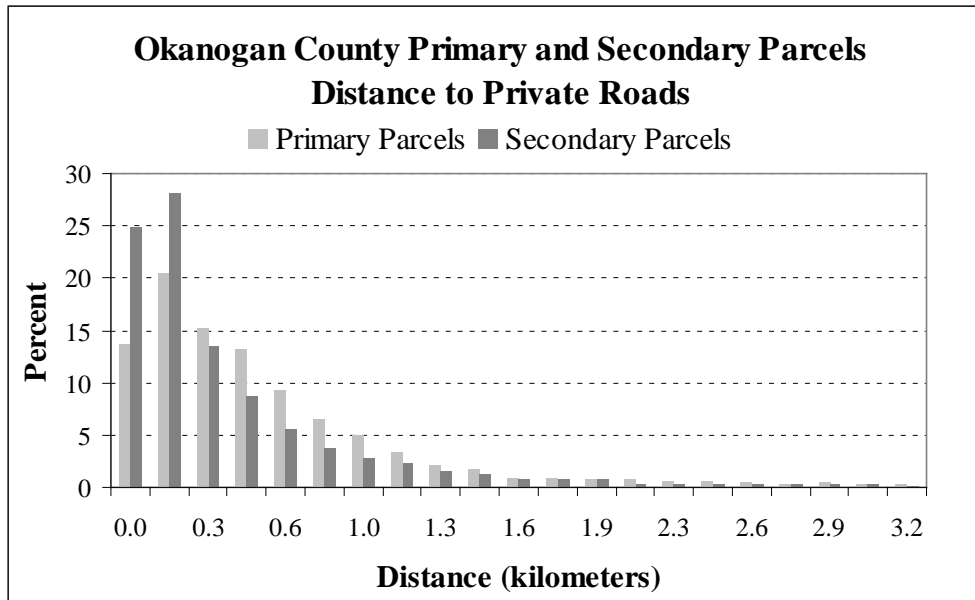


Figure 35 Histogram comparing distances of primary and second homes to private roads.

The same patterns hold true for second homes in San Juan County. Table 8 shows that there are six significant proximity variables in San Juan County: second homes are more likely than primary homes to be located on the shoreline, adjacent to undeveloped lands, away from roadways, and on islands without ferry access. Second homes in this county do tend to be closer to one of two towns with a population above 500 people that can cater to the material desires of amenity migrants.

It is important to note that there was not a statistically significant difference between primary and secondary parcel area. While secondary parcels tend to be more geographically isolated than primary parcels, they are not necessarily larger. In San Juan average parcel size for primary homes is 5.1 acres, and 5.2 acres for second homes. In Okanogon county, average parcel size for primary homes is 18.8 acres, and 18.9 acres for second homes.

By integrating our quantitative data and interviews, we found a strong relationship between the desire for privacy and proximity to non-developable or public land. In Okanogon

County, undeveloped land primarily takes the form of public forests; 70% of land is protected state or national forest. Roughly 50% of second homes in Okanogan County are located within 2.4 kilometers of United States Forest Service land. This finding indicates that second homes are significant contributors to the larger patterns of high rates of development near protected areas in the U.S. (Radeloff et al., 2010). In San Juan County, a much smaller percentage of land is publicly protected, but the surrounding water and shoreline can be considered comparable in that they are non-developable and present recreational opportunities. Several Okanogan participants commented on the value of owning property adjacent to non-developable land:

I wanted nature...something where you don't have anybody really close to you, something private, where you can just lay-back and enjoy the trees... And that was the appeal here because even in the future there won't be anybody to build close...because on one side it's national forest and on the back side it's sheer cliffs.

Privacy is not [being] close to neighbors [and] the ability to access large tracts of undeveloped land.

Regulation and the paradox of amenity migration

The high value second-home owners place on isolation and proximity to undeveloped land is associated with the related desires to limit access and restrict future growth. Geographic isolation somewhat protects rural idylls from population influx, their distance from cities serving as a kind of invisible fence. In San Juan, the ferry ride provided this desired barrier:

We realized that a water barrier was a significant barrier to the kinds of dramatic transformations that are probably going on in the Okanogan and that area...in a sense, Lopez Island is a kind of gated community.

Our initial annoyance with the vagaries of the ferry system have changed;...The difficulty of access is key to preserving the spirit...it certainly is a factor in creating a sense of isolation.

Moreover, most interview participants perceived land regulations such as zoning rules, lot size restrictions, and conservation easements as beneficial to maintaining the character of these second home landscapes. Only 7% of respondents said land regulations were intrusive. Sixty-two percent were satisfied with the current level of regulation. In Okanogan county, and the Methow Valley in particular, second-home owners were particularly concerned about the maintenance of a minimum lot-size ordinance (5-acres in lower elevations and 20-acres in higher elevations). In early 2011, the County released a draft plan that would reduce the valley-floor minimum lot size to one acre. An article in *The Wenatchee World* dated February 23, 2011, titled “Methow split over valley development: Five-hour meeting draws crowd of 400 to debate land plan,” reported on a contentious public meeting about the proposal, and the divide between “residents” and “King County transplants”. According to the article,

Some people said allowing landowners to split the lower Methow Valley into 1-acre lots will ruin the gateway to one of the few unspoiled destination resort areas left in the West. Other residents said there are enough regulations on property, and forcing a 5-acre minimum lot per house — and 20-acre parcels in higher elevations — is an idea only King County transplants support.

Study participants who owned second homes in the Methow Valley described the importance of the 5-acre minimum lot size regulation. For example, one owner stated that:

Part of the reason we bought up there is because of the regulations they put in place...I knew that the valley floor had a 5 acre

minimum for subdivision...The... ultimate density was limited for the area up there, and that was an attraction.

Another form of land regulation that our participants supported was conservation easements or land trusts. Both counties used conservation easements to limit further development and thereby conserve habitat. Many of our participants viewed conservation easements as a means to preserve their sense of privacy and isolation. One San Juan participant said he welcomed the development restrictions on his property:

We value the opportunity to protect that 7.5 acres from further development, and just be able to go there and have peace and quiet and enjoy the nature.

Others, such as the following Okanogan participant, emphasized conservation easements as a means to preserve the ecological function of their property:

There's definitely a sense of stewardship over the land that we own... This conservation easement stuff ...we take it really seriously; we're very, very involved with wanting to bring back riparian habitat and the natural plants to the area.

However, participants were most vocal about their support of the use of regulation to preserve their ideal development aesthetic. In San Juan and Okanogan counties, the aesthetic among second-home owners explicitly shuns displays of both conspicuous wealth and conspicuous poverty and is centered around an idealized image of the American middle-class. Thirty-six percent of owners interviewed in Okanogan's Methow Valley said they did not like the conspicuous ridgeline homes, or "eye-sores," now surrounding the valley. As one Okanogan County participant stated, "Nobody wants to see the area 'Aspenized'." Likewise, 32% of San Juan interviewees said they did not like the large estates cropping up throughout the islands.

At the same time, second-home owners in the Okanogan Valley said they did not like seeing trailers and junk in yards or some of the purely functional (rather than picturesque) forms of local development. Forty percent said they wanted regulations to be enforced against visual clutter or environmental disamenities as described by Bryson and Wyckoff (2010). For example, one Okanogan participant stated:

A lot of abandoned vehicles, abandoned trailers. Scenic views and personal garbage piles...They're putting up all these metal sheds and buildings, you don't get any more picturesque barns.

Many participants, such as the following Okanogan participant, stated that regulations guiding new development should correspond to their aesthetic and cultural sensibilities:

I would like development to be aesthetically correct, which would be sort of the antithesis of NASCAR. I wouldn't want to see a NASCAR track in the Methow Valley. If there is development, I would like to see it aesthetically pleasing.

Discussion

In this chapter, we studied the consumption practices of second-home owners and amenity migrants in Washington's San Juan and Okanogan counties. Second home development is occurring in post-productivist rural landscapes that have undergone a transition from resource-based to recreational-based economies (Taylor, 2009; Woods, 2005). Nature, and representations of nature, play a fundamental role in this new rural economic paradigm. As Walker (2003a) argues, "aesthetic environmental ideologies are... at the core of a new kind of capitalism" especially in the 'New West'.

First, our study reveals environmental implications of the geographic patterns of second home development. Development along the fragile shorelines of San Juan and near the protected

forests in Okanogan has been increasing over the last three decades. Second homes in the Pacific Northwest therefore contribute to the high rates of development occurring near protected areas at the national scale (Radeloff et al., 2010). Between 1940 and 2000, Radelhoff et al. (2010) found that within 50 km of protected areas in the U.S. (national forests, parks, and wilderness areas), housing units increased by 20% per decade, compared to a national average of 13%. The fastest increases were within 1 km of National forest land, which is a dominant land use in the Okanogan county study area. In essence, this pattern contributes to a “Noah’s Ark” effect, where islands of biodiversity are increasingly isolated, fragmented and at risk from surrounding development and use. While many urban in-migrants are concerned about extractive uses in these threatened landscapes, Radelhoff et al. (2010) argued that “housing growth poses the main threat to protected areas in the United States whereas deforestation is the main threat in developing countries” (p. 940). Our research shows that second homes may be significant contributors to this trend, which has important ecological implications for increasingly isolated islands of biodiversity. Potential environmental impacts include groundwater depletion, water and soil contamination, erosion of natural habitats, and the introduction of non-native species. Second-home ownership can increase an individual’s carbon footprint from travel, building material, infrastructure requirements, and property maintenance.

Second, nature played a strong role in second-home owners’ vision of the rural idyll, for which they had the cultural, political, and economic capital to force to the top of the public agenda. Participants in this study subscribe to a common ideology that values land management and state regulation. One explanation of second-home owners’ actions is their motivation to keep the landscape as it was at the moment of purchase, which has been referred to as the “last settler syndrome” (Nielsen et al., 1977). This phenomenon could also be viewed as a form of

NIMBYism, where land use policies and decisions have become an area of activism for environmental concerns (Michaud et al., 2008).

In our study, participants stated support for the use of lot-size zoning regulations, conservation easements and land trusts to keep land from being developed, in order to preserve their sense of privacy and isolation, to protect the environment, and to avoid or reduce environmental disamenities. Second-home owners are becoming increasingly involved in local decision making over land use in rural areas, and the involvement of these in-migrants in environmental causes underscores their status and privilege (Sandberg and Wekerle, 2010; Cloke and Thrift, 1987; Ghose, 2004).

The unique development patterns and processes in each case study area provide different implications for policy and planning. For example, in Okanogan County, to mitigate for ecological consequences of second-home development, planners should also be aware of the increased instances of small private roads serving parcels, and place stricter regulations on the development of such roads. Preventing the ‘Noah’s Ark’ effect (Radeloff et al., 2010) would require maintenance of habitat value and connectivity even outside of protected areas such as National Forest Service land. In addition, in light of our findings regarding second-home owners’ value for geographic isolation especially in Okanogan county, a common tool of cluster development zoning (Abbey, 1973) may not be feasible.

Yet, planners and policy makers should be wary of promoting policies which primarily support newcomers’ vision of the rural idyll at the potential cost of social or ecological health of existing communities and landscapes. Reducing the supply of parcels for purchase or development may have the unintended consequence of raising property values and rents, and care must be taken to assess and mitigate for the social impacts of land use policy decisions. In

both counties, the social consequences of amenity migration are paramount. To mitigate for social consequences of second-home development, such as increased housing costs, planners could use impact fees to support affordable housing initiatives such as community land trusts. Future studies are needed to investigate more specific social and ecological impacts using policy-relevant measures.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The month I finished this dissertation, David Suzuki, a well-known environmental advocate, wrote an article where he claimed “environmentalism has failed” and, like many other environmentalists, calls for a “paradigm shift” which adopts a “biocentric” view (Suzuki 2012). However, I would argue that we have already adopted a biocentric view since 61% to 71% of Americans are either participating in or sympathetic towards the environmental movement (Riley E. Dunlap 2010). What my research demonstrates is that simply adopting a biocentric view is not sufficient without also looking critically at the systems in which we operate.

For example, we have a society that prioritizes growth, consumption, and the acquisition of wealth. Solutions such as efficiency in production and consumption of energy efficient products (like refrigerators or electric cars) are solutions which operate the current consumerist system. The question shouldn't be “What kind of car is better for the environment?” rather the question should be “What kind of transportation system or built environment would be sustainable?” The former question demonstrates a care for the environment, but through solutions based on consumerism and individual responsibility. The latter question also demonstrates a care for the environment, but thinks critically about changing the structures we operate in—in this case the built environment and systems of provision for transportation.

The question of “What kind of car is better for the environment?” general is getting at the question of fuel efficiency, but doesn't ask about all of the other social and environmental impacts of production. What my research demonstrates is that looking at the web of environmental and social impacts, and making connections between them is a vital step in creating more sustainable lifestyles. First, because acknowledging those connections leads to a

more holistic understanding of the problems facing us. Second, empathizing with the plight of other people affected by the environmental and social impacts of car production and use may be the most significant motivation for change.

The community members participating in this dissertation research were motivated by an empathy for both other people and the environment. And while the environment was an underlying and constant concern for all of them, it was other people that motivated their activism. I was initially surprised by this finding, but I shouldn't have been. After all, it was a concern for social justice that motivated me to pursue this research in the first place. I was concerned about the environment, but I was more concerned about the impact that U.S. consumption had on other people—both in this country and around the world.

Towards an Ethic of Care

Given the connections between social and environmental problems, as well as importance of social justice as motivators for adopting sustainable practices, a focus on the “ecological” or “environment” seems inappropriate and does not address underlying causes of environmental problems.

As environmental justice scholars and activists demonstrate, our social and environmental impacts are linked (Robert Doyle Bullard 2000; W. Rees 2000; Agyeman, Bullard, and Evans 2003; W. E. Rees and Westra 2003; Robert Doyle Bullard 2005). Given the connection between social injustice and environmental ills, as well as my dissertation results, I believe that in order to attempt to solve our problems we need to shift from the rhetoric around environmentalism to something else. One option may be to shift to an ethic of care.

An ethic of care would be a practice of ensuring decisions based on empathy for and solidarity with others. Creating institutions and systems based on an ethic of care would lead to

a more sustainable society since the focus would change from profit to ensuring the needs and security of other people and the ecosystems they (we) depend on.

However, an ethic of care runs into direct conflict with the neo-liberal priorities of today's political climate. Since the late 1970s and early 1980s the neo-liberal agenda has been in part about eliminating social services, a form of care, from government responsibility. This is exemplified by Margaret Thatcher's statement that there was "no such thing as society, only individual men and women" thereby negating human interdependency on others.

Contrary to the neo-liberal ideology, the community members participating in this dissertation research demonstrated a link between an ideology of care (through egalitarianism, social justice, and solidarity) and sustainable practices. Likewise Democrats are more actively involved in the environmental movement than Republicans. While more research is needed, it seems likely that there might be a correlation between the belief in interdependencies between people and environmental action. A belief in human interdependencies may also translate into beliefs about human nature.

Human Nature

Social research demonstrates that humans are naturally cooperative and empathetic (Bowles and Gintis 2011; Gordon and Siegel 2009; Nowak and Highfield 2011), this runs in opposition to the dominate view of human nature as selfish, self-interested, and greedy. Cooperation and empathy may be the traits we need to become more sustainable.

There may be links between our beliefs about human nature and our beliefs about our ability to solve problems. Fisher et al (2011) found that people's beliefs about human nature are correlated with their beliefs about how to solve environmental problems and bring about social change. Those individuals with negative views about human behavior, such as a belief that

people were inherently selfish, did not believe collective action could be a solution to environmental problems.

I think this finding has important implications. If the connection between beliefs in human nature and beliefs in potential solutions are true, then beliefs about human nature may also be connected to an individual's political ideology and motivations for action. I did not incorporate questions of human nature into my dissertation, although given the worldviews of community members I suspect they might say that human nature is cooperative. Community members did believe in the power of collective action, thus there may be a connection within these communities between cooperative beliefs about human nature and the belief that people can effectively work together.

However, within the dominant culture people may believe that human nature is selfish and greedy—a problem for collective action. More research is needed to understand any correlation between beliefs in human nature and beliefs in solutions. However, my research indicates that collective action is necessary for the adoption of more sustainable lifestyles which may also be dependent on positive views of human nature.

Collective(ness)

I think the phrase “Be the change we want to see” is more appropriate than the current phrase “Be the change you want to see.” What my own research has taught me is that to influence social change, there has to be a “we.” Mainstream views on sustainable consumption begin and end with the idea that if people knew the environmental impacts of their behavior they would change them... individually. This is reflected in the popular phrase “be the change you want to see,” that we, individually are responsible for change. However, it's not that easy. For example, in academia there is an expectation that you go to conferences, resulting in conferences

on climate change where everyone has flown in—each individual flight results in the maximum annual sustainable CO₂ emissions per person. One person can't change the practice of conferences; it takes changes to the institutional, economic, social, and personal expectations around conference participation.

My dissertation covers the multiple strategies that allowed these communities to lead more sustainable lifestyles through the “we” instead of the “I.” Within all the strategies are the play between structure and agency—where agents collectively create structures which in turn create further avenues and constraints for agency.

Practice Theory is useful in understanding relationships between individuals, social groups or collectivities, and social structures in creating more sustainable practices and institutions. I think what's vital for practice theory in general is to deconstruct the individual vs. society dichotomy—which practice theorists have tried to do. However, what's more helpful is to think of social relationships, agency, and structure, on a continuum. The focus should not on the individual at one end of the spectrum and structure on the other end. Rather, in between are all kinds of social collectivities that together create structures and trajectories of agency. That social change at any level is not created by one individual, but by a collaborative and contested process which generates new evolving structures be they habitus, cultural capital, or institutional arrangements.

If collectivities are required for social change, especially towards sustainability, then in part the answer for sustainability may really be community. When I was conducting interviews with intentional community members I asked them what it would take to achieve a sustainable society. Many community members answered that sustainability required building community.

The importance of community is complex, related to our interdependencies on one another, our need to create and follow social norms, and our need to work together for change.

Building community with underlying values of environmentalism, social justice, and a belief in questioning our current practices, may be the key to increasing sustainable practices in general. Building community in this way can encourage people to talk about how social norms and institutions might change, or how we might change them together.

Promoting Cooperatives & Sustainable Lifestyles

However, simply working together is not enough. The larger institutional structures and systems matter. Certain policies, laws, and practices can help or hinder collective projects including intentional communities, community actions, and cooperative businesses. There are ways to facilitate collective projects through governmental support. For example,

- More options and unique regulations for community land trusts or community owned housing in order to facilitate their growth.
- Laws that protect cooperative “capital” for cooperatives. For example in the United States there is incentive for cooperatives to sell their business and split the profit, whereas in other areas, like Italy, if a cooperative sells, the proceeds would not go to the individual members but would have to go to another cooperative.
- Better ability to create community banking systems, such as the savings and loans a form of financial cooperative that collapsed in the 1980s due to loss of regulatory control (Magnuson 2008, 155).
- Regulations that facilitate true green building (cob and straw bale), right now it’s nearly impossible to build within the city limits.
- Providing support and incentives for the creation of worker cooperatives.

Re-Thinking What Is Possible

While not everyone has the ability or desire to live in such close proximity as these community members do, the overall lessons learned here can be applied to the larger society. The first lesson is that social justice matters; people matter. A second lesson is that change happens collectively. One person has limited ability to make changes to their lifestyle, there are institutional, geographic, and social hurdles. Sustainable consumption has to begin with collective changes. A third lesson is that we need creative solutions or a collective re-thinking of what is possible. Why not do something completely different? Intentional communities support alternative and creating thinking about solutions. Re-thinking what is possible is vital in the creation of sustainable cultural capital and new institutions based on new (and collective values).

Next Steps

Intentional community members in these case studies were able to create a sustainable bubble inside of a capitalist and consumerist economy. However, the communities are not set up for all people—especially for families. It is difficult for most families with children to continue to live in communities such as these. For families who want to live in community, but who would also like more privacy and autonomy, there are not a lot of options. Currently, the main option is co-housing (or ecovillages using a co-housing model)—clustered privately owned homes with collectively owned land and community buildings⁴⁹. In part due to restrictions by lenders which require market rate housing and single family ownership co-housing depends on market based housing—which makes housing a commodity and in desirable areas doesn't maintain an affordable housing stock. While co-housing communities seek to minimize their ecological impact it “fails to challenge the model of capitalism that suggests that continuous

⁴⁹ Some community members describe co-housing as “community-light.”

economic growth is a sustainable way to address the problem of resource depletion and tremendous waste generation” (Chitewere 2006, 319). Co-housing is only affordable to those who can afford it.

I’ve been talking with other families who have moved out of community and are seeking other options. We’ve been talking about creating another model. One that might bring together the co-housing model around the notion of creating more dependence on neighbors, with a model of home ownership based on limited equity and long-term affordability—as is the model for the burgeoning community land trust movement in the United States.

Also needed are alternative funding sources outside of the traditional banking system. Two models in particular seem well suited. The first is the shared savings with no interest loans similar to what Rojo has created with their social justice fund. The second is the savings and loan model that was prominent in the early 19th century, but has since been marginalized as an option for various reasons including the fact that they are no longer insured (Magnuson 2008).

However, having more socially just and sustainable housing is only one piece of the puzzle. We also need to create places for ourselves to work, or more specifically to produce.

I was speaking with my friend and fellow cooperator Webster Walker who is also responsible for founding Supporting Local Independent Cooperatives Everywhere (SLICE) and constant work to promote cooperative development. He talked about the need to work on more producer cooperatives, not just consuming cooperatives, but that these producer cooperatives need to incorporate care of the environment and a more significant community component within their cooperative values. This is similar to Carr’s argument regarding the Mondragon Corporation (Carr 2000) and Magnuson’s argument for community cooperatives (Magnuson 2008) within a mindful economy.

The next step is to bring together elements of a community oriented collective economy in building alternative housing, funding sources, educational institutions, and producer and consumer cooperatives in our local areas similar to the “cooperative hubs” of Québec and the Basque region of Spain (Mondragon).

References

- Abbey, D.G., 1973. *Cluster zoning : a citizen's handbook for better land use*, Harvard University, Regional Field Service, Cambridge, Mass.
- Abowd, Paul. 2012. "Michigan's Hostile Takeover." *Mother Jones*.
<http://motherjones.com/politics/2012/02/michigan-emergency-manager-pontiac-detroit>.
- Acheson, James M. 2006. "Institutional Failure in Resource Management." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35: 117–134.
- Agrawal, Arun. 2002. "Common Resources and Institutional Sustainability." In *The Drama of the Commons*, ed. Elinor Ostrom, Thomas Dietz, Nives Dolšak, Paul C. Stern, Susan Stonich, and Elke U. Weber, 41–85. National Academy Press.
- Agyeman, Julian, Robert D. Bullard, and Bob Evans, eds. 2003. *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Albert, Michael, and Robin Hahnel. 1991. *The Political Economy of Participatory Economics*. Princeton University Press.
- Alberti, Marina, John M. Marzluff, Eric Shulenberger, Gordon Bradley, Clare Ryan, and Craig Zumbrunnen. 2003. "Integrating Humans into Ecology: Opportunities and Challenges for Studying Urban Ecosystems." *BioScience* 53 (12): 1169–1179.
- Anders, J. 1990. *Beyond Counterculture: The Community of Mateel*. Pullman: Washington State University.
- Anselin, L., 1995. Local Indicators of Spatial Association -- LISA. *Geogr Anal.* 27, 93.
- Anselin, L., 2003. *GeoDa™ 0.9 User's Guide*, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, Center for Spatially Integrated Social Science.
- Appadurai, A. 1986. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai. Cambridge.
- Arnold, Chester L., and C. James Gibbons. 1996. "Impervious Surface Coverage: The Emergence of a Key Environmental Indicator." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62 (2): 243–258. doi:10.1080/01944369608975688.
- Baland, J.M., and J.P. Platteau. 1996. *Halting Degradation of Natural Resources: Is There a Role for Rural Communities?* Oxford: FAO and Clarendon Press.

- Barbrook, Richard. 2007. "The Hi-Tech Gift Economy." *First Monday* 3 (12).
<http://frodo.lib.uic.edu/ojsjournals/index.php/fm/article/view/631>.
- Baudrillard, Jean. 1981. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. St. Louis: Telos Press Publishing.
- Beavan, Colin. 2009. *No Impact Man: The Adventures of A Guilty Liberal Who Attempts to Save the Planet and the Discoveries He Makes About Himself and Our Way of Life In the Process*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Berkes, F., D. Feeny, B. J. McCay, and J. M. Acheson. 1989. "The Benefits of the Commons" 340 (6229): 91–93. doi:10.1038/340091a0.
- Berkes, Fikret. 1985. "The Common Property Resource Problem and the Creation of Limited Property Rights." *Human Ecology* 13 (2): 187–208. doi:10.1007/BF01531095.
- Berkes, Fikret, and Iain J. Davidson-Hunt. 2010. "Innovating Through Commons Use: Community-Based Enterprises." *International Journal of the Commons* 4 (1): 1–7.
- Berkes, Fikret. 1999. *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*. Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis.
- Bernard, H.R., 2002. *Research methods in anthropology : qualitative and quantitative methods*, AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.
- Beyers, W., Nelson, P.B., 2000. Contemporary Development Forces in the Nonmetropolitan West: New Insights From Rapidly Growing Communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 16, 459-474.
- Bishop, P.C., Beers, T.M., Hightower, S.D., National Association of Realtors. Research Division., 2004. The National Association of Realtors profile of second-home buyers, in: The National Association of Realtors profile of second-home buyers, National Association of Realtors, Research Division, Chicago, IL.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 2005. *The Social Structures Of The Economy*. Polity.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. 2011. *A Cooperative Species: Human Reciprocity and Its Evolution*. Princeton University Press.
- Boyle, D. 1993. "What Is New Economics?" London: New Economics Foundation.

- Boyle, P., Halfacree, K., 1998. *Migration into rural areas: Theories and issues*, Wiley, Chichester, UK.
- Bromley, Daniel W. 1991. *Environment and Economy: Property Rights and Public Policy*. Blackwell Pub.
- Bromley, Daniel W., and David Feeny. 1992. *Making the Commons Work: Theory, Practice, and Policy*. ICS Press.
- Bromley, David. 1992. "The Commons, Property, and Common-Property Regimes." In *Making the Commons Work*, ed. Daniel Bromley, David Feeny, Margaret A. McKean, Pauline Peters, Jere L. Gilles, Ronald J. Oakerson, C. Ford Runge, and James T. Thomson, 3–16. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies.
- Brown, D.G., Johnson, K.M., Loveland, T.R., Theobald, D.M., 2005. Rural Land-Use Trends in the Conterminous United States, 1950-2000. *Ecological Applications*. 15, 1851-1863.
- Brown, Paul M., and Linda D. Cameron. 2000. "What Can Be Done to Reduce Overconsumption?" *Ecological Economics* 32 (1): 27–41.
- Brown, Susan Love. 2002. "Introduction." In *Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*, ed. Susan Love Brown, 1–15. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bryson, J., Wyckoff, W., 2010. Rural gentrification and nature in the Old and New Wests. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 27, 53-75.
- Bullard, Robert D. 1993. "Introduction." In *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*, ed. Robert D Bullard, 7–13. Boston: South End Press.
- Bullard, Robert Doyle. 2000. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Third ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Bullard, Robert Doyle, ed. 2005. *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books.
- Buller, H., Lowe, P., 1990. Rural development in post-war Britain and France, in: Lowe, P., Bodiguel, M. (Eds.), *Rural Studies in Britain and France*. Belhaven Press, London, pp. 21-36.
- Butchart, Stuart H. M., Matt Walpole, Ben Collen, Arco van Strien, Jörn P. W. Scharlemann, Rosamunde E. A. Almond, Jonathan E. M. Baillie, et al. 2010. "Global Biodiversity: Indicators of Recent Declines." *Science* 328 (5982) (May 28): 1164 –1168. doi:10.1126/science.1187512.

- Carr, Michael. 2000. "Social Capital, Civil Society, and Social Transformation." In *Fatal: Consumption: Rethinking Sustainable Development*, ed. Robert F Woollard and Aleck S Ostry, 69–97. UBC Press: Vancouver.
- Cadieux, K., 2011. Competing discourses of nature in exurbia. *GeoJournal*. 76, 341-363.
- Charnley, S., McLain, R., Donoghue, E., 2008. Forest Management Policy, Amenity Migration, and Community Well-Being in the American West: Reflections from the Northwest Forest Plan. *Human Ecology*. 36, 743-761.
- Chitewere, Tendai. 2006. "Constructing a Green Lifestyle: Consumption and Environmentalism in an Ecovillage". Ph.D., United States -- New York: State University of New York at Binghamton.
- Chomsky, Noam, and Barry Pateman. 2005. *Chomsky on Anarchism*. AK Press.
- Clark, J.K., McChesney, R., Munroe, D.K., Irwin, E.G., 2009. Spatial characteristics of exurban settlement pattern in the United States. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 90, 178-188.
- Clendenning, G., Field, D., Kapp, K., 2005. A Comparison of Seasonal Homeowners and Permanent Residents on their Attitudes Toward Wildlife Management on Public Lands. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*. 10, 3-18.
- Cloke, P., Thrift, N., 1987. Intra-class conflict in rural areas. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 3, 321-333.
- Coates, John, and Terry Leahy. 2006. "Ideology and Politics: Essential Factors in the Path Toward Sustainability." *Electronic Green Journal* (23).
<http://offcampus.lib.washington.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=21177604&site=ehost-live>.
- Cocheba, D.J., Loomis, R.A., Weeks, E.E., 1973. The Land Market and Economic Development: A Case Study of San Juan County, Washington.
- Corbett, Charles J., and Richard P. Turco. 2006. *Sustainability in the Motion Picture Industry*. Contractor's Report to the Board. Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles Institute of the Environment.
http://www.environment.ucla.edu/media/files/mpis_report.pdf.
- Cornell, Chris. 2011. *Oppose and Propose!: Lessons from a Movement for a New Society*. Oakland: AKk Press.
- Daly, Herman E. 1994. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*. 2nd ed., updated and expanded. Boston: Beacon Press.

- . 2005. “Economics in a Full World.” *Scientific American* 293 (3).
- Darling, E., 2005. The city in the country: wilderness gentrification and the rent gap. *Environment and Planning A*. 37, 1015-1032.
- Davis, Steven J, and Ken Caldeira. 2010. “Consumption-based Accounting of CO2 Emissions.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107 (12): 5687–5692. doi:10.1073/pnas.0906974107.
- Day, Richard J.F. 2005. *Gramsci Is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.
- Deller, S.C., Lledo, V., Marcouiller, D.W., 2008. Modeling Regional Economic Growth with a Focus on Amenities. *Review of Urban & Regional Development Studies*. 20, 1-21.
- Department of Energy and Climate Change. 2011. *UK Climate Change Sustainable Development Indicator: 2009 Greenhouse Gas Emissions, Final Figures*. Statistical Release. United Kingdom.
- Dietz, Thomas, Nives Dolšak, Elinor Ostrom, and Paul C. Stern. 2002. “The Drama of the Commons.” In *The Drama of the Commons*, ed. Elinor Ostrom, Thomas Dietz, Nives Dolšak, Paul C. Stern, Susan Stonich, and Elke U. Weber, 3–35. Committee on the Human Dimensions of Global Change. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Dinda, Soumyananda. 2004. “Environmental Kuznets Curve Hypothesis: A Survey.” *Ecological Economics* 49 (4) (August 1): 431–455. doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2004.02.011.
- Douglas, Mary, and Baron Isherwood. 1996. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York: Routledge.
- Dunlap, R E, and K D Van Liere. 1978. “The New Environmental Paradigm: a Proposed Instrument and Preliminary Results.” *The Journal of Environmental Education* 9: 10–19.
- Dunlap, Riley E. 2010. “At 40, Environmental Movement Endures, With Less Consensus.” <http://www.gallup.com/poll/127487/Environmental-Movement-Endures-Less-Consensus.aspx>.
- Dunlap, Riley E., Kent D. Van Liere, Angela Mertig, and Robert Emmet Jones. 2000. “Measuring Endorsement of the New Ecological Paradigm: A Revised NEP Scale.” *Journal of Social Issues* 56 (3): 425–442.
- Evans, David. 2011. “Consuming Conventions: Sustainable Consumption, Ecological Citizenship and the Worlds of Worth.” *Journal of Rural Studies* 27 (2) (April): 109–115. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.02.002.

- Fellowship for Intentional Community. 2011. "Intentional Communities - ICWiki." *Intentional Communities*. http://wiki.ic.org/wiki/Intentional_Communities.
- FIC. 2012. "List of Intentional Communities." *Fellowship for Intentional Community*. <http://www.ic.org/iclist.html>.
- Fischer, Anke, Vera Peters, Jan Vávra, Mirjam Neebe, and Boldizsár Megyesi. 2011. "Energy Use, Climate Change and Folk Psychology: Does Sustainability Have a Chance? Results from a Qualitative Study in Five European Countries." *Global Environmental Change* 21 (3) (August): 1025–1034. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2011.04.008.
- Fischer, Joern, Adrian D. Manning, Will Steffen, Deborah B. Rose, Katherine Daniell, Adam Felton, Stephen Garnett, et al. 2007. "Mind the Sustainability Gap." *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* 22 (12) (December): 621–624.
- Fogarty, Robert S. 1972. *American Utopianism*. Itasca: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc.
- . 1990. *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements 1860-1914*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Fontana, A., Frey, J.A., 2000. The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text, in: Denzin, N.K., Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 645-672.
- Forman, R.T.T., Alexander, L.E., 1998. Roads and their major ecological effects. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*. 29, 207-231.
- Fransson, Niklas, and Tommy Gärling. 1999. "Environmental Concern: Conceptual Definitions, Measurement Methods, and Research Findings." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 19: 369–382.
- Frentz, I.C., Farmer, F.L., Guldin, J.M., Smith, K.G., 2004. Insights and Applications: Public Lands and Population Growth. *Society and Natural Resources*. 17, 57-68.
- Friedberger, M., 1996. Rural Gentrification and Livestock Raising: Texas as a Test Case, 1940-95. *Rural history : economy, society, culture*. 7, 53.
- Ghose, R., 2004. Big sky or big sprawl? Rural gentrification and the changing cultural landscape of Missoula, Montana. *Urban Geography*. 25, 528-549.
- Gibson-Graham, J.K. 2006. *A Postcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1986. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. 1st pbk. ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Goland, Carol. 2002. "Community Supported Agriculture, Food Consumption Patterns, and Member Commitment." *Culture and Agriculture* 24 (1): 14–25.
- Gordon, Mary, and Daniel J. Siegel. 2009. *Roots of Empathy: Changing the World Child by Child*. New York: The Experiment, LLC.
- Gosnell, H., Abrams, J., 2011. Amenity migration: diverse conceptualizations of drivers, socioeconomic dimensions, and emerging challenges. *GeoJournal*. 76, 303-322.
- Gurran, N., Blakely, E.J., 2007. Suffer a Sea Change? Contrasting perspectives towards urban policy and migration in Coastal Australia. *Australian Geographer*. 38, 113–131.
- Graeber, David. 2007. *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion and Desire*. AK Press.
- . 2009. *Direct Action: An Ethnography*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Granados, José A. Tapia, Edward L. Ionides, and Óscar Carpintero. 2009. "A Threatening Link Between World Economic Growth and Atmospheric CO2 Concentrations". Unpublished paper. University of Michigan.
http://sitemaker.umich.edu/tapia_granados/files/a_threatening_link_f5___refs.pdf.
- Guarino, Mark. 2009. "New Tale of Detroit's Woe: Pontiac Silverdome Sold for \$583,000." *Christian Science Monitor*, November 18.
<http://www.csmonitor.com/Business/2009/1118/new-tale-of-detroits-woe-silverdome-sold-for-583000>.
- Halfacree, K.H., 1995. Talking about Rurality: Social Representations of the Rural As Expressed by Residents of Six English Parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 11, 1-20.
- Hall, C.M., Müller, D.K., 2004. *Tourism, mobility, and second homes : between elite landscape and common ground*. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK; Buffalo.
- Hansen, A.J., Knight, R.L., Marzluff, J.M., Powell, S., Brown, K., Gude, P.H., Jones, K., 2005. Effects of Exurban Development on Biodiversity: Patterns, Mechanisms, and Research Needs. *Ecological Applications*. 15, 1893-1905.
- Hansen, A.J., Rasker, R., Maxwell, B., Rotella, J.J., Johnson, J.D., Parmenter, A.W., Langner, U., Cohen, W.B., Lawrence, R.L., Kraska, M.P.V., 2002. Ecological causes and consequences of demographic change in the New West. *BioScience*. 52, 151-163.
- Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162 (3859) (December 13): 1243–1248. doi:10.1126/science.162.3859.1243.
- . 1998. "Extensions of 'The Tragedy of the Commons'." *Science* 280 (5364) (May 1): 682–683. doi:10.1126/science.280.5364.682.

- Harrell, Stevan. 1997. *Human Families. Social Change in Global Perspective*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Hawcroft, Lucy J, and Taciano L Milfont. 2010. "The Use (and Abuse) of the New Environmental Paradigm Scale Over the Last 30 Years: A Meta-Analysis." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30: 143–158.
- Hayden, Dolores. 1976. *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Hern, Matt. 2010. *Common Ground in a Liquid City: Essays in Defense of an Urban Future*. Edinburgh: AK Press Publishing & Distribution.
- Hess, Charlotte. 2008. "Mapping the New Commons." *SSRN eLibrary*.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1356835.
- Heyman, Josiah McC. 2001. "Working for Beans and Refrigerators: Learning About Environmental Policy from Mexican Northern Border Consumers." In *Exploring Sustainable Consumption: Environmental Policy and the Social Sciences*, ed. Maurie J. Cohen and Murphy Joseph, 137–156. New York: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- . 2005. "The Political Ecology of Consumption: Beyond Greed and Guilt." In *Political Ecology Across Spaces, Scales and Social Groups*, ed. Susan Paulson and Lisa Gezon. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Hines, J.D., 2007. The Persistent Frontier and the Rural Gentrification of the Rocky Mountain West. *Journal of the West*. 46, 63-73.
- Hines, J.D., 2010. Rural gentrification as permanent tourism: the creation of the 'New' West Archipelago as postindustrial cultural space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 28, 509-525.
- Hines, J.D., 2011. The Post-Industrial Regime of Production/Consumption and the Rural Gentrification of the New West Archipelago. *Antipode*. 00, 1-29.
- Hobson, Kersty. 2002. "Competing Discourses of Sustainable Consumption: Does the 'Rationalisation of Lifestyles' Make Sense?" *Environmental Politics* 11 (2): 95–100.
- . 2003. "Thinking Habits into Action: The Role of Knowledge and Process in Questioning Household Consumption Practices." *Local Environment* 8 (1): 95–112.
- Hofmokl, Justyna. 2010. "Towards an Eclectic Theory of the Internet Commons." *International Journal of the Commons* 4 (1): 226–250.

- Huang, Bwo-Nung, M.J. Hwang, and C.W. Yang. 2008. "Causal Relationship Between Energy Consumption and GDP Growth Revisited: A Dynamic Panel Data Approach." *Ecological Economics* 67 (1) (August 15): 41–54. doi:16/j.ecolecon.2007.11.006.
- Hunter, L.M., Boardman, J.D., Saint Onge, J.M., 2005. The association between natural amenities, rural population growth, and long-term residents' economic well-being. *Rural Sociology*. 70, 452-470.
- Huong, Ta Thi Thanh, and Fikret Berkes. 2011. "Diversity of Resource Use and Property Rights in Tam Giang Lagoon, Vietnam." *International Journal of the Commons* 5 (1) (February 2): 130–149.
- Hutyra, L.R., Yoon, B., Hepinstall-Cymerman, J., Alberti, M., 2011. Carbon consequences of land cover change and expansion of urban lands: A case study in the Seattle metropolitan region. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 103, 83-93.
- Isenhour, Cindy. 2010a. "Building Sustainable Societies: A Swedish Case Study on the Limits of Reflexive Modernization." *American Ethnologist* 37 (3) (August 1): 511–525. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2010.01269.x.
- . 2010b. "On Conflicted Swedish Consumers, the Effort to Stop Shopping and Neoliberal Environmental Governance." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 9 (6) (November 1): 454–469. doi:10.1002/cb.336.
- . 2011. "How the Grass Became Greener in the City: On Urban Imaginings and Practices of Sustainable Living in Sweden." *City & Society* 23 (2) (December 1): 117–134. doi:10.1111/j.1548-744X.2011.01058.x.
- Jones, Jeffrey M. 2008. "In the U.S., 28% Report Major Changes to Live 'Green'." <http://www.gallup.com/poll/106624/us-28-report-major-changes-live-green.aspx>.
- . 2010. "Conservatives' Doubts About Global Warming Grow: Most Subgroups Show a Decline in Global Warming Concern." *GALLUP Politics*. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/126563/Conservatives-Doubts-Global-Warming-Grow.aspx>.
- Jorgenson, Andrew K. 2005. "Unpacking International Power and the Ecological Footprints of Nations: A Quantitative Cross-National Study." *Sociological Perspectives* 48 (3): 383–402.
- Kamau, Lucy Jayne. 2002. "Liminality, Communitas, Charisma, and Community." In *Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*, ed. Susan Love Brown, 17–40. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1972. *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Kempton, Willett, James S. Boster, and Jennifer Hartley. 1995. *Environmental Values In American Culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kirby, A. 2003. "Redefining Social and Environmental Relations at the Ecovillage at Ithaca: A Case Study." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 23: 323–332.
- Knight, R.L., Wallace, G.N., Riebsame, W.E., 1995. Ranching the View: Subdivisions versus Agriculture. *Conservation Biology*. 9, 459-461.
- Koinonia. 2012. "Koinonia History." *Koinonia: "We Seek a New Spirit..."* <http://www.koinoniapartners.org/History/index.html>.
- Kopelman, Shirli, J. Mark Weber, and David M. Messick. 2002. "Factors Influencing Cooperation in Commons Dilemmas: A Review of Experimental Psychological Research." In *The Drama of the Commons*, ed. Elinor Ostrom, Thomas Dietz, Nives Dolšak, Paul C. Stern, Susan Stonich, and Elke U. Weber. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Kottak, Conrad Phillip. 2005. *Anthropology: The Exploration of Human Diversity, with Living Anthropology Student CD and PowerWeb*. 11th ed. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages.
- Kwang-Koo, K., Marcouiller, D.W., Deller, S.C., 2005. Natural amenities and rural development: understanding spatial and distributional attributes. *Growth and Change*. 36, 273-298.
- Lehavi, Amnon. 2008. "Mixing Property." *Seton Hall Law Review* 38 (1): 137–212.
- Leonard, Annie. 2010. *The Story of Stuff: How Our Obsession with Stuff Is Trashing the Planet, Our Communities, and Our Health-and a Vision for Change*. New York: Free Press.
- LeWarne, Charles Pierce. 1995. *Utopias on Puget Sound 1885-1915*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lockyer, Joshua. 2010. "Intentional Communities and Sustainability." *Communal Societies* 31 (1): 17–30.
- Luka, N., 2010. Of McMansions, Timeshare Cottages, and Zebra Mussels: Dispatches from the Second-Home Settings of Central Ontario, in: Beesley, K.B. (Eds.), *The rural-urban fringe in Canada : conflict and controversy*. Rural Development Institute, Brandon University, Brandon, MB, pp. 199-220.
- Lund, Margaret. 2011. "Some Field Observations on the Applicability of Elinor Ostrom's Work to Contemporary Cooperative Practice." *Grassroots Economic Organizing (GEO) Newsletter*. <http://www.geo.coop/node/678>.

- Lynd, Staughton, and Andrej Grubačić. 2008. *Wobblies & Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism and Radical History*. Oakland: PM Press.
- Mackenzie, A. Fiona D. 2010. "A Common Claim: Community Land Ownership in the Outer Hebrides, Scotland." *International Journal of the Commons* 4 (1): 319–344.
- Magnuson, Joel. 2008. *Mindful Economics: How the U.S. Economy Works, Why It Matters, and How It Could Be Different*. Seven Stories Press.
- Maniates, Michael. 2002a. "Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World?" In *Confronting Consumption*, ed. Thomas Princen, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, 43–66. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- . 2002b. "In Search of Consumptive Resistance: The Voluntary Simplicity Movement." In *Confronting Consumption*, ed. Thomas Princen, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, 199–235. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Manno, Jack. 2002. "Commoditization: Consumption Efficiency and an Economy of Care and Connection." In *Confronting Consumption*, ed. Thomas Princen, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, 67–99. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Marchand, Anne, Stuart Walker, and Tim Cooper. 2010. "Beyond Abundance: Self-Interest Motives for Sustainable Consumption in Relation to Product Perception and Preferences." *Sustainability* 2 (5) (May): 1431–1447. doi:10.3390/su2051431.
- Marcouiller, D.W., Clendenning, J.G., Kedzior, R., 2002. Natural amenity-led development and rural planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*. 16, 515-542.
- Marx, Karl. 1973. "Capital, Volume 1." In *The Marx-Engles Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, second:294–438. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Marzluff, J.M., Bradley, G.A., 2003. Ecological Restoration in the Urban-Wildland Interface, in: Friederici, P. (Eds.), *Ecological Restoration of Southwestern Ponderosa Pine Forests*. Island Press, Washington D.C., pp. 353-370.
- Max-Neef, Manfred A., Antonio Elizalde, and Martín Hopenhayn. 1991. *Human Scale Development: Conception, Application and Further Reflections*. The Apex Press. http://www.max-neef.cl/download/Max-neef_Human_Scale_development.pdf.
- McCarthy, J., 2008. Rural geography: Globalizing the countryside. *Progress in Human Geography*. 32, 129–137.
- McCay, Bonnie, and Alyne Delaney. 2010. "Expanding the Boundaries of Commons Scholarship: The 2008 Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons." *International Journal of the Commons* 4 (1): 213–225.

- McCay, Bonnie J. 1978. "Systems Ecology, People Ecology, and the Anthropology of Fishing Communities." *Human Ecology* 6 (4): 397–422. doi:10.1007/BF00889417.
- McCay, Bonnie J., and Svein Jentoft. 1998. "Market or Community Failure? Critical Perspectives on Common Property Research." *Human Organization* 57 (1): 21–29.
- McCracken, Grant. 1990. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- McGranahan, D.A., 1999. Natural Amenities Drive Rural Population Change, Economic Research Service, USDA, Washington, D.C.
- McGranahan, D.A., 2008. Landscape influence on recent rural migration in the U.S. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 85, 228-240.
- McIntosh, Jacqueline, John Gray, and Sasha Maher. 2010. "In Praise of Sharing as a Strategy for Sustainable Housing." *Journal of Green Building* 5 (1): 155–163.
- McIntyre, N., Williams, D., McHugh, K., 2006. Multiple dwelling and tourism negotiating place, home, and identity, CABI Pub., Wallingford; Cambridge, Mass.
- Meerkat Media Collective. 2011. *Consensus (Direct Democracy @ Occupy Wall Street)*. YouTube. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dtD8RnGaRQ>.
- Michaud, K., Carlisle, J.E., Smith, E.R.A.N., 2008. Nimbyism vs. environmentalism in attitudes toward energy development. *Environmental Politics*. 17, 20-39.
- Milbrath, Lester W. 1989. *Envisioning A Sustainable Society: Learning Our Way Out*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Miller, Daniel. 1995. "Consumption and Commodities." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 141–161.
- . 1998. *A Theory of Shopping*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, Ethan. 2005. "Solidarity Economics: Strategies for Building New Economies From the Bottom-Up and the Inside-Out". Grassroots Economic Organizing (GEO) Collective. <http://www.geo.coop/files/SolidarityEconomicsEthanMiller.pdf>.
- Miller, Timothy. 1998. *The Quest for Utopia in Twentieth-Century America: Volume I: 1900-1960*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- . 2010. "A Matter of Definition: Just What Is an Intentional Community?" *Communal Societies* 31 (1): 1–15.

- Mollison, B. C. 1990. *Permaculture: a Practical Guide for a Sustainable Future*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Mondragon. 2012. "Mondragon Corporation." *Mondragon: Humanity At Work*. <http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/ENG.aspx>.
- Mont, Oksana, and Kate Power. 2010. "The Role of Formal and Informal Forces in Shaping Consumption and Implications for a Sustainable Society. Part I." *Sustainability* 2 (7) (July): 2232–2252. doi:10.3390/su2072232.
- Moos, R, and R Brownstein. 1977. *Environment and Utopia: A Synthesis*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Murphy, Joseph, and Maurie J. Cohen. 2001. "Consumption, Environment and Public Policy." In *Exploring Sustainable Consumption: Environmental Policy and the Social Sciences*, ed. Maurie J. Cohen and Murphy Joseph, 3–17. New York: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Nader, Laura. 1972. "Up The Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained From Studying Up." In *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell Hymes, 284–311. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Nathan, Lisa P. 2009. "Ecovillages, Sustainability, and Information Tools: An Ethnography of Values, Adaptation, and Tension". Dissertation, University of Washington. <http://pqdtopen.proquest.com/#viewpdf?dispub=3394198>.
- Nepal, S.K., Jamal, T.B., 2011. Resort-induced Changes in Small Mountain Communities in British Columbia, Canada. *Mountain Research and Development*. 31, 89-101.
- Netting, Robert McC. 1976. "What Alpine Peasants Have in Common: Observations on Communal Tenure in a Swiss Village." *Human Ecology* 4 (2): 135–146.
- Newport, Frank. 2009. "Conservative Democrats, Liberal Republicans Hard to Find: About Half of Americans Follow Conventional Pairings of Ideology and Party." *GALLUP Politics*. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/122672/Conservative-Democrats-Liberal-Republicans-Hard-to-Find.aspx>.
- Nielsen, J.M., Shelby, B., Haas, J.E., 1977. Sociological Carrying Capacity and Last Settler Syndrome. *Pacific Sociological Review*. 20, 568-581.
- North Harris Trust. "North Harris Trust: Aims and Objectives." *North Harris Trust*. <http://www.north-harris.org/the-trust/our-aims/>.
- Nowak, Martin A., and Roger Highfield. 2011. *SuperCooperators: Altruism, Evolution, and Why We Need Each Other to Succeed*. Simon and Schuster.

- Nye, Michael, and Thomas Hargreaves. 2010. "Exploring the Social Dynamics of Proenvironmental Behavior Change: A Comparative Study of Intervention Processes at Home and Work." *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 14 (1): 137–149.
- Oksanen, Markku. 2001. "Liberal Neutrality and Consumption." In *Exploring Sustainable Consumption: Environmental Policy and the Social Sciences*, ed. Maurie J. Cohen and Murphy Joseph. New York: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1994. "Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties." In *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, 372–411. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 2006. *Anthropology And Social Theory: Culture, Power, And the Acting Subject*. Duke University Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor, Roy Gardner, and James Walker. 1994. *Rules, Games, and Common-Pool Resources*. University of Michigan Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor, and Charlotte Hess. 2007. "Private and Common Property Rights." *SSRN eLibrary* (November 29). http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1936062.
- Pachauri, Rajendra K., and Andy Reisinger, eds. 2008. "Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report". Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr.pdf.
- Phillips, M., 1993. Rural gentrification and the processes of class colonization. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 9, 123-140.
- Phillips, M., 2004. Other geographies of gentrification. *Progress in Human Geography*. 28, 5–30.
- Polanyi, Karl. 2001. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Princen, Thomas. 2002. "Consumption and Its Externalities: Where Economy Meets Ecology." In *Confronting Consumption*, ed. Thomas Princen, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, 23–42. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- . 2005. *The Logic of Sufficiency*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Princen, Thomas, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca. 2002. "Confronting Consumption." In *Confronting Consumption*, ed. Thomas Princen, Michael Maniates, and Ken Conca, 1–20. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Radeloff, V.C., Stewart, S.I., Hawbaker, T.J., Gimmi, U., Pidgeon, A.M., Flather, C.H., Hammer, R.B., Helmers, D.P., 2010. Housing growth in and near United States protected areas limits their conservation value. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 107, 940-945.
- Rasker, R., Hansen, A., 2000. Natural Amenities and Population Growth in the Greater Yellowstone Region. *Human Ecology Review*. 7, 30-40.
- Raupach, Michael R., Gregg Marland, Philippe Ciais, Corinne Le Quéré, Josep G. Canadell, Gernot Klepper, and Christopher B. Field. 2007. "Global and Regional Drivers of Accelerating CO2 Emissions." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104 (24): 10288 –10293.
- Rees, William. 2000. "Ecological Footprints and the Pathology of Consumption." In *Fatal Consumption: Rethinking Sustainable Development*, ed. Robert F Woollard and Aleck S Ostry, 21–51. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Rees, William E, and Laura Westra. 2003. "When Consumption Does Violence: Can There Be Sustainability and Environmental Justice in a Resource-Limited World?" In *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World*, ed. Julian Agyeman, Robert D Bullard, and Bob Evans, 99–124. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Richardson, Katherine, Will Steffen, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Joseph Alcamo, Terry Barker, Daniel M. Kammen, Rik Leemans, et al. 2009. *International Scientific Congress Climate Change: Global Risks, Challenges, & Decisions*. Synthesis Report. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen. <http://climatecongress.ku.dk/pdf/synthesisreport>.
- Riebsame, W.E., Gosnell, H., Theobald, D.M., 1996. Land Use and Landscape Change in the Colorado Mountains I: Theory, Scale, and Pattern. *Mountain Research and Development*. 16, 395-405.
- Robbins, Paul. 2007. *Lawn People: How Grasses, Weeds, and Chemicals Make Us Who We Are*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Robbins, Richard H. 2003. "Anthropology, Global Studies, and Public Policy: A Proposal Regarding the Real Cost of Things." In *Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology*. Portland, Oregon. http://faculty.plattsburgh.edu/richard.robbsin/Anthropology_Policy.htm.
- Robinson, L., Joshua P. Newell, and John M. Marzluff, 2005. Twenty-five years of sprawl in the Seattle region: growth management responses and implications for conservation. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 71, 51-72.
- Rogich, Don, Amy Cassara, Iddo Wernick, and Marta Miranda. 2008. *Material Flows in the United States: A Physical Accounting of the U.S. Industrial Economy*. Washington, DC: World Resources Institute. http://pdf.wri.org/material_flows_in_the_united_states.pdf.

- Rosenthal, Elisabeth. 2010. "Toward Sustainable Travel: Breaking the Flying Addiction". A publication of the Yale School of Forestry & Environmental Studies. *Yale Environment* 360. http://e360.yale.edu/feature/toward_sustainable_travel/2280/.
- Rudzitis, G., 1999. Amenities Increasingly Draw People to the Rural West. *Rural Development Perspectives*. 14, 9-13.
- Rudzitis, G., Streatfeild, R.A., 1993. The Importance of Amenities and Attitudes: A Washington Example. *Journal of Environmental Systems*. 22, 269.
- San Juan County Health and Community Services, 2004. *San Juan County Water Resource Management Plan*, Funded by the Washington State Department of Ecology, adopted by the San Juan County Board of County Commissioners October, 2004.
- San Juan County Parks Department, San Juan County Land Bank, San Juan County Public Works Department, 2005. *Plan for Parks, Recreation, and Preserved Lands for San Juan County*, San Juan County.
- Sandberg, L.A., Wekerle, G.R., 2010. Reaping nature's dividends: The neoliberalization and gentrification of nature on the oak ridges moraine. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*. 12, 41-57.
- Sarkissian, Wendy, and Nancy Hofer. 2009. *Kitchen Table Sustainability: Practical Recipes for Community Engagement with Sustainability*. Sterling: Earthscan.
- Schehr, Robert. 1997. *Dynamic Utopia: Establishing Intentional Communities as a New Social Movement*. Westport: Bergin & Garvey.
- Scheurer, Jan. 2001. "Urban Ecology, Innovations in Housing Policy and the Future of Cities: Towards Sustainability in Neighbourhood Communities". Perth: Murdoch University, Urban Ecology. <http://www.wistp.murdoch.edu.au/publications/projects/jan/>.
- Schnaiberg, J., Riera, J., Turner, M.G., Voss, P.R., 2002. Explaining human settlement patterns in a recreational lake district: Vilas County, Wisconsin, USA. *Environmental Management*. 30, 24-34.
- Schor, Juliet B. 1998. *The Overspent American: Why We Want What We Don't Need*. New York: HarperPerennial.
- . 2003. "The New Politics of Consumption: Why Americans Want so Much More Than They Need." <http://bostonreview.net/> <http://bostonreview.net/BR24.3/contents.html>.
- Seixas, Cristiana Simão, and Fikret Berkes. 2010. "Community-based Enterprises: The Significance of Partnerships and Institutional Linkages." *International Journal of the Commons* 4 (1) (February 23): 183–212.

- Sennlaub, Angelika. 2005. "Living with Commons--between Strain and Opportunity: The Sustainability of Habitation Through Communal Ownership." *Gaia* 14 (4): 323–332.
- Seyfang, Gill. 2004. "Consuming Values and Contested Cultures: A Critical Analysis of the UK Strategy for Sustainable Consumption and Production." *Review of Social Economy* 62.
- . 2009. *The New Economics of Sustainable Consumption: Seeds of Change*. Ed. David Elliott. Energy, Climate and the Environment Series. Houndmills: Plagrave Macmillan.
- Shanthini, Rajaratnam, and Kanthi Perera. 2010. "Is There a Cointegrating Relationship Between Australia's Fossil-Fuel Based Carbon Dioxide Emissions Per Capita and Her GDP Per Capita?" *International Journal of Oil, Gas and Coal Technology* 3 (2): 182–200.
- Shellito, B.A., B.C. Pijanowski, 2003. Using neural nets to model the spatial distribution of seasonal homes. *Cartography and Geographic Information Science*. 30, 281-290.
- Shields, C.A., Band, L.E., Law, N., Groffman, P.M., Kaushal, S.S., Savvas, K., Fisher, G.T., BPSLT, K.T., 2008. Streamflow distribution of non-point source nitrogen export from urban-rural catchments in the Chesapeake Bay watershed. *Water Resources Research*. 44.
- Shove, Elizabeth. 2004. "Changing Human Behaviour and Lifestyle: A Challenge for Sustainable Consumption?" In *The Ecological Economics of Consumption*, ed. Inge Røpke and Lucia Reisch, 111–131. Current Issues in Ecological Economics. Bodmin, Cornwall: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Smith, Christina S. 2011. "Differing Interpretations of Sustainability and Natural Resource Management in Three Adjacent Communities in the Oregon Cascades". UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON. <http://gradworks.umi.com/34/43/3443195.html>.
- Smith, D.P., Phillips, D.A., 2001. Socio-cultural representations of greentrified Pennine rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 17, 457-469.
- Smith, M.D., Krannich, R.S., 2000. "Culture Clash" revisited: Newcomer and longer-term residents' attitudes toward land use, development, and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology*. 65, 396.
- Spaargaren, Gert. 2003. "Sustainable Consumption: A Theoretical and Environmental Policy Perspective." *Society and Natural Resources* 16: 687–701.
- . 2011. "Theories of Practices: Agency, Technology, and Culture: Exploring the Relevance of Practice Theories for the Governance of Sustainable Consumption Practices in the New World-order." *Global Environmental Change* 21 (3) (August): 813–822. doi:16/j.gloenvcha.2011.03.010.
- Speth, James Gustave. 2008. *The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, the Environment, and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Steg, Linda, Judith I. M. De Groot, Lieke Dreijerink, Wokje Abrahamse, and Frans Siero. 2011. "General Antecedents of Personal Norms, Policy Acceptability, and Intentions: The Role of Values, Worldviews, and Environmental Concern." *Society & Natural Resources* 24 (4): 349–367. doi:10.1080/08941920903214116.
- Stern, Paul C., Thomas Dietz, and Gregory Guagnano. 1995. "The New Ecological Paradigm in Social-Psychological Context." *Environment & Behavior* 27 (6): 723–743.
- Stern, Susan, and Laura Browder. 2007. *With the Weathermen: The Personal Journal of a Revolutionary Woman*. Rutgers University Press.
- Stynes, D.J., Zheng, J., Stewart, S.I., 1997. *Seasonal Homes and Natural Resources: Patterns of Use and Impact in Michigan*, United States Department of Agriculture.
- Sustainable West Seattle. 2012. "West Seattle Tool Library: A Project of Sustainable West Seattle." http://wstoolibrary.org/about_tl/.
- Suzuki, David. 2012. "Environmentalism Has Failed: On Adopting a Biocentric Viewpoint." *Common Dreams*. <https://www.commondreams.org/view/2012/05/03-3>.
- Swartz, David. 1997. *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taylor, L., 2009. No boundaries: exurbia and the study of contemporary urban dispersion. *GeoJournal*. 1-17.
- Theobald, D.M., 2001. Land-use dynamics beyond the American urban fringes. *Geographical Review*. 91, 544-564.
- Theobald, D.M., 2005. Landscape patterns of exurban growth in the USA from 1980 to 2020. *Ecology and Society*. 10.
- Theobald, D.M., Gosnell, H., Riebsame, W.E., 1996. Land Use and Landscape Change in the Colorado Mountains II: A Case Study of the East River Valley. *Mountain Research and Development*. 16, 407-418.
- Tucker, Catherine M. 2010. "Private Goods and Common Property: Potter Production in a Honduran Lenca Community." *Human Organization* 69 (1): 43–53.
- Tucker, Michael. 1995. "Carbon Dioxide Emissions and Global GDP." *Ecological Economics* 15 (3) (December): 215–223. doi:16/0921-8009(95)00045-3.
- Tukker, Arnold, Maurie J. Cohen, Klaus Hubacek, and Oksana Mont. 2010. "The Impacts of Household Consumption and Options for Change." *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 14 (1): 13–30.

- U.S. Census Bureau, 1990. *U.S. Census 1990*.
- U.S. Census Bureau, 2000. *U.S. Census 2000*.
- U.S. Census Bureau, 2009. *American Community Survey 2005-2009*.
- U.S. Census Bureau, 2010. *U.S. Census 2010*.
- U.S. EIA. 2009. "EIA - Press Releases - U.S. Greenhouse Gas Emissions Decreased by 2.2 Percent in 2008." <http://www.eia.gov/neic/press/press333.html>.
- UNCED. 1992. *Agenda 21*. Rio de Janeiro: United Nations.
<http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21toc.htm>.
- UW Libraries Special Collections. 2007. "Guide to the Robert C. Scott Papers 1935-1960." http://nwda-db.wsulibs.wsu.edu/findaid/ark:/80444/xv49269#c01_1.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1953. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Mentor Books.
- Veysey, Laurence. 1973. *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Wackernagel, Mathis, Larry Onisto, Alejandro Callejas Linares, Ina Susana Lopez Falfan, Jesus Mendex Garcia, Ana Isabel Suarez Guerrero, and Maria Guadalupe Suarez Guerrero. 1997. *Ecological Footprint of Nations How Much Nature Do They Use? How Much Nature Do They Have?* "Rio+5 Forum" study was commissioned and financed by the Earth Council, Costa Rica. Universidad Anáhuac de Xalapa: Centro de Estudios para la Sustentabilidad.
- Wackernagel, Mathis, and William Rees. 1996. *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth*. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.
- Wade, R. 1988. *Village Republics: Economic Conditions for Collective Action in South India*. Oakland: ICS Press.
- Walker, P., 2011. Commentary for special issue of *GeoJournal* on Amenity Migration, Exurbia, and Emerging Rural Landscapes. *GeoJournal* 76, 441-444.
- Walker, P., Fortmann, L., 2003a. Whose landscape? A political ecology of the 'exurban' Sierra. *Cultural Geographies*. 10, 469-491.
- Walker, P.A., 2003b. Reconsidering 'regional' political ecologies: toward a political ecology of the rural American West. *Progress in Human Geography*. 27, 7-24.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1990. "Antisystemic Movements: History and Dilemmas." In *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World-System*, ed. Samir Amin,

- Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, 13–53. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Warde, Alan. 2005. “Consumption and Theories of Practice.” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5 (2): 131–153. doi:10.1177/1469540505053090.
- Washington Biodiversity Project, 2007. *Washington’s Ecoregions*.
- Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife, 2005. *Washington’s Comprehensive Wildlife Conservation Strategy*.
- Wheeler, S.M., Beebe, C.W., 2011. The Rise of the Postmodern Metropolis: Spatial Evolution of the Sacramento Metropolitan Region. *Journal of Urban Design*. 16, 307-332.
- White, Lynn, Jr. 1967. “The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis.” *Science* 155 (3767): 1206.
- Wilson, F.D., 1988. Components of change in migration destination-propensity rates for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas: 1935-1980. *Demography*. 25, 129-139.
- Wikipedia contributors. 2012. “J. K. Gibson-Graham.” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=J._K._Gibson-Graham&oldid=484494897.
- Wilk, Richard. 1997. “A Critique of Desire: Distastes and Dislike in Consumer Behavior.” *Consumption, Markets, and Culture* 1 (2): 175–196.
- . 2004. “Questionable Assumptions About Sustainable Consumption.” In *The Ecological Economics of Consumption*, ed. Inge Røpke and Lucia Reisch, 17–31. Current Issues in Ecological Economics. Bodmin, Cornwall: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- . 2010. “Consumption Embedded in Culture and Language: Implications for Finding Sustainability.” *Sustainability: Science, Practice, & Policy* 6 (2).
- Woods, M., 2005. *Rural geography : processes, responses and experiences in rural restructuring*, SAGE, London.
- Woodward, J., Damon, B., 2001. Housing Characteristics: 2000, in: *Census 2000 Brief, U.S. Census Bureau, Economics and Statistics Administration.*, Washington DC.
- World Commission on Environment and Development, (first). 1987. “*Our Common Future, From One Earth to One World.*”
- York, Richard. 2010. “Three Lessons From Trends in CO2 Emissions and Energy Use in the United States.” *Society & Natural Resources* 23 (12): 1244–1252. doi:10.1080/08941920903421133.

Zablocki, Benjamin. 1980. *Alienation and Charisma: A Study of Contemporary American Communes*. New York: The Free Press.

Zicklin, Gilbert. 1983. *Countercultural Communes: A Sociological Perspective*. Westport: Greenwood Press.