THE INTERNATIONAL TOWNSHIP OF AUROVILLE,
TAMIL NADU, INDIA:

THE ROUTINIZATION OF CHARISMA IN A CONTEXT
OF AN INNER-WORLDLY MYSTICAL ORIENTATION

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ABSTRACT

Sponsored by UNESCO and the Government of India, Auroville was established in 1968 as an experiment in human unity. This thesis is an attempt to illuminate the cultural orientation of Auroville and the consequences for routinization of charisma.

Drawing on material collected during an exploratory five month residence in Auroville in 1986-87, I developed a theoretical framework as the context for carrying out a field study. Elements of Weber's theoretical work are used to postulate a tension between the dominant orientation of Aurovilians as inner-worldly mysticism and the material and social pressures which Weber identified as resulting in routinization of charisma.

As a participant observer, I carried out research in Auroville between October 1988 and December 1990. Based on the data from interviews, documents, and field notes, I identified eight cultural themes as characterizing and distinguishing the cultural orientation of Aurovilians. These themes point to a fundamental resistance of Aurovilians to processes related to routinization of charisma. To the extent that organizational elaboration violates their primary values, Aurovilians resist institutionalization in the form of hierarchical structures, centralization, and the concentration of power. Yet Aurovilians are able to maintain unity through a network form of organization which permits unity in diversity. Such a network form of organization is different from organizational developments as Weber characterized them in the routinization of charisma.
The cultural themes are related to a fundamental dilemma of institutionalization: spontaneity versus structure. Using O'Dea's (1961, 1966) operationalization of this fundamental dilemma into five related dilemmas, I show that Aurovilians have preserved and returned to spontaneity through their resisting emergent and potentially transforming forms of social control which make up the processes Weber identified as inherent in routinization of charisma.

I conclude that the basic orientation of Aurovilians involves effective resistance to routinization. As value-centred and experientially-based, their orientation can be characterized as inner-worldly mystical, and viewed as an attempt to live out an inwardly experienced reality. Several implications follow from this research. First, although Weber in effect ignored inner worldly-mysticism as a significant and actual orientation, the orientation of Aurovilians is demonstrated to be an enduring instance of inner-worldly mysticism. Second, to the extent that Aurovilians have resisted and continue to resist routinization, inner-worldly mysticism is a useful theoretical construct for analyzing responses to and dilemmas associated with routinization of charisma. Third, Robertson's (1978) inner-worldly mysticism as an ideal type can be modified to include the feature of sensitivity toward and resistance to objectification, which poses the threat of alienation from the very forms intended to express and carry a sense of reality.
This thesis is inspired by the residents of Auroville. Its subject matter is their lives and their struggle for what they know to be true. I am deeply grateful for their acceptance of me and my research role. Aurovilians trusted me in many contexts, including formal interviews, informal conversation, and in their decision-making meetings. Thanks primarily to that confidence, my aspiration to do research on Auroville has achieved a certain form acceptable to the standard of which I dreamed.

Aurovilians find it difficult to live in the West for long periods of time. I share that experience. Yet I am fortunate in that I found inspiration in Saskatoon also, in the person of Dr. John Thompson. Giving generously of his time, energy and insight, John patiently guided me, and evoked a kind of education more fine than I thought possible. I wish to thank Patty Thompson and the boys for tolerating John’s time lost to them for my sake.

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Kirk Hall is awake at night with the sounds of both terror and laughter. My hallmates have been of great moral and academic support. I’m especially grateful to the two Richards.

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Aum Namo Bhagavate
DEDICATION

To my grandmother and grandfather, Elizabeth and Ralph Mullins, and my father, Howard Dyer Leard who, in their physical absence, give unconditional support.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Max Weber described three types of legitimate authority in his theory of domination: traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic. The first two are familiar forms. The third type refers to instances of extraordinary leader-follower relationships in which previously held norms and values are challenged in favour of those consistent with the vision of the charismatic leader. While this vision typically represents a glimpse of a society to come, it is actually with the person of the charismatic leader that followers identify and to whom a moral obligation grows. Charismatic authority is effective only as long as the followers continue to recognize and respond to the extraordinary qualities of the leader. Thus charismatic authority, unlike the traditional and rational types, is a precarious and short-lived form of authority which Weber considered to be transitional. The prolonged absence or death of a charismatic leader creates a potential crisis for the followers of the movement involved. This crisis frequently takes the form of a crisis of succession.

Weber gave central attention to the increasing rationalization of the world, the growing pervasiveness of rational-legal authority, with a concomitant rejection of both traditional and charismatic forms of authority. Although he recognized a kind of antagonistic polarity between charisma and structure, he considered both as necessary
components of social life. According to Eisenstadt (1968:xvii), "It is this continuous
tension between what may be called the constrictive and the creative aspects of
institutions and of social organization that is of central interest to Weber." The key
conception for this thesis is a fundamental tension in social life between spontaneity and
structure.

This thesis focuses on the International Township of Auroville on the East coast
of Tamil Nadu in India. A township of 800 people whose origins are in almost 30
different nations, Auroville has existed since 1968 when it was inaugurated as an
experiment in human unity. A network of over 40 settlements stretched out over 30
square kilometers constitutes the township which the residents project will one day
become a city. (Please refer to Appendix A: Map of Auroville.) The origins of
Auroville are found in the life and work of the famous Indian revolutionary Sri
Aurobindo. Those who gathered around his charismatic leadership were organized into
an ashram in the 1920’s by a French woman named Mirra Alfasa (a charismatic leader
herself, who later became known as the Mother). In 1968, 18 years after Sri
Aurobindo’s death in 1950, she brought the idea of Auroville to fruition. She died in

To capture the vital life circumstance of the group of people continuing to
gather to realize Sri Aurobindo and the Mother’s vision in Auroville, I identified a
dynamic of Auroville as the focus of this study. Weber’s conception of the routinization
of charisma — the "return of the charismatically initiated process to a more everyday
existence" (Hill, 1973:170) — is used as the theoretical key to an understanding of Auroville.

Weber (1968:54) noted that if the social relationships based on the charismatic qualities of the leader are to be more than "a purely transitory phenomenon", an ideological and organizational transformation must take place. The faith and enthusiasm characteristic of the form of charismatic authority typically are transformed by the practical need to make a living from the "calling" (Weber, 1968:57-58). Similarly, "normal family relationships" and secure social positions, stratification, become integrated into the movement (Weber, 1968:54). In effect, those involved in the original "call to the extraordinary" (O'Dea, 1966:94) engage in ordinary patterns of behaviour that may be legitimated by reference to the original leader. The vested interests in stable social stratification, economic stability, and the legitimation of ideas are the impetus behind the traditionalization or legalization that constitutes the routinization process. The interests that motivate routinization generally become evident with the absence of the charismatic leader (1968:55). It is the combination of the interests of the followers with components of the original charismatic relationship that allows the movement to endure in a world of mundane interest.

With Sri Aurobindo's death in 1950, a continuity of charismatic leadership resulted rather than a routinization of charisma. Not only had the Mother been responsible for the Sri Aurobindo Ashram since the 1920's, she had become revered in her own right. By 1950, her charismatic leadership was well established. Yet when she died twenty-three year later in 1973, there was no successor. As Weber's theoretical
work suggests, within two years, Auroville was embroiled in a struggle to decide who would control development in the township. The Sri Aurobindo Society (SAS), a trusteeship which had been organized before the inauguration of Auroville to function as a legal channel for contributions to the experiment, assumed management and ownership of the township. Consistent with the teaching of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother's vision of Auroville, the majority of residents resisted the SAS bid for power in a seven year struggle that eventuated in the trusteeship being discredited. Although the conflict with the SAS caused severe hardship for most of the residents, it did hasten the internal organization of the community. By the time of the conflict's resolution in 1982, residents of Auroville had developed effective patterns of cooperation in terms of production, distribution and decision-making that were consistent with the world-view cultivated by Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. The effort to establish hierarchic organization of Auroville had been successfully resisted. Instead of the charismatic community of Auroville routinizing in a manner consistent with Weber's analysis, especially in terms of succession, we find an on-going orientation in Auroville antagonistic to the routinization process, inner-worldly mysticism. Twenty years after the Mother's death, no routinized form of leadership has yet been established.

An inner-worldly mystical orientation is characterized by devotion to both individual, inner development and social involvement. In Aurovilian terms, it is the fostering of "divine anarchy". In those terms, then, the focus of this thesis is the Aurovilian dilemma of maintaining divine anarchy in the face of the everyday demands of life in a developing community. In sociological terms, the project of this thesis is to
render a unique social experiment in Tamil Nadu, India comprehensible. The framework within which this is being done is the fundamental tension between the processes to which a community such as Auroville is subject, which Weber has called the routinization of charisma, and the general value orientation of Auroville, inner-worldly mysticism. This is an orientation logically falling within a typology of religious orientation devised by Weber, although an orientation he all but ignored.

The deep tension between inner-worldly mysticism and the routinization of charisma can be understood in reference to a fundamental tension of social life between spontaneity and structure. Although Weber constructed the ideal type of mysticism as tending toward an escape from the world in order to facilitate inner growth, mysticism can also be inner-worldly in orientation. As an orientation, inner-worldly mysticism represents aspirations to harness the wealth of inner progress to efforts to improve the material and social dimensions. This orientation therefore resists an exclusive shift of emphasis to institutionalization processes and away from heightened internal capacity. Yet such social patterning is at the centre of the routinizing process. The inner-worldly mystical orientation represents an attempt to fuse in a complementary relationship, both spiritual progress and engagement in society. Because it is an effort to live out an inwardly experienced reality, inner-worldly mysticism embodies opposition, even antagonism, to the routinization of charisma. The concern of this thesis, then, is to analyze what happens to this inner-worldly mystical orientation in the face of the kinds of problems, demands, disputes, concerns that must be coped with as the residents of
Auroville attempt to live out this orientation. How do Aurovilians cope with the insistent and pervasive pressures to routinize?

The purpose of this study is to illuminate the International Township of Auroville, Tamil Nadu, India. I maintain that the basic orientation of the residents of the township is fundamentally at odds with the routinizing tendencies typical of this type of endeavor, such that a tension is created and accepted in Auroville which is crucial both to the fulfillment of the purpose of the community, and to an understanding of the community. Auroville represents a case at odds with the routinization of charisma found in Weberian theory.

1.1 Thesis Organization

Central to this thesis is the question of the orientation of Auroville and its consequences for the development of the township. As such, our main concern is of a cultural nature. Congruent with this concern, the level of analysis emphasized is meaning and the research method is qualitative. Given this level of concern, the organization of the thesis includes the historical foundations of Auroville, which provide cultural and historical antecedents to the period which forms the basis of the analysis (Chapter Two). The theoretical framework, which served to orient me to the task of data collection and ultimately, to provide the framework for the analysis of the culture, is elaborated in Chapter Three. Following therefrom, the fourth chapter is a description of the process of methodology development, the effort to find the means to analyze the Aurovilian experiment. Chapter Five focuses on the dimension of economic planning
in Auroville. Presented in terms of the thematic analysis undertaken as the method for a cultural analysis of Auroville, the chapter serves to delineate key features of the culture of Auroville. The application of the theoretical framework to the cultural analysis, the themes which emerged by means of the thematic analysis, is the concern of the sixth chapter. This theoretical analysis further elaborates the culture of Auroville in terms which allow for a more general understanding of it. We conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of the thesis findings for sociological theory (Chapter Seven).
Auroville results from the work of two individuals, a Bengali man, Aurobindo Ghose, hence the name Auroville, and a French woman, Mirra Alfasa. Because the framework of concern of this thesis is the development wrought by the tension between the orientation of the residents of Auroville inspired by its founders, and the imperatives of the social world, the values and goals of its leaders are a necessary background and foundation for this thesis. Indeed, we claim that it is the orientation of "being Aurovilian" that is key to understanding process and organization in the township. In order that one may appreciate the current dynamic of Auroville, this chapter provides an historical, spiritual-cultural background: the life and thought of the famous Indian revolutionary and mystic, Sri Aurobindo, the work of Mirra Alfasa to provide a forum for the expression of the vision that they came to share, and the effort of Aurovilians to translate that vision into a living community.

Sponsored by UNESCO and the Central and State Governments of India, Auroville was inaugurated as an experiment in Human Unity in 1968. Each of the 124 member states of UNESCO sent a delegation to the Founding Ceremony. Each delegation, constituted of a girl and a boy carrying the soil of her or his homeland, added its soil to the urn which was to be the center of the future International Township.
This ceremony, which initiated Auroville, symbolized the "materialization" of the vision of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother (Mirra Alfasa). It is an understanding of their experience, vision and the consequences thereof in terms of Auroville which is the purpose of this chapter.

2.1 Sri Aurobindo

Aurobindo was born in Calcutta in 1872, raised in an English home in Manchester, and educated at King's College, Cambridge. He returned to India in 1893. He spent the next 14 years as a teacher, court tutor and university lecturer in Baroda. During this time he became progressively more politically active, organizing an underground movement to work towards the independence of India. In 1906, he gave up his teaching positions to move to the politically volatile city of Calcutta, his birthplace. There he was co-founder of a nationalist newspaper and a political party which both openly pressed for the independence of India. He also became the principal of the first "National College" in Calcutta. From 1907 to 1910, Aurobindo was subject to three warrants for his arrest. Although he was acquitted of the first charge, the first arrest resulted in Aurobindo being recognized as leader of the nationalist party. Although the second charge against him also led to acquittal, his arrest involved a one year term in jail.

The period of Aurobindo's revolutionary activity included his recognition of and personal development in Indian mystical practice. Yet congruent with his western upbringing, Aurobindo was interested in using his capabilities in aid of practical goals.
rather than for an isolated personal serenity. Aurobindo's two interests came together in his revolutionary activities. His success with various forms of Indian yoga made him keenly aware of the vast inner resources of human beings. His Western upbringing dictated the implementation of his new-found abilities in the here-and-now, in pursuit of worldly goals. Yoga is an Indian term referring to the transformation of nature by means of an aspect of nature. Disciplined concentration on one dimension of one's being is held to lead to a more subtle experience of life, such that subjugation to human need dissolves as the ego does. Later Sri Aurobindo wrote, "All life is yoga."

With his release from jail in 1909, Aurobindo returned to publishing. He started two newspapers with the purpose of vitalizing the independence movement. Yet his orientation had changed. He realized that what he was increasingly aware of in his spiritual life had implications beyond the independence of India. One year after his release from jail he was warned of his imminent deportation to the Andaman Islands. Therewith the simple words "Go to Chandernagore" came to him. Since his incarceration, this inner voice had become an increasingly important part of his life. He was to follow this inner guidance for the rest of his life. Two months later in April of 1910, in response to the words, "Go to Pondicherry", he left Chandernagore for the French colony of Pondicherry in the south of India. He remained there for the next 40 years until his death in 1950.

In Pondicherry, he became known as Sri Aurobindo, "Sri" in India connoting something between sir and saint. This title of reverence was bestowed as much for Aurobindo's spiritual activity as for his revolutionary efforts. When Aurobindo migrated
to Pondicherry, many of his comrades followed. Still more devotees joined him later on. During his period of active dissent, he had published a series of articles which were widely read by the literate Indian public. Much of his earlier writing had been intent upon Indian independence, but his writing now pointed towards the spiritual opportunities of which he had increasingly become aware. His move to Pondicherry marked a shift in his orientation almost exclusively to the latter.

Sri Aurobindo’s writings from 1914 to 1920, serialized in his publication, the "Arya", are characterized as a blend of Indian mystic tradition with a Western ethos of material change and progress — a mix of mysticism and scientific perspective. In effect, Sri Aurobindo’s integral yoga is a distillation of several Indian yoganic practices, coupled with an orientation rooted in both ancient Vedic and modern Western insights. The Western influence is clearly found in Sri Aurobindo’s ultimate concern with changing the material life of humanity in contrast to the rejection of material life more typical to Indian tradition. Yet according to Sri Aurobindo, the secret of India’s most ancient records, the Vedas, is the spiritual composition of matter. Sri Aurobindo’s supramental yoga involves the awakening of the spiritual force in matter, in the physical constitution of the human being. In this way, the Western concern with the material life and the Eastern with the spirit are joined. One does not reject matter in order to realize the spirit nor vice versa.

Aurobindo’s literary work was consonant with Michael Hill’s (1973) conception of "revolution by tradition" which pertains to the return to the roots of very central cultural meanings, latent charisma, which have been tamed in their elaboration through
institutionalized forms. Ideas are stripped of their institutionalized patterns and reintroduced in a transformative way. The format of much of Aurobindo's work was material from his own retranslations of the religious and literary underpinnings of Hindu civilization: the Vedas, the Puranas, and the Bhagavad Gita.

The awakening of the spirit latent in matter was termed "terrestrial transformation" by Sri Aurobindo and is the ultimate purpose of his integral and supramental yogas. His focus then is very much a worldly concern incompatible with salvation religion. Rather than individual liberation or emphasis upon an after-life, Sri Aurobindo wanted a transformation that would benefit all of humankind, a change of direction for life itself. Rather than build a doctrine, he wanted to demonstrate that a door to enhanced human experience and change was open. Sri Aurobindo wrote that transformation is effected by the reciprocity of will between the individual aspiring to the divine and the divine unfolding according to its evolutionary plan. Conceived as a step ahead of our present state, the goal of transformation is incompatible with the formulation of rules, doctrines and norms according to our present human limitations. Although transformation was conceived as an individual occurrence, the social dimension was deliberately incorporated into Sri Aurobindo's thought. Again, a western influence is recognized in his work.

Albeit anti-institutional, Sri Aurobindo wanted the possibility of transformation to be worked out cooperatively. Sri Aurobindo interpreted the Vedas to be indicating a relationship between mind and matter that had apparently been lost to the Hindu pundits of the last two millenia: matter is constituted of energy, conscious purposive
energy. From this rereading of the Rig Veda, he elaborated a theory of evolution which situated humanity not as the pinnacle of nature but simply as another step on the ladder, identifying human mental, social, and physiological conditions as habit, rather than parameters. To break the habit, he said, one need act jointly with others, not because that is easier — indeed it’s more difficult — but because individual realization alone, though creating a ripple, is ultimately lost to others, diluted in everyday considerations. Rather than deny matter and its imperatives, as is most often the Hindu spiritual directive, Sri Aurobindo wanted those interested in him to embrace it, to bring forth its secret, its intention, the conscious collaboration of humanity in exceeding itself. A laboratory situation is suggested in which those who are experimenting are also those upon whom the experiment is being conducted, an intimate dialectic between a human and his or her potential, in collaboration with others of like aspiration. The term experiment in this context refers to an ethos of trial and error where one recognizes the intent of the practice without delimiting it. Sri Aurobindo’s perspective is characteristic of an inner-worldly mystical orientation in which the inspiration to act in relation to others and the world in general is found in one’s relationship to the divine. In 1926, the Sri Aurobindo Ashram was founded as the forum for the working out of his vision.

Typically an ashram is a spiritual community involving a Master-disciple organization in which the followers renounce normal participation in the world in order to achieve spiritual liberation from it (Satprem, 1984:355). The Sri Aurobindo Ashram was to be a centre of both individual contemplation and collective action in pursuit of the terrestrial transformation. Involvement in this ashram was intended to be no "flight
from the world", but the development of heightened capacity in the midst of the world. Initially, the ashram was constituted of close disciples of Sri Aurobindo. In 1940, its doors were thrown open to the world, from which point it became international in character.

2.2 The Mother

The ashram had been started by a French woman, Mirra Alfasa, who had joined Sri Aurobindo in Pondicherry in 1920. She had been born into a bourgeois family in Paris in 1878. Having taken an early interest in the arts, particularly painting, she later married a painter and had children. Mirra Alfasa travelled to North Africa and in 1914, arrived in Pondicherry, India, where she met Sri Aurobindo. Therewith, Mirra Alfasa spent one year in Pondicherry, one year in France to take care of affairs, then four years in Japan, much of which was in a Buddhist monastery. She returned to Pondicherry in 1920 never to leave again. The ashram she developed is today the largest ashram in India.

With Mirra Alfasa responsible for the ashram, Sri Aurobindo retired to his chambers in 1926 where he would spend the rest of his life looking within for a path to a terrestrial transformation. In the mid 1920's Sri Aurobindo said that Mirra Alfasa was the Mother, and henceforth she was known as such. Prakiti, the Mother force in Sri Aurobindo's schema, is the force of conscious evolution in matter, the energy and intention in all material manifestation. Known as the Mother, Mirra Alfasa, was understood to be a human incarnation of this force, the force which is, in effect,
everything. She became the central figure of the ashram. By the late 1940's, he was
to declare that he and the Mother were of the same consciousness. This declaration was
significant, for Sri Aurobindo was to leave his body in 1950.

He and the Mother were venerated as embodiments of the divine. With his
death, his body was considered lost to the elements but to many his spirit remained and
was of substantial help to them in their aspiration to the divine. The ashram had
flourished and grown. Beyond Pondicherry, it was well respected. The name of
Aurobindo continued to be venerated as that of a great patriot and mystic. Within the
ashram the Mother was dissatisfied. She found herself the center of worship, a focus
which she felt detracted from the work at hand. Her interest was transformation, not
spirituality as a goal in and of itself. She took under her wing an outcast of the ashram,
a French man named Satprem, to be her confidante and to record for her the experiments
she was conducting with her own body. For now she had, like Sri Aurobindo over
twenty years previous, more or less withdrawn to her room to take up his work. Her
endeavor was further to deepen, expand, stabilize her consciousness in order to find her
way through the mental, emotional, physical "habits" that limit one's capacity for
experience and change.

To the Mother the ashram of the 1950's and beyond was characterized by
inertia, the very block to progress of any kind. Ashramites had developed a lifestyle,
not the means to transform life. They were comfortable. Hardly the seedbed of
revolution. In 1954, she envisioned a city of light, a city characterized by freedom and
progress, unity and strength. She acted on this dream. (Please refer to Appendix B: The
Mother’s Dream.) By 1968, the social experiment which was to be called Auroville was supported by two UNESCO resolutions and the sponsorship of the Union Government of India. Contributions from all over the world were received. Auroville was inaugurated on February 28, 1968 six kilometers north of Pondicherry. Diplomats and dignitaries gathered to witness the spectacle of children from 124 different countries depositing earth from their native lands into the urn. Auroville was to be the living embodiment of an actual human unity.

2.3 Auroville

The significance of Auroville to the Mother was in its development. It was in the building of it that she conceived human development could take place. Thoroughly denuded land over a large area had to be brought back to life again and patterns of social life had to be developed that reflected the common aspiration. Auroville was to be the site of constant change inspired by a deep and abiding relationship with the divine. The transformation of human life was its ultimate mandate. This was to be a collective enterprise.

In the name of the barren plateau called Auroville, the topsoil having long since washed into the Bay of Bengal through deep ravines, the Mother issued the simple invitation: "Greetings from Auroville to all men of goodwill. Are invited to Auroville all those who thirst for progress and aspire to a higher and truer life."

Yet Auroville was born within the rational-legal context of a nation state. In order to collect funds for the project a trusteeship had to be instituted — the SAS (Sri
Aurobindo Society). This body was a part neither of the ashram nor of Auroville. Its existence was a function of legal necessity, whose purpose was to be a channel for funds. The simple statement of the purpose and ethos of Auroville, The Charter of Auroville, is definitive for those committed to Auroville, but is not of a legal nature:

The Charter of Auroville

Auroville belongs to nobody in particular. Auroville belongs to humanity as a whole. But to live in Auroville one must be a willing servitor of the Divine Consciousness.

Auroville will be the place of an unending education, of constant progress, and a youth that never ages.

Auroville wants to be the bridge between the past and the future. Taking advantage of all discoveries from without and from within, Auroville will boldly spring towards future realisations.

Auroville will be a site of material and spiritual researches for a living embodiment of an actual Human Unity.

Mother

An American couple started the first pioneering settlement, Forecomers. In this settlement to the south of the proposed city area, the land was so barren that they slept in raised netted spheres. They commenced Auroville’s reforestation work. Today the Forecomer’s area is composed of four settlements maintaining over 170 acres of person-made forest. Shortly after the arrival of the American couple, Janet, a Canadian woman, moved into the Center area and a German man, Frederick, moved from the Ashram to what is now Certitude. The latter two communities are now comfortable, tree-covered residential areas. Most of Aurovilian immigration has been of this nature; people arrived
to undertake whatever work was needed. In the first fifteen years of Auroville’s history, the work was indeed that of pioneers: moving onto land purchased for the experiment, building a simple dwelling, drilling a well, and developing the expertise to regenerate the soil and to plant and maintain trees. Today most Auroville land is green and lush, a shocking change from my first experience of it 12 years ago. Since the mid 1980’s the Central Government of India has periodically employed Aurovilians to reforest other parts of South India.

One exception to the normal immigration pattern is the development of Aspiration, a settlement on the extreme eastern border of Auroville. Two waves of settlement occurred here, in 1969 and 1971, with the arrival of convoys of settlers from France. The community was pre-planned and constructed by the settlers as a group, designed and overseen by Auroville’s chief architect, Roger Anger of Paris, France.

In the first five years of Auroville’s history, major decisions were made by the Mother, and those persons accepted by her as residents were given a monthly stipend in order to take care of basic needs. People from around the world settled on the widely dispersed land purchased for the experiment. By 1971, Roger Anger’s design for the Matrimandir, a one hundred foot diameter space-frame structure planned for individual contemplation, started to take shape as the geographical and spiritual center of Auroville. Many ashramites moved the six kilometers from their established life in Pondicherry to Auroville, some at the request of the Mother. From the beginning, Auroville was an enterprise distinct from the ashram.
In 1973, the Mother died. Although in her 90’s when she died, her personal impact on individual Aurovilians was profound right up to the end. Twenty-four years earlier, Sri Aurobindo had declared that he and the Mother were of the same consciousness, in effect making clear that the purpose of the ashram, the work of the supramental yoga, was as much in the Mother’s hands and mind as his. When he passed away, the Mother remained. When the Mother died at age 93, she left no one in charge, and no directive regarding how to carry on.

With the Mother’s death, many French Aurovilians looked to Satprem as an authority in their lives but this leadership role was of no interest to him. Well removed from Auroville and Pondicherry, he continues to follow the path suggested by the Mother. By 1975, attempts by the Sri Aurobindo Society (SAS) to direct construction of the Matrimandir and control all financial matters of the growing community led to open revolt by the vast majority of the residents. They refused to recognize the authority of any SAS directive on the grounds that the SAS had no mandate regarding decision-making.

The death of the Mother started what could be called a crisis of succession: she had left no explicit statement regarding the management of Auroville upon the event of her death. Indeed, management was not what she had had in mind. It was clear that the SAS was assuming managerial control of Auroville. The majority of Aurovilians agreed that this control contravened the ethos of Auroville as experiment. SAS control from its Pondicherry office made of Auroville an SAS project, a top-down, management-labour type of organization, rather than the Mother’s dream in which order results from
individuals sincerely taking up increasing responsibility as their capacities grow. Indeed, members of the Sri Aurobindo Society were referring officially to Auroville as a project of the SAS.

It is from this point that the routinization of charisma in Auroville commenced in a substantial way. The Mother had been a mother in a very real sense, that by means of her, residents realized a force and a beauty previously unknown. With her passing, what they had learned from her, and continued to experience but in more ethereal ways, had to be translated into decisions regarding issues that would have effects not only on the individual existence but in any future realization of the Mother's vision.

The legacy of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother is unique in the sense that they suggested a goal without specifically defining it or the means to attain it. Furthermore, according to both Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, they had failed in their individual attempts to find the key by means of which that which is conscious and intentional in matter may express itself. Their purpose was to participate in what they believed to be latent in matter, the evolution of a new being, one free of oppression both personal and social, the supramental yoga.

Aurovilians were not left with a blueprint for development, not a morality, not a constitution nor even a set of regulations, save one: "There are to be no drugs in Auroville". They were left with the Charter of Auroville, the Mother’s comments in Auroville’s regard and reflections by the two people who had spawned it, one Indian, one French, one man, one woman. It was clear from the Mother’s comments that Auroville was an experiment, a laboratory. What Sri Aurobindo and the Mother had
failed to do, with their own bodies as the material of their research, Auroville had to carry on — the residents, the trees, the earth — as the material of the research. Participants were now both the researchers and the researched, the collective yoga.

The Mother was no longer there to decide what was to be done and no one is surprised that she left behind no instructions regarding succession. Sri Aurobindo had at times described his yoga as a battle against those "habits" that keep humanity ignorant of the wonder and power of consciousness. Aurovilians now had to find their own way and they recognized their first battle in the imposition of the arbitrary hierocracy of the SAS, one habit of old. Not all Aurovilians agreed.

The dispute lasted from 1975 to 1982. During this time, two factions formed: those who would only accept the legitimacy of systems devised by residents themselves, and those who accepted the authority of the SAS. The rationale that Auroville had to be self-determining to be truly creative was juxtaposed to the idea that Auroville needed time to mature under the guidance of an authority before being capable of self-determination. The former made up a much larger proportion of the population than the latter. Both sides were armed with quotes from the Mother.

In early 1975, collective meetings in Auroville resulted in its registering its own trust for the channelling of outside funds. The SAS responded by cutting off funds to Auroville except to those settlements or individuals who would formally recognize and agree to its right to govern. A few sparsely populated settlements acceded to this demand. The overwhelming majority of residents, however, organized to meet the needs of the community as a whole, cut off as it was from its funding.
From 1975 to 1982, Aurovilians experimented with the means of organizing themselves while under attack by the SAS from without, and in the context of the schism developed within. In early 1976, the Auroville Cooperative, later to be called the Council, was initiated and has been sustained to the present. It was a group of twelve whose responsibility it was to interface with the outside world and mediate disputes between individuals and settlements. Over the years many different means have been effected to select the membership of this body since democracy as an institution is considered to be too easily corrupted. This group was and continues to be responsible to general meeting decisions. General Meetings, originally called Pour Tous meetings, instituted in 1975, are open to any and all Aurovilians and function to reach a consensus on an issue. For the most part, decisions are considered taken when the group arrives at a formulation about which no further dissent is expressed. At times, voting has taken place in which a very large majority decision has been implemented. A system of work groups evolved, each responsible for coordinating its respective work, whether it be greenwork (land reclamation, reforestation), or the building of the Matrimandir. To meet the material needs of residents, a central food distributing system, Pour Tous, operated to deliver twice weekly baskets of basic food needs to each community. Several industries, large and small, were started to generate income for the community. Because of the Aurovillian tenet against individual ownership, these industries were registered under trusts. Auroville Trust was commenced to function as a legal channel for funding and to guarantee the visas of foreign residents. The SAS had used its responsibility of guaranteeing such visas to attempt to manipulate activity in Auroville. Orchards, farms,
dairies, a bakery and a free store were started and continue to supply Pour Tous with their products for distribution. The envelope system developed, a weekly community meeting by means of which specified and unspecified funds from without and within Auroville were channeled to where they were needed most. A network called Auroville International was established, presently encompassing organizations in Europe, North and South America and Australia, to raise funds for Auroville. The Auroville Review was published as a quarterly journal on Auroville development and distributed through the international centers. Lastly, with the sponsorship of UNESCO, the Auroville International Advisory Committee was activated, a committee of three prominent statespersons from outside India who represent the international character of Auroville.

In the meantime, the SAS, determined to gain control, wrote articles smearing the populace of Auroville in the Indian national press and hired goondas to ransack and steal from Auroville settlements. They beat up Aurovilians when they could. Their activities included attempted murder and the manipulation of visas, leading to the expulsion of two American Aurovilians from India. The residents of Auroville managed to meet the external threat to their self-determination while at the same time organizing themselves in a manner consistent with the Mother’s vision, collective cooperation without domination. Auroville was institutionalizing but in a manner consistent with the Mother’s values of organizational flexibility and personal freedom.

In the late 1970’s, Auroville appraised the Central Government of India of the strife between the residents of the township and the SAS. The consequent government inquiry resulted in the Auroville (Emergency Provisions) Act, passed by the Indian
parliament in 1980. The Act stipulated that the SAS had no managerial rights in regards to Auroville and could not interfere with its development or control its assets, although legal title to the lands remained in the name of the SAS. To ensure that Auroville would develop free of interference, a government administrator was assigned to live in Auroville for a period of five years, during which time a more permanent solution was to be found. The SAS stalled the full implementation of the Act by claiming Auroville constituted a religion so that the government could not intervene in the management of Auroville. The injunction posted in this manner by the SAS was overturned in 1982 by the Supreme Court of India which ruled that Auroville did not constitute a religion.

Many Aurovilians felt they had fallen from the frying pan into the fire with this Act, since the Mother had specifically warned the residents of Auroville about allowing government involvement, fearing the ethos of Auroville could get lost in government machinations. The government presence (1980-1988) in Auroville was passive and for the most part did not interfere in the day-to-day operation or decision-making of Auroville.

Although the crisis of succession which followed the Mother’s death seems to have accelerated the routinization process, it did not do so in a manner consistent with Weber’s theory. In short order residents had to decide on the organizational constitution of their community. The majority of residents chose self-determination and had to defend this decision with courage and tenacity. The organizational forms they chose to implement reflected a flexibility characteristic of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother’s orientation towards institutions. The latter had expressed wariness towards patterns of
life that could potentially stifle individual and social progress. Mutability was a key component in every Aurovilian structure implemented. While organization had developed in Auroville, the expected stratification and the displacement of values by individual interests were not born out of the crisis of succession.

Having met an external challenge to Auroville’s ethos, an internal drive for domination became apparent to Aurovilians. A small group of French people had led Aurovilians in their resistance to the SAS. By the end of the crisis, most of Auroville’s community bodies — decision-making to food distribution to editorship of the Auroville Review — seemed dominated by the same people, the French leaders. Their support diminished until their attempt to expel an American resident showed they had no support at all. By the late 1980’s, the Auroville Review had ceased to be a forum for Auroville development but appeared more and more as a medium for the religious beliefs of a few, now former, leaders. The Auroville Review stopped publishing in 1988. By 1989 many members of the original French faction had left Auroville.

When Aurovilians were threatened with external control, they chose to pass up the funding and organize themselves. When they found themselves dominated from within the community, they stopped listening, kept working, and watched their former leaders leave in frustration. The residents of Auroville appeared to resist being governed, to shun those that thought they could think for Auroville as a whole, to reject hierarchy, to shun institutions if they dared encroach on individuals’ better judgement, and to shun delimitation of the reflections of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother.
The routinization of charisma refers to the patterning of social activity derived from popular adherence to a charismatic leader. The patterning is expected when the charismatic leader's spontaneity and personal power are absent, creating the problem of how the many may come to express the qualities which were known in relation to a single leader. The "call" must be preserved in social forms: the Mother's vision must be "alive" in the organization of Auroville and the symbol systems of Aurovilians. This is a translation of values into specific and determined behaviours, a process which may tend toward traditionalization or rationalization at every step of the way. As patterns of behaviour take on a life of their own, the original meaning of the patterns become alienated from the forms adopted.

Organization in Auroville tends to be ad hoc, voluntary and characteristic of networking. This is best exemplified by its spacial distribution of population — the network of settlements — the work group system and the voluntary systems of participation in administration and decision-making. Networking implies voluntary association based on individual choice and responsibility. During the crisis years, Auroville's network widened to include national support groups in over a half dozen different countries. When it was really needed, Auroville's international character helped to sustain the local community.

The overall orientation of the residents in Auroville is consistent with that of Sri Aurobindo, inner-worldly mysticism. Ideally, given this orientation, the individual's relationship with the divine determines his or her activity with respect to the physical and social worlds. The orientation of Auroville is apparent in the choices Aurovilians
have made in regards to the way they wish to interrelate, putting the integrity of the experiment ahead of concerns for harmony and efficiency.

Starting by identifying Sri Aurobindo and the Mother as exemplifying charisma, Auroville could be seen as a case which should exemplify the routinization of charisma. The first and most noticeable aspect of seeing Auroville in this light is that it was not routinizing in a manner consistent with Weber's theory. Routinization, as elaborated by Weber, appeared to run counter to the orientation adopted and acted upon by the residents of Auroville.

The historical overview presented thus far constituted the basis for the development of the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter One and elaborated in Chapter Three. The history which follows sets up the period, and therefore the substance, of my formally taking up the role of researcher in Auroville.

With the court victory in 1982, Auroville began to prosper materially. The battle was over; the emergency survival measures had developed into viable production, distribution and income-generating systems. Yet the period following 1982 was characterized by a different concern which many Aurovilians felt was as serious as the conflict with the SAS, though much more insidious. Along with greater material prosperity came a significant decline in communal living, and a sense of disappointment over the lack of a spirit of sharing. The increase in the number of situations in which the exchange of money occurred represented parallels to a conventional economy whose threat was in the form of a kind of orientation that Macpherson (1962) calls "possessive individualism".
In September, 1988, the Indian parliament in New Delhi passed the Auroville Foundation Act. This Act enabled the Government of India to divest the Sri Aurobindo Society of all legal title to the land and assets of Auroville, vest the latter in the Government itself, to be transferred to the Foundation of Auroville upon its activation. The Charter of Auroville was now embodied in government legislation designed to nurture and protect the international experiment. With the Charter formally recognized as Auroville's mandate, Aurovilians refocused their attention on the internal structure of Aurovillian life. The Foundation was activated in February, 1991. The analyses which constitute chapters five and six focus on this period, 1988 to 1991. (Please refer to Appendix B: Auroville Timeline.)
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The substance of this chapter is the theoretical framework constructed in order to analyze Auroville. Two concerns guided the framing of this conceptual orientation: sensitivity to the internal coherence of Aurovilian life; relevance to the field of sociology in its capacity as a generalizing science. With the choice of sociological concepts and their application to the context of Auroville, our purpose is to achieve an understanding of Auroville which is not contingent upon either participation in or affinity to the Aurovilian endeavor, but is coherent and relevant to the pursuit of knowledge about social behaviour and development in general.

This chapter commences with a discussion about Weber’s conceptualization of the notion of "type", which is the orientation to theoretical concern adopted for the purpose of conducting this study. Thereafter, we elaborate the four theoretical components which constitute the conceptual framework, the postulated tension, introduced in Chapter One: 1) Charisma, the type of legitimate authority applicable to the founders of Auroville, Sri Aurobindo and the Mother; 2) The routinization of charisma, the type of institutionalization process which Weber associated with charismatic movements in the absence of their leaders; 3) O’Dea’s five dilemmas in the institutionalization of religion, identified here as an operationalization of
institutionalization, which may be applied to Auroville; 4) Weber’s typology of salvational forms, a typology of two dimensions of orientation to salvation from which we apply the type, inner-worldly mystical, to Auroville. The purpose of this chapter is to ground the theoretical approach of this thesis in the literature from which the approach has been derived.

3.1 Ideal Type

The elements of the theoretical framework are derived, directly or indirectly, from Weber. They are also applied in this thesis in a manner consistent with his methodology. Therefore, we consider these elements to be ideal types.

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild). (Weber, 1949:90)

Although an ideal type is not an attempt to be an empirical representation of a social reality, it is nevertheless empirically referent. An ideal type is an exaggeration of a particular feature for the purpose of analysis and comparison. The logic and coherence of the type is derived from the mind, not from empirical phenomena.

It is a conceptual construct (Gedankenbild) which is neither historical reality nor even the "true" reality. It is even less fitted to serve as a schema under which a real situation or action is to be subsumed as one instance. It has the significance of a purely ideal limiting concept with which the real situation or action is compared and surveyed for the explication of certain of its significant components. Such concepts are constructs in terms of which we formulate relationships by the application of the category of objective possibility. By means of this
category, the adequacy of our imagination, oriented and disciplined by reality, is judged. (Weber, 1949:93)

The ideal type, then, is a kind of mental standard, or yardstick, which enables analysis without asserting the actual presence of the type.

[T]he type is an attempt to organize empirical data in preparation for the comparative study of it. It is a tool, or strategy of empirical explanation in sociology, not a substitute for explanation or an end in itself. (Martin, 1970:76)

As simplifying heuristic devices, types allow us to focus on specific aspects of the social world. We may more clearly examine phenomena from the point of view of that standard while also recognizing what the standard is missing. The types themselves are subject to refinement by the data gathered. This relationship between the theoretical construct and the empirical world is the methodological foundation and purpose of the theoretical framework developed.

3.2 Charisma

Charisma is the type of legitimate authority which, for the purpose of this study, we apply to Sri Aurobindo and the Mother. According to Weber’s original formulation (1968:48),

the term "charisma" will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader....What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples."
Miyahara (1983:371) notes four features of Weber's conception of charisma. First, there is "complete personal devotion" on the part of the followers to the leader. Second, a "charismatic community" is formed by the followers involving emotional ties to each other. Third, the revolutionary nature of charisma is emphasized: all established notions of sanctity and order become questionable, potentially resulting in disruption to rational or traditional rule. Fourth, charisma involves a "mission", "a normative world image".

Charisma is connected with foundational values and involves a potential breakthrough in the world order. Charismatic legitimacy is based on recognition of qualities so fundamental to one's existence that commitment to the leader is felt to be a moral obligation. For the followers, then, charismatic leadership is highly personal. Since charisma exists in its pure form only in its emergence, the routinization of charisma is a conception of equal significance.

3.3 The Routinization of Charisma

Without leadership, a charismatic movement loses its capacity to exist unless it adopts everyday methods of organization. The original uprooting of normal interests and values in the charismatic relationship was contingent upon the particular leader-follower relationship. With the absence of the leader, other principles of organization must be set in motion. A depersonalization of charisma takes place:

[R]outinized charisma adheres not to persons but to social institutions, be they offices or kinship organizations. Especially in the former case, the depersonalization may reach the point where office and person (incumbent) are completely separated. (Miyahara, 1983:372)
Spontaneity, characteristic of charisma (O'Dea, 1966:23), is thereby supplanted by social structure. Where charismatic authority was originally based on recognition by the followers of the extraordinary qualities of the leader, charisma of office or lineage-charisma involves "depersonalized possession of qualifications which are then objectively dispensed by appealing to the authority of the founder" (Hill, 1973:177). The development of more formalized roles is accompanied by the promulgation of ideological definitions such that the routinization of charisma is a movement both structurally and ideologically toward either traditional or rational-legal types of legitimacy (Hill, 1973:172), or a combination of them both. While the movement becomes routinized at the ideological level by means of the followers selecting out of the charismatic message those elements that coincide with their needs and desires, the organizational transformation centres on the question of succession (Hill, 1973:170). Weber (1968:55-57) listed six methods whereby the critical issue of designating a successor could be resolved. Hill (1973:171) summarized them as follows:

1. an organized search for another bearer of charisma, such as the Dalai Lama of Tibet;
2. the use of oracles, revelation of divine judgement;
3. choice of a successor by the charismatic leader himself and his acceptance by the community of the faithful, for example the selection of Peter by Jesus;
4. choice of a successor by the staff of the charismatic leader and his recognition by the community;
5. an assumption that charisma is inseparable from a blood line and is thus hereditary;
6. transmission by magical or religious means, as, for instance, in a coronation ceremony.

Routinized forms of charisma such as charisma of office or lineage-charisma are based on the methods of succession: Office charisma is premised on the belief that the originating charisma may be passed on by means of a ceremony while lineage-
charisma assumes charisma is hereditary (Miyahara, 1973:372). It is in this way that the subjective, spontaneous charismatic endowment comes to be treated as something objective, structured. Thus the routinization of charisma is the transformation of extraordinary ideas and relationships to more everyday principles such as heredity, traditional practices, and the basic needs and desires of the followers. Routinization especially involves the desire to sustain the legitimacy of the social movement well beyond the life of the original charismatic leader. According to Weber, the routinization process is necessary if the movement is to survive. It is at this juncture that the conception of dilemma becomes appropriate because it is at this point that the extraordinary and the ordinary collide.

3.4 Five Dilemmas in the Institutionalization of Religion

Pointing to a fundamental dilemma of institutionalization, Thomas O’Dea (1961:30-39) developed five dilemmas associated with the routinization of charisma.

The fundamental dilemma

may be stated with stark economy as follows: what problems are involved for social systems in their attempt to evolve workable compromises between spontaneity and creativity on one hand and a defined and stable institutionalized context for human activity on the other? Spontaneity and creativity are the very stuff of human vitality and the source of necessary innovation. Yet social institutions are necessary as the context for action for without them life would dissolve into chaos. Moreover, men inevitably evolve stable institutionalized forms. (O’Dea, 1961:39)
The fundamental dilemma between spontaneity and structure is particularly evident in the context of the routinization of charisma because of the extraordinary nature of the religious experience:

The charismatic moment is the period of the original religious experience and its corresponding vitality and enthusiasm. Since...this experience involves the deep engagement of the person involved with a "beyond" which is sacred, it is unusual in a special sense. It would remain a fleeting and impermanent element in human life without its embodiment in institutional structures to render it continuously present and available. Yet in bringing together two radically heterogeneous elements, ultimacy and concrete social institutions, the sacred and the profane, this necessary institutionalization involves a fundamental tension in which five functional dilemmas take their origin. (O'Dea, 1961:32)

The five dilemmas developed by O'Dea are a way to operationalize the fundamental dilemma, characterized by the demand for spontaneity and the need for structure, so that various, though related, dimensions of that fundamental tension may be located.

Unlike the conception of a problem with its proposed or attempted solution, there is no solution to a dilemma: "dilemmas are inescapable paradoxes which must be lived with and handled in some way, but which cannot be eliminated" (O'Dea, 1966:117). The paradox to which we are referring may also be expressed as how one may adhere to ultimate values revealed in the life and teachings of a charismatic leader while acting in the world to meet mundane pragmatic interests. Highlighted in this distinction is the tension between a life of inner contemplation and social action. Briefly, the five dilemmas are summarized below.
1) The dilemma of mixed motivation refers to the ever-present choice of acting genuinely in accordance with the revealed knowledge of a charismatic leader or also acting according to one's self-interest, group-interest, or the perceived interests of the movement as a whole. The initial stage of a religious movement is characterized by the single-mindedness of motivation of the followers. "The religious movement does satisfy complex needs for its adherents, but it focuses their satisfaction upon its values and their embodiment in the charismatic leader" (O'Dea, 1961:33). This "wholehearted response" is transformed with the emergence of a stable set of statuses and roles, a structure of offices, that constitutes the institutionalization process (O'Dea, 1961:33). The necessity of the latter to stabilize a movement such that it is not dependent on "disinterested motivation" creates a world of rewards for the officeholders which may compete with the subtle meaning introduced by the charismatic leader (O'Dea, 1966:91). Desire for respectability, influence, and power may compete with and usurp the original motivations. This may occur in terms of individual motives as well as movement-wide goal displacement.

2) The symbolic dilemma is summed up in the paradoxical relationship of objectification versus alienation. Objectification refers to the attempt to keep the original extraordinary experience alive by expressing it in symbolic forms. These forms are necessarily empirical and profane. Although their creation and use are necessary for continuity and for sharing within the group, their repeated use leads to a "loss of resonance between the symbol and the attitudes and feelings from which it originally
derived" (O'Dea, 1966:92). With repetition, the symbols become prosaic and everyday, even opaque. They may become obstacles to religious experience.

Repetition robs ritual of its unusual character, so significant for charisma, and routinizes it. The loss of resonance means the loss of the original emotional meaning. The symbolic order thus becomes alienated. (O'Dea, 1966:93)

3) The dilemma of administrative order involves the paradoxical processes of elaboration and alienation. Elaboration pertains to the development of formal bureaucratic organizational structures which constitutes the central tendency of the routinization process of a charismatic movement. Organizational elaboration begins in response to the followers' interests in the stabilization of the movement, a functional concern. The initially developed statuses and roles, rules and procedures comprising the structure of offices continue to evolve as new situations demand new institutional responses. These at first functional responses typically involve the creation of new offices or the modification of existing offices. The effort to meet the demands of new problems tends to result in the complication of the structure:

[S]uch self-complication can overextend itself and produce an unwieldy organization with blocks and breakdowns in communication, overlapping of spheres of competence, and ambiguous definitions of authority and related functions. (O'Dea, 1961:35)

In effect, an over-elaboration may occur which blunts the effectiveness of the structures to meet current demands. This development also entails "mixed motivation" because, as described in the dilemma of mixed motivation, elaboration encourages the identification of interest by the office-holders in the organizational forms themselves. Their vested interest results in resistance to institutional change and reform which would
benefit the members whom the structures were originally designed to serve. Such change, however, is threatening to the security of the officeholders. Elaboration leads to alienation at two levels. The organizational structures become less responsive both to changing conditions in the social environment (external) and to members' needs (internal).

4) The dilemma of delimitation is the juxtaposition of the need for concrete definition of the religious message to the potential outcome of that process - the substitution of the letter for the spirit. The process of definition and concretization occurs under pressures to make the religious message comprehensible and relevant to ordinary people and their everyday activities and concerns. Further, the message must be safeguarded against interpretations contrary to its inner ethos (O'Dea, 1966:94). The application of the spirit through formulation to meet specific issues and problems involves a potential reduction, a narrowing of the ethical message:

Implications drawn in concrete form under particular circumstances may come to be accepted in a literalist manner, in which the original scope of the implications of the religious message may be lost. (O'Dea, 1966:94)

The original spirit of the religious message is thereby translated into literal rules. Such oversimplification results potentially in the rule becoming an end in itself whereby delimitation has implications for greater social control. While the application of the spirit of the religious message may have been an arbitrary translation from a general principle to a specific situation, violation of the resulting norm may become of greater social import than the end to which the original ethical message was addressed. A violation of a specific norm is now a threat to the legitimacy of the system itself.
While the process of delimitation is an attempt to maintain religious insights and the organizational integrity of the movement, the original "call to the extraordinary" may be lost in the accumulation of doctrine and regulation, legalism. (O'Dea, 1966:94)

5) The dilemma of power: conversion versus coercion hinges upon the precarious nature of belief systems. The dilemma of power draws on the organizational elaboration as a means of social control. In religious conversion, faith as a commitment to the supraempirical necessarily involves doubt. Yet this faith can be supplemented by respectability and consensual validation such that the content of faith may develop a "specious obviousness" (O'Dea, 1966:96). This is especially so when the support of accepted political authority is involved. The interpenetration of religious and secular authority involves such mutual benefits that a real danger of religious coercion follows from such consensus. Therefore mass conversion has led to the potential for coercion, the use of power. The very spontaneous and voluntary nature of the religious experience is thereby imperiled. (O'Dea, 1966:96)

O'Dea's dilemma analysis is rooted in the precarious nature of charisma: with its routinization, the charismatic community must walk a tightrope in its effort to preserve both its spirit and its movement (one is easily sacrificed for the other). The course of development a charismatic community will follow in the routinization process will depend to a great extent on its basic orientation. A mystical orientation, for example, tends to develop into traditionalism (Mueller, 1973:103), while the ascetic

1. Berger's (1969:45-48) conception of plausibility structure is related to this "specious obviousness."

3.5 Weber's Typology of Two Dimensions of Orientation toward Salvation

Weber identified inner-worldly asceticism as a type of orientation common to both early protestant movements and 18th-19th century rational bourgeois capitalism. He used this type in developing his thesis connecting the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. Weber was basically looking at an orientation toward work which altered the approach to economy. In a related manner, the inner-worldly mystical type conditions perception of the routinization process in Auroville.

Weber's typology is based on relating two dimensions: inner-worldly/other-worldly and asceticism/mysticism.

Table 3.1. Weber's typology of two dimensions of orientation toward salvation.

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<tr>
<th>INNER-WORLDLY</th>
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<td>ASCETICISM</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYSTICISM</td>
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</table>

(Source: Robertson, 1978: 128-131.)
According to Robertson (1978:129), it is the inner-worldly/other worldly dimension which has taken analytic precedence for Weber. The inner-worldly orientation to salvation views the everyday world as unavoidable; the world is constituted of empirical contingencies that must be engaged, overcome. The other-worldly orientation views the empirical contingencies of the everyday world as avoidable; they may be transcended.

Weber's own treatment of the typology indicates an assimilation of asceticism into the inner-worldly orientation and mysticism into other-worldly, resulting in the presentation of two dichotomous types, inner-worldly asceticism and other-worldly mysticism, rather than four. In effect, the fusion of asceticism with the inner-worldly orientation to salvation resulted in an asceticism in which

\[\text{Only activity within the world helps the ascetic to attain that for which he strives, a capacity for action by God's grace. The ascetic derives renewed assurances of his state of grace from his awareness that this possession of the central religious salvation gives him the power to act and his awareness that through his acts he serves god. (Weber, 1963:169)}\]

The effect of fusing mysticism with the other-worldly orientation to salvation was a mysticism which entailed

\[\text{Inactivity, and in its most consistent form...the cessation of thought, the nemesis of everything that in any way reminds one of the world, and of course the absolute minimization of all outer and inner activity. (Weber, 1963:169)}\]

Robertson's (1978) treatment of the typology seeks to retain the analytic precedence of the inner/other-worldly dimension implied in Weber's work but without the latter's reduction of potentially four empirically and logically identifiable types to
only two. Robertson (1978:129) defines the elements of the second dimension, asceticism and mysticism, such that they would make empirical sense only if related to the inner-worldly/other-worldly dichotomy:

Asceticism is used here in reference to an orientation involving commitment to a form of self-discipline in the pursuit of a set of ultimate values; while mysticism is defined as an orientation involving belief in and valuation of the consummatability of human subjects.²

Robertson (1978:129) defines the four types that result as follows: inner-worldly asceticism involves commitment to self-discipline in daily life in order to guarantee a fundamental value-commitment i.e., the positive acceptance of "the contingent nature of this world in relation to ultimate reality". Inner-worldly mysticism involves self-actualization understood in terms of the relationship between worldly contingencies and "another realm of ultimate reality". Other-worldly asceticism is committed to self-discipline as the means by which to minimize the effect of worldly contingencies in the pursuit of an other-worldly realm. And finally, other-worldly mysticism involves commitment to completion of the self in union with the divine, thereby denying the contingencies of the world.

Robertson (1978:129-131) further refines Weber's treatment of the typology by developing the interrelation between the elements of the typology. Rather than accepting the polarity of inner-worldly asceticism and other-worldly mysticism exhibited in Weber's analysis, Robertson retains the four types, noting the complementarity that occurs within each of the two orientations toward salvation, inner-worldly and other-

². Consummatability refers to a potential for consummation or completion of the self. In a religious context, the term typically refers to union with the divine.
worldly. Within the inner-worldly orientation, for example, Robertson (1978:130) demonstrates the propensity for the complementation of inner-worldly asceticism with mysticism. Weber's use of the inner-worldly ascetic type as a purely rational, ethical orientation was conducive to his controlling interest in the increasing rationalization of the West. But beyond this particular and specific concern, such a religious orientation is hard to imagine, and would be difficult to maintain, without a mystical undercurrent, "some contact of ego with another-worldly realm". (Robertson, 1978:130) Intense devotion to duty without some emotional bond, some fervency, seems unlikely. (Mol, 1968) Similarly, regarding the other-worldly orientation to salvation, logically other-worldly mysticism would acquire a complement of asceticism to offset the obsession with ultimate reality implicit in Weber's characterization of that orientation. Robertson's (1978:128) analysis leads one

[T]o regard inner-worldly mysticism as a variation upon a more fundamental form of inner-worldly asceticism and other-worldly asceticism as a variation upon a more fundamental form of other-worldly mysticism. We argue that inner-worldly mysticism arises as a method of self-actualization in a context where the leading emphasis is upon acting in 'this world'. In contrast, historically speaking we regard asceticism as having arisen in other-worldly contexts — most notably the Indian one — as a method of coping with minimal worldly necessities.

On a more general level, Robertson indicates that within each of the two orientations to salvation, inner-worldly and other-worldly, asceticism and mysticism tend to complement each other. This notion of complementarity is conducive to the conception of type adopted in this study. That is, each type indicates a dominant trend among competing trends. Moving away from Weber's polarity of types, each element
of the inner-worldly/other-worldly, asceticism/mysticism typology is an analytic category involving dominant and secondary tendencies. Having postulated the tension within and between the types, the typology becomes a useful methodology to separate orientations initially and thereafter recognize their interrelationships. The proposition that the dominant orientation in Auroville is of the inner-worldly mystical type calls for recognition of the tensions that constitute both it and its relationship with the other types of orientations.

By setting inner-worldly asceticism in opposition to other-worldly mysticism, Weber virtually excluded inner-worldly mysticism, while relegating other-worldly asceticism to limited consideration. Although an oversight, due in part to his emphasis on rationalization, it is indicative of the empirical pre-eminence of inner-worldly asceticism and other-worldly mysticism, exemplified by, and contrasted in, early protestant reformers and Indian mystics, respectively. As Robertson would express it, the inner-worldly orientation is "contingently more conducive" to asceticism and the other-worldly orientation more conducive to mysticism (1978:128).

Robertson does note Weber's interest in the Society of Friends, the Quakers. Weber considered this quietist sect to be an exception in the West to the transformation of mysticism to the "active pursuit of virtue", a more ascetic disposition. (Weber, 1963:177) Regarding the Quakers,

Weber saw a meeting point between, on the one hand, mysticism and acosmic love, and, on the other hand, an emphasis upon mutual responsibility and ethical rationalism. It is a pity that Weber did not analyze the Quakers at length, for it would seem that that movement represents a major example of the rationalization of mysticism. (Robertson, 1978:124)
Given the Quaker concern with both "inner light" and participation in social justice issues, their movement may stand as an historical example of inner-worldly mysticism in the West.

As an orientation, inner-worldly mysticism is difficult to maintain. Because it represents both union with the divine and activity in the world, it embodies a fundamental tension between spontaneity and structure, between inner contemplation and social activity. As an orientation, it involves resistance to pressures toward the routinization of charisma.

The inner-worldly mystical orientation becomes more understandable as a distinct orientation when it is placed in the context of Weber's distinction between ethical and exemplary prophecy. Ethical prophecy in Weber's conception is the type upon which western religion is based; the prophet speaks as having received a commission from a personal, transcendental, ethical god. The prophet, as the "instrument for the proclamation of a god and his will", demands "obedience as an ethical duty" (Weber, 1968:263). Exemplary prophecy, on the other hand, makes no claim to the will of a transcendental god nor demands of obedience on ethical grounds. This type of prophet "may be an exemplary man who, by his personal example, demonstrates to others the way to religious salvation, as in the case of the Buddha" (Weber, 1968:263). Although Weber tended to consider such exemplary prophecy as other-worldly mystical, this type of prophecy, in its freedom from ethical regulation and its emphasis on knowledge based on experience, is conducive to an inner-worldly
mystical orientation. As Weber noted in his association of ethical prophecy with the rise of capitalism, exemplary prophecy is more common in the East.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, having identified our orientation to theory in Weber's notion of the ideal type, we've elaborated the theoretical constructs that in combination constitute the conceptual framework for this thesis. The routinization of charisma and O'Dea's fundamental dilemma of social life, as operationalized by his five interrelated dilemmas of institutionalization, are to be applied as standards against which we analyze social process in Auroville. The inner-worldly mystical type, drawing on Weber's typology of salvational forms, is applied to Auroville as the measure against which the orientation of Auroville is evidenced. We postulate, as a guiding assumption for this thesis, a tension between the impetus behind the routinization of charisma, the need for structure, and the feature central to the inner-worldly mystical orientation of Auroville, the demand for spontaneity.
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Antecedent to the approach and development of the methodology for this thesis was my decision, while first visiting Auroville in the spring of 1981, to live and work there permanently. The general orientation of the thesis, then, has been of one having adopted the values of Auroville, attempting to carry out a work in a manner faithful to the meaning of the experiment undertaken. The idea for conducting specifically social research occurred to me in the summer of 1981 when I recognized that there was no literature about Auroville which would allow one who does not have an affinity to the orientation of Sri Aurobindo to understand what is taking place there. I felt that the behaviour of the residents itself, if accurately recorded, would demonstrate what I knew myself and wanted to express, that what is occurring in Auroville is remarkable. Returning to Canada from India in June 1982, I took five introductory university courses in order to decide on the vehicle of my endeavor. I chose sociology as the appropriate discipline, and an MA Thesis as the specific form.

In May 1986, I received my BA Honours in Sociology and French. In June, I left for one year in Bangladesh, Nepal and India, five months of which were spent in Auroville in order to develop my thesis proposal. In those months, I lived in seven different communities, worked at several different occupations, making my first attempts
at engaging in participant observation. Two main interests had emerged in the years of my doing undergraduate work, communication and development. In returning to Auroville, I intended to find an academic framework most appropriate to illuminating the dynamics of Auroville.

After returning to Saskatoon in June of 1987 and being accepted into the College of Graduate Studies and Research, Dr. Thompson and I discussed my observations and found that a combination of aspects of Max Weber's work would structure and focus research about Auroville in such a way as to bring forth key insights into its dynamic. The challenge from the beginning of this work has been to find the means to analyze Auroville while being faithful to its meaning, a community of people in which in all my travels I've not found another which holds truthfulness to be so integral to itself and to life in general, while at the same time holding the abstract so suspect.

The use of the inner-worldly mystical ideal type in this thesis is sensitive to Weber's usage in which it is recognized that a type is a mental construct based on a very particular concern. The type is constructed to be able to deal with that concern. A type is partial in its focus on one aspect to the exclusion of the rest. The appropriateness of a type then rests to a large extent on the judgement of the one who constructs it. The significance of my 1986/87 trip to India, then, was to enable a choice of theoretical constructs, to be selected on the basis of participation in the culture, which would illuminate central features of the culture. I wanted a study which could relate the meaning to Aurovilians of their day-to-day practice to a theoretical approach which
could explain the nature of their endeavor as a whole, a locating and relating of parts to whole and whole to parts which would render greater explanatory power than the accumulation of objective facts about Auroville. I judged that participation in the culture, while also being significant to me personally, to be the means of providing context. Participation would safeguard the process of relating general orientation to its specific expression from interpretation alien to the meaning of Auroville to Aurovilians.

Having completed my course work and proposal, I arrived in Auroville in October 1988. *Analyzing Social Settings*, by John Lofland, was the resource I brought with me as a guide for the research. The methodology developed for the proposal was a combination of interviewing, review of Aurovilian literature, and participant observation. I intended the interviewing to be a means of evoking the orientation of individual Aurovilians. Twenty-two interviews were conducted between November 1988 and December 1990, with a set of persons varying on the basis of age, sex, nationality, locality, occupation, and apparent disposition on different community conflicts. The review of Aurovilian literature and participant observation were to provide, respectively, information on past and current development. By combining the three methods the intention was to gain access to the orientation of the members, the pressures to institutionalize, and the tension between the two. I immediately set to keeping field notes and structuring an interview guide according to the format elaborated by Lofland. From the beginning, I indicated to the residents with whom I came in contact the research I was doing and how I was doing it. In the Economy Seminar of November 14th and 15th, 1988, I introduced myself to the seminar as one present to study the
process. From that point my research intentions were formalized. Several Aurovilians read my proposal and expressed their support for the endeavor. I entered the field three times to collect data on Auroville: October 1988 to April 1989; June to December 1989; and November to December 1990.

The application of my research methodology changed significantly in Auroville because of two interrelated factors: my knowledge of being a de facto Aurovillian, if not an officially recognized one, and my academic concerns with validity. Having a year to myself to collect data, it was left up to me how to interpret the concern for validity. This concern was shaped to a large extent by my de facto membership in Auroville. Although I experienced tension because my decision to research the township occurred simultaneous to my desire to join Auroville definitively, my affinity to Aurovillian life and my academic concern for validity became complementary. Since research is an explicit purpose of Auroville, as per the Charter of Auroville, many Aurovilians refer to their own work as research, spiritual and material. Furthermore, Aurovilians are likely to be critical of the Aurovillian situation rather than complacent or defensive about it. Therefore, the Aurovilians with whom I came in contact generally welcomed my role of observer and analyst. My commitment to developing an analytical approach to Auroville, together with personal and professional relationships at the University of Saskatchewan, forestalled the loss of my particular research task and perspective in my identification with Auroville. However, it was the reflective attitude Aurovilians generally take to their own lives and thought which cautioned me to reflect on the task of generating a study which would not lose Auroville in the theoretical constructs.
adopted. Taking up community work, making my role of participant observer clear, I initially started by taking notes on conversation in which I engaged. Within a month, however, I was experiencing information overload. The second value of my stay in Auroville 1986-87 became evident now. Renewing individual contacts, I found myself invited to seminars and meetings that appeared closed to non-Aurovilians. In November 1988, my regular presence in Economic planning meetings was accepted. To have a year in Auroville to collect data had been significant to me. To do so, I had acquired the special Indian visa issued to those desiring to live in Auroville, a visa which can be renewed indefinitely provided one is accepted by the community. I was able to kill two birds with one stone: to become a resident of Auroville and to take the time I felt was necessary to come to an understanding of it for the sake of the research. In January 1989, accepted as a newcomer, I started the nine month probationary period stipulated by the entry group. From January, thanks to my newcomer status, my presence was accepted in the town planning and internal organization seminars and meetings as well as the second and third stages of the economic planning process, to mention only the most important meeting processes in which I participated. Hence, from November 1988 onwards, my research efforts in Auroville became more fruitful, centered on the community efforts to resolve differences of perspective on Auroville development in its many dimensions. Instead of relying solely on reflection by respondents in interviews and conversations, I was capturing the words that were shaping the community. At this point I set aside my proposal and its theoretical framework for the duration of data collection. I had become conscious of the danger of perceiving the material within pre-
existing categories. I had been incorporated into the decision-making of Auroville to a far greater extent than I had thought possible. I recognized its value and the fruits of the planned methods of data collection became the means to contextualize the result of the more potent participation. I set aside theoretical concerns, giving more direct attention to Auroville processes themselves.

The point at which I entered Auroville as researcher was quite fortuitous. When I left Auroville in March of 1987, Auroville-wide meetings were taking place in order to develop a constitution. The Central Government of India wanted to end its already extended mandate and asked Auroville residents to develop a constitution which could serve as the basis of a legal status such that the conflict with the SAS would not recur. Aurovilians have a strong grasp of the distorting and constricting effects of definition: they could not reach a consensus on an Auroville constitution. A Task Force of five residents experienced with dealing with the Central Government was formed and sent to New Delhi to give an Aurovilian presence to any government plan on Auroville’s behalf, and to keep Aurovilians posted on developments. Through its connections in Delhi, the SAS were reportedly doing the same. In September 1988, the Auroville Foundation Act was passed in the two houses of the Indian parliament. To make Auroville a foundation under a government ministry, the Human Resource Development Ministry, was the only appropriate means available to the government to remove from the SAS legal title to Auroville lands.

The Auroville Task Force was successful in seeing that the SAS would play no role in Auroville’s future development and that the UNESCO sponsored initiative of
In 1981, the International Advisory Council, would remain in place. In addition, there would be a Governing Board of nine prominent Indian citizens appointed on the basis of their past and present support of Auroville's ideals, and the Residents' Assembly, a new name for Auroville's General Meeting, where policy and conflict are discussed and decisions taken by consensus.

Overnight all legal title to the assets and land of Auroville was vested in the Central Government of India, to be transferred to the Auroville Foundation upon its activation. The SAS was out, the government was in. The Foundation was not activated until February 1991.

The passing of the Foundation Act set in motion a great deal of controversy. The managing trustees of the very successful Aurelec Data Processing Systems, ADPS, were not comfortable with the possibility of government interference in their business; hence they wanted ADPS out of the Foundation. The Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, requested of Auroville a Town Plan including a set of concrete proposals on specific projects such that a funding level could be specified for Auroville. Therefore Roger Anger arrived from Paris to renew his vision of Auroville, the Galaxy city plan. He had left Auroville several years earlier because of the Aurovilian conviction that decisions pertaining to Auroville should be made by individuals choosing to live there. The Foundation Act gave impetus to Aurovilians to rethink internal organization. Renewed energy and attention were generated to forestall the deepening trend towards a complete exchange economy, a trend that had started with the financial collapse of the collective economy in 1984. The members of the Task Force explained to Aurovilians that the
Foundation was a vague form, the substance of which needed to be developed by Aurovilians themselves. The year 88-89 was the initial Aurovilian response to the unexpected challenge. I arrived in Auroville one month after the passing of the Act to witness, follow, and record the community’s response to the external intervention.

Returning to Saskatoon for Christmas, 1989, the task at hand appeared to be the application of the theory to the data collected. I undertook to sort the material under the major categories of the theoretical framework of the proposal. Several different sources of data were to be analyzed: (1) excerpts from books, the Auroville Today magazine and the weekly Auroville News; (2) recorded interview material; (3) documents and minutes written for meeting participants; (4) field notes of conversations, meetings and events; and, (5) my own speaker by speaker accounts of meetings in which my role as notetaker had been accepted, some of which were written up for community consumption.

The concern for validity arose again to change the previously established mode of analysis. I was uncomfortable with the sorting process. Why should anyone believe the dynamic of the theoretical framework to be valid? If the theoretical framework itself is the basis for sorting the material into what’s to be treated and what’s not, a never-ending vicious circle is encountered, known formally as the hermeneutical circle. Moreover, from November 1988 onwards, I could not envisage how I could turn a mass of spoken words into a coherent and valid thesis. I returned to Auroville for five weeks of data collection in November/December 1990. When back at work in Saskatoon, I put the theoretical framework aside again.
Beginning afresh, I sorted the material in a way congruent with the way it had been collected, under the four major dynamics I had followed: Economic Planning, Town Planning, Internal Organization Planning, and ABC-Aurelec [the development of the Auroville Board of Commerce / the Aurelec (a commercial unit) controversy]. In the spring of 1991, with close scrutiny of the data pertaining to the ABC-Aurelec process, I discovered several themes emerged. In April, I recognized that these themes represented a valid link between the data and the theoretical framework developed so much beforehand. The themes and the data thereunder could indeed be treated by the original theoretical framework. Confident that I had found the means to express the dynamics of Auroville, and pleased that the theory developed would be of use, I continued with the thematic analysis method, leaving the theory aside until it was time to write up the thesis.

Eight themes emerged from my analysis of the data:

THEME SUMMARY:

1) Auroville was intended to be an experiment in collective yoga. Theme 1 is the tension between Collective agreement/participation (C a/p) and Individual judgement/initiative (I j/i). Both C a/p and I j/i potentially impede freedom (THEME 7). Valuing C a/p may constrict I j/i while I j/i may ignore the involvement of the many where they feel something is rightly their concern.

   Theme 1 was earlier articulated as:

   Official System (community participation) / Circumvention of the system (individual initiative without respect for community authorization process). (Rethink the wording for this theme, such as, lack of clarity and the means of coercion regarding the role of community bodies).

2) Concern about Power

55
3) Conflicting visions of Auroville

A.

a) Unity of the Collective manifested in collective structures and processes, a concrete demonstration of the Aurovilian aspiration.

vs

b) The Collective united in common purpose/ideals/inspiration, a subtle unity, where action is unhindered by others in the community: the freedom to realize one’s dreams/the ideal of non-imposition/the past experience of central control of a few legitimated by ideology of collective agreement — No trust in community process or the main actors in that process.

B.

a) Transformation of all dimensions of life

vs

b) Appeal to Practicality

4) Auroville / Central Government relationship

5) Non-imposition

6) Trust (Consider: regulation and institutionalization developing with decreasing trust in the responsibility of others).

7) Freedom

8) Resistance to Institutionalization

The themes developed reflect and delineate cultural issues. They are themes within the culture of Auroville recognizable by means of the recording of dialogue in and outside of policy-making meetings pertaining to critical events in the culture. The themes make sense of the data collected in regards to the processes of economic, internal
organization and town planning and the conflicts that arose in relation to these issues
(ABC-Aurelec). To the extent that they are themes, they reflect the orientation of the
people in Auroville. To the extent that they are accurate, they allow us to make sense
of the events recorded. The themes are the short-hand names we're using for the values
of the culture. They are also the way in which we make sense of all the disparate pieces
of data from which the themes were derived. As such, the themes tie together the data
(the parts) to the culture (the whole). Having derived the themes from the data, they
become the frame for making sense of the events in the culture.

The qualitative research approach I applied differs significantly from survey or
experimental techniques in which a research proposal with hypotheses is set out in
advance and tested through data collection and analysis. In my case, the theory
developed helped me to orient myself to the process of data collection, and later
provided me with an appropriate second level of analysis. Regarding data collection,
what was occurring in Auroville at the time and my opportunities related to those
occurrences determined the data I collected. Regarding data analysis, it was faithfulness
to the integrity of the processes observed which determined the method of analysis. In
recognizing too great a leap between the data and the theoretical framework, I put the
theory aside to concentrate on the data. Although when collecting data in Auroville I
could not construe how a thesis could develop from the nature of the material I was
collecting, I judged that that material, the spoken word in and relating to community
decision-making contexts, was the most effective means to develop an understanding of
and insight into the culture of Auroville. In this process of research development, I
discovered that the role of theory in qualitative research such as mine is twofold: its usefulness in emphasizing certain features over others; its usefulness in extending the understanding of the material analyzed. I had not set out to prove or disprove a hypothesis; the theoretical framework had given me a frame of reference. Its utility was yet to be determined.

Figure 4.1 summarizes my methodology as a whole, indicating that the final stage in this process is the linking of the theory to the data via the themes.

Consider the data to a large extent to be EVENTS as INTERPRETED by the speakers recorded in my research. Most of the issues thereby noted pertain to economy. The first article of the Auroville Charter relates to an economic issue: "Auroville belongs to nobody in particular. Auroville belongs to humanity as a whole. But to live in Auroville one must be a willing servitor of the Divine Consciousness." No individual ownership as a principle has prevailed in Auroville from its beginning and the elimination of the exchange of money has been a consistent goal. According to Weber it is the mundane, the economic, that drives the routinization process. Everyday need transforms the creative, extraordinary charismatic moment into a stable, mundane institutionalized setting.

Participation in the culture (1981, 1986-87) had originally led to the particular development of the theoretical framework (1987-88). Changes in my role in Auroville altered my orientation to that framework. Arriving as a student researcher (October
Figure 4.1. Methodology summary.

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<th>VISITOR</th>
<th>STUDENT (THEORY)</th>
<th>1988: VISITOR - RESEARCHER</th>
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<td>1989: PARTICIPANT RESEARCHER</td>
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<td>1990: AUROVILIAN RESEARCHER</td>
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(EVENTS INTERPRETED) (CULTURAL ISSUES)

PARTICIPATION THEORY DATA THEMES

(ECONOMIC ISSUES)
1988), my role changed to that of participant researcher by my being included in the economic planning process (November 1988), the point, more or less, at which I recognized the need to turn my attention exclusively to the processes of Auroville and away from the theoretical framework. Having been accepted by the community as a resident in December 1989, I was accepted as notetaker in the General Meetings of November/December 1990, the role of Aurovilian researcher, and offered an opportunity for work compatible with my research interests in Auroville upon my future return. These developments were antecedent to the point at which I again set aside the theoretical framework to focus exclusively on what could be learned from the data itself. This represents a shift toward the research role of cultural analyst (1991-1992). Henceforth, I would consider the MA Thesis to be a preliminary exploration and prototype for my future studies conducted in and for Auroville. Figure 4.2 indicates my role phases from 1986 to the end of 1992.

Having gone to Auroville in the first place to develop a culturally-sensitive theoretical framework, my repeated movements away from explicit use of the theory belie the significance of that endeavor. One value of the 1986/87 trip to Auroville is that, in the final analysis, I have a theoretical framework which is applicable to the data. It enhances and generalizes what may be learned from the thematic analysis. Otherwise I might have been left with a theory that illuminated nothing and which itself would not have been illuminated. Conversely, applying the theory I did develop earlier in the process would result in a thesis inescapably caught in the hermeneutical circle. In effect, I took these directions away from the theoretical framework to prevent the simple
Figure 4.2. Role Phases.

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confirmation of finding what I was looking for. One could say that by my being both a researcher and aspiring to be a resident of Auroville, I resisted institutionalization on the personal level by resisting the reification of the elements of my theoretical framework. The latter are abstract notions that allow us to try to capture something out of the complex reality and focus on it. The ideal type methodology adopted from Weber, coupled with an affinity to the Aurovilian sensibility to delimitation, compelled me to conduct this study in such a way that Auroville would not be lost in methodological or theoretical imperatives, allowing me at the same time not to lose sight of the research task itself. The original intention of this research was to illuminate the international township in terms appropriate to those unfamiliar with it.
CHAPTER FIVE: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to delineate major features of the culture of Auroville by interweaving critical events in Auroville with statements made by participants in the events. The material for this chapter is presented within a framework of the themes which emerged from the thematic analysis of the field work materials gathered in Auroville. Drawn from Aurovilian discourse, the themes represent analytical distinctions of a reality that residents experience as a whole. As such, each theme is closely related to the others. The themes are a way of looking at some aspects of life in Auroville which are not completely different from each other. By demonstrating the presence and operation of the themes as features of the culture, we see that organization in Auroville has not meant a) hierarchy; b) centralization; c) collectivization; and d) bureaucracy. Within this culture, organization can mean unity with diversity, in the form of networks.

The thematic analysis presents eight interconnected concerns that in their elaboration present and define a central insight into the meaning and practice of being Aurovilian. Themes 1,2,3 indicate a conceptual framework whereby one sees the parameters of conflict in Auroville, according to the values of Aurovilians themselves.
Theme 4 indicates one overt external influence on Aurovillian development which not only pushes development in Auroville but which provokes Aurovilians to make clear to each other their values and goals. Themes 5,6,7,8 are themselves cultural values, the expressions of which are evoked by conflict and/or external influence and which help to explain the parameters of conflict in Auroville and its resultant development.

Martin Buber (1965:149-165) described the artistic process as one in which the artist strains to give form to a reality experienced as formless. In the same manner, Aurovilians strain, individually and collectively, to give form to what yet has no place. A fundamental dilemma of social life — a tension between a demand for spontaneity and a need for structure — is therefore a particularly useful problematic to apply to Auroville. This chapter, however, consonant with the methodology adopted, will be devoted to demonstrating the dynamic of Aurovillian culture as evidenced through the thematic analysis. That is, the material which both reflects and substantiates each theme will be exemplified and connected to the concrete development, the process, from which it was drawn.

According to Weber, it is economy which prods and hastens the routinization process following the originating charismatic moment. Since it is that sphere of life which theoretically would present the most difficult case for demonstrating effective resistance to routinization, it is from the economic that material for this chapter will be drawn.
The routinization process is one of mundane interests transforming values, of day-to-day ordinary needs transforming extraordinary ideals. In the Aurovilian context, however, transformation refers to spiritualizing the mundane, to values shaping interests. Moreover, the Aurovilian context is an experimental one in which challenge and discovery are highly valued. The effort to transform the mundane cannot reflect the ideas of one person or group dominating others. The ideal is that cooperative communication results in a synthesis of perspectives that forms the basis for action. This chapter accounts for the Aurovilian effort to counter the individualizing of the once-collective Aurovilian economy. At the center of the Aurovilian perspective is the Mother's statement that work should be the means for creative self-expression, unchained from survival, status or power needs, and therefore that the exchange of money should be eliminated in Auroville.

By the time of the passing of the Auroville Foundation Act in September, 1988, the exchange of money was as pervasive and predictable within Auroville as it was outside its borders. Early settlers in Auroville had been maintained by means of monthly stipends and supplies of basic necessities from a community office called Prosperity. When, after the Mother's death, the SAS attempted to use the channel for monthly sustenance as a means to control the activity of Aurovilians, Aurovilians refused it and initiated their own arrangements. Cut off from their funding, Aurovilians were able to sustain, although with periods of deprivation, free food and services to communities until the early 1980's. In 1984, an Auroville-wide economic survey was conducted which indicated that there was not enough input to sustain a collective
economy. Thereafter, individual residents began to collect maintenance not from a central body, but from the work group to which they belonged, and Pour Tous took payment directly from residents for their service. From then until the fall of 1988, more and more services required direct payment. The initiative of the Economy Seminar of November 1988 was a response to the community's general unwillingness to accept this type of economy.

In the section which follows, we focus on the economic planning process in Auroville, beginning with this seminar of November 1988. Although the material for this section is presented within the framework of the themes, the themes are introduced in a sequence independent of their order of presentation in Chapter 4. Congruent with the complexity of Aurovilian decision-making, which is reflective of the Aurovilian perception that their reality cannot be contained and directed by the efforts of one person or group alone, the section is divided into three parts:

Thesis: practicality
Antithesis: collectivity
Synthesis: unity in diversity

Theme 1 provides a frame of reference for the process which we examine herefrom.
5.2 Economic Planning in Auroville (1988-1990)\textsuperscript{3}

THEME 1

Auroville was intended to be an experiment in collective yoga. Theme 1 is the tension between Collective agreement/participation (C a/p) and Individual judgement/initiative (I j/i). Both C a/p and I j/i potentially impede freedom (THEME 7). Valuing C a/p may constrict I j/i while I j/i may ignore the involvement of the many where they feel something is rightly their concern.

The economic seminar of November 14th and 15th, 1988 was called THE AUROVILLE ECONOMY — UNITY WITHOUT UNIFORMITY — THE NEXT STEP. Its purpose was to bring together interested members of the community to express how they felt about Auroville’s economy, how it should be different, and lastly what concrete measures should be proposed to change it. Thirty-five Aurovilians attended. Several small and large group techniques were employed to draw out the concerns of each participant. For the second day, the coordinators of the seminar had studied the material recorded on the first day and presented to the participants the material organized under seven general concerns which had emerged. The seven concerns were used as foci for discussion of economic change. The following is a summary from E-P/D-2, Seminar Report, November 1988: (Please refer to Appendix D: Economic Planning (E-P) Source Reference.)

1) A general agreement emerged that money and work should be “de-linked”. How can this be done?

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3. Although English is the lingua franca in Auroville, it is spoken predominantly as a second language. The manner in which English was spoken or written has been preserved in the excerpts used for this thesis.

67
2) How can the physical exchange of money in Auroville be eliminated?

3) A general feeling emerged that a change of consciousness and attitude is basic to improving the Auroville economy. How can the economy be designed to facilitate this change?

4) It was generally agreed that all the facts of the Auroville economy in general should be known: the needs and the resources. How can this information best be gathered and communicated?

5) It was felt that the economy should be planned more rationally, with the goal of self-sufficiency.

6) A collective economy and a basic minimum for each Aurovilian.

7) Education: Investment for the future.

The final stage of the seminar involved all those assembled being asked to reach a consensus on the step to be taken as a result of the seminar. Chaired by two coordinators of the seminar, two perspectives emerged, and their proponents engaged each other in debate. One group proposed implementing immediately a collective economy characterized by: a) the de-linkage of work and money; b) the elimination of the exchange of money in Auroville; c) a basic minimum for each Aurovilian; d) transparency. This group asserted that if Auroville lived up to its mandate of non-possession, enough goodwill would be generated both inside and outside of Auroville to insure that the flow of money for Auroville’s collective needs would be met. Furthermore, they stated that much of Auroville’s financial difficulty was itself a product of the malaise Aurovilians felt regarding the conventional state of the economy. Why should external resources be donated to Auroville when it manifests nothing better than a conventional economy: "Auroville belongs to no one in particular, but to humanity as
a whole. But to live in Auroville one must be a willing servitor of the divine consciousness." (Charter of Auroville: Article 1)

The other group, with the exception of one person, agreed to the goal and nature of the collective economy envisioned but warned of the past experience of collective bankruptcy. They, therefore, proposed that a study group be initiated to develop workable stages in coming closer to the goals. They refused to make the "giant leap" described by the other group in order to avoid "falling flat on their faces".

The specific action approved by the seminar participants was the formation of a group of eighteen, incorporating proponents of both perspectives, to study closely dimensions of the Auroville economy and come up with proposals in light of the stated concerns of the seminar participants. These were to be presented to the community as a whole. The following material is extracted from one of the economic planning meetings which ensued.

Citation #1

THEME 1

a) -FNB#1 (epm#2) pp.25b-27a
Ulili reads his memo to the community: Aurelec is donating Rs. 20,000 to SAIER (the Institute).

BHAGWAN DAS: In reference to your memo, what you want Ulili is the opposite of what we want. A split in the Institute (the education work group) could take place. The memo created a lot of strange feeling.

ULLI: This is an example of budget details.

CAREL: A change of topic.
JUDITH: This is the issue. The way you give your money disturbs everything. People depend on you and then it doesn’t come. Something separate from the unit is needed to coordinate.

ULLI: Factually false. We have people like Michael Tate conferring with us. Also, Toine, etc. They give us advice on how to channel. We give according to those involved in financial management. They screwed up, not us.

... commercial units to give a certain percentage to priorities plus on top of that they can give according to their preference. The collective should have a strong say, and preference, like Ulli’s system, that could happen too.

ROLF: We have to create as much freedom as possible. For what should go where, it should be an advisory body, not a structure.

CAREL: Bhaga has a middle way.

ROLF: To do books, I know if there are rules, people can get by it.

BHAGA: We’re trying to see what we can agree upon.

ROLF: But we need to give as much freedom as possible. We should advise not regulate.

CAREL: First concern of the units, to cover basic needs. Could we agree that the priority budgets could be agreed (to). If you want to spend money, the community can put pressure on where it should go.

4. The indented text which follow citations are explanatory comments which form part of the data of analysis of the thematic analysis. The theme numbers at the head of the comment indicate other themes under which the citation was placed.
The tension engendered by the acceptance of both collective and individual responsibility for action is a key parameter of the Aurovilian response to economic concern. Every other theme serves to clarify the dynamics of this tension and the culture of Auroville itself. In the Aurovilian context where there are profit-generating units and non-profit-generating units, the concern of power arises regarding the transfer of funds from the former to the latter. Who decides how it is spent: the one who donates, the receiving unit, or the collective as a whole? To what extent should commercial unit operators have power over the development of non-commercial units? (If any donation is to be used according to the discretion of the unit which receives it, it is termed "unspecified" in Auroville).

THEME 2

Citation #2

Concern about Power

a) -FNB#1 (epm#1) p.13b

BHAGA: I agree with Ulli, (a) change of money system may not change anything. I want (that) money (as a) means to have power, I want to see that changed. Concern over means and structures that give greater power to one over another.

Following Citation #2, the concern is for the power that follows on the accumulation of money. Within the context demonstrated in Citation #1, the concern is generalized to pertain to individual action unmediated by collective participation: activity that accumulates power of one over others. Citation #1 also exemplifies the
cultural value of freedom, Theme 8. In citation #3, Theme 8 is integrated into the larger arena of Aurovilian concerns, the arena which represents the focus of this thesis, the tension between cultural values and their practical, everyday expression.

THEME 8

Citation #3

Freedom

a) -FNB#1 (epm#1) p.13b Speaking in regard to the economic seminar of November 1988:

JACQUES (la dentiste): Service without headaches. We have to solve basic needs.

... 

JUDITH: What emerged from the people present, the will: Every Aurovilian should have basic needs covered. (It was) qualified (to mean) a contributing member of Auroville. (The) ways and means, (we) didn’t agree, but that was agreed upon.

b) -FNB#1 (epm#1) pp.14a-14b

CAREL: A basic question needs to (be) solved, a link: guarantee of (the) individual by (the) community; obligation of (the) individual to work for (the) community.

Discussion of basic maintenance: What is it?

CAREL: The Mother: Work ought to (be for) one’s inner needs not survival. I thought we all agreed. How do we realize the ideal of the Mother? This is the basic question.

ULLI: We realize our aspiration through work (Mother), not to be taken care of. People will fall asleep.

JUDITH: We agreed the Mother points out that people have to work five hours.

ULLI: A contradiction: freedom to choose (versus) collective needs.
What Ulli (43-German-AV: 13 yrs) referred to as a contradiction between the value of freedom and everyday needs is intensified within the context of another cultural value, non-imposition, Theme 6, according to which one group may not impose a system or structure on the rest of the populace. To be meaningful, collective development must be based on consent.

**THEME 6**

Citation #4

Non-imposition

a) -FNB#1 (epm#2) pp.21b-22b

ULLI: Five hours per day rock bottom, should be eight hours. Otherwise we can’t break even.

BHAGWAN DAS: 1971: Schedule for work (for) all people Aurovilian. Work should be something five hours for the collective. Work not a major place in our life, is what the Mother said. Not egoistic work, but collective work. This eight hours doesn’t seem (right). (It’s) difficult to know what Mother really said but it’s clear to me.

ULLI: Today we have much outside support. If we want to be self-sufficient, it will be difficult to achieve on five hours. At the level we’re at — maybe later we can do the five hours.

JUDITH: Do five hours obviously collective work. A lot of maintenance is needed to be done.

ULLI: There should be similar requirements.

CAREL: Formulation: Encourage more than five. Five is a minimum.

... 

BILL: We’re trying to impose a business model on something else we’re doing. Efficiency’s good but let’s not get stuck there. It’s useless to impose a business model on Auroville, these hours, working so much time for so much money, etc.
PATRICIA: It can't be an imposed thing. I question measuring it.

BILL: What we want is a climate so that people give lovingly.

... 

ULLI: Five hours is a basic minimum.

BILL: Mother said it was a minimum.

Given this framework for community development, the positive valuation of both collective participation and individual freedom, in a context of non-imposition and the devaluation of power incumbent to social position, the result of this economic planning process, the proposal, is significant. In his preamble to the presentation of the Economic proposal to the one day follow-up seminar on February 16th, 1989, Guy (45-Belgian-AV: 1 yr) stated:

Citation #5

GUY: The meetings (were a process of) mutual understanding and openness. Two viewpoints emerged, (one from the) earning and (one from the) spending (side of Auroville life). For a moment, we were stuck, either one way or another, individual or collective. Instead, we decided not to get caught in preconception: (We said), "Yes", to both sides, the principles upon which the proposal is based.

In order to elaborate the principles of the proposal accepted with revisions at the follow-up seminar and in toto by the community of Auroville on the 28th of February, 1989, I will excerpt key sections of it. Clearly evident in the proposal, which became the basis for economic organizational development from that day to the present,
are the concerns thus far exemplified: a balance between sensitivity to the individual and the collective (Theme 1), thereby balancing the power of the individual and the group (Theme 2), as these considerations relate to the value of freedom (Theme 8) and the value of non-imposition (Theme 6).

5.2.1 Thesis: Practicality

Citation #6
-E-P/D-10 pp.1-4:

...It has resulted in a proposal that we feel is a first step toward an economic organisation wherein each individual participates in decision-making and which takes care of our collective responsibilities.

... INTRODUCTION

We first have to define what we mean when we talk about the AV economy. If we want it to be Unity in Diversity we will have to make a synthesis between two systems:
-the individual economy
-the collective economy
Both should be allowed to exist and develop and have to be integrated to create a balanced economic situation. The definition of the AV Economy is an economy resting on two pillars, the Individual and the Collective, which are harmoniously integrated. The AV economy will evolve in accordance with the growth of consciousness within the individuals.

At present AV's economy is predominantly an individual one. Do we need a collective economy as a supplement to the individual one?
Yes, because:
-the aims and ideals of AV require such a development.
-because we have collective responsibilities for which no money is available.

At the same time the freedom of the individual and of the AV-units should be respected, within the limits set by the aims and ideals of AV.
Based on these principles, we have come to a number of conclusions and the formulation of a proposal.

CONCLUSIONS.

I. The first very obvious conclusion of the seminar and the consecutive meetings is that nobody is satisfied with our existing economy and that everybody feels the need to change and improve it.

III. During the process it became clear that imposition does not work and that changes have to come from within.

This implies that:

a. Non-commercial units cannot impose their views on commercial units re:
   -how much they should contribute
   -for which purposes they should contribute
   -how they should organize their business.

b. Commercial units or individuals cannot use their financial contributions to impose their views on non-commercial units like f.i. Matrimandir or SAIIER re:
   -how to spend the income received from various sources (including from commercial units)
   -what to do in case income received is less than planned expenditure.
   -how non-commercial units should organize their activities in order to be more efficient costwise or otherwise.

c. We cannot impose a change of economy, it will have to evolve step by step.

IV. We need to create in our economic dealings as much transparency as possible. This means that regular reports from all sectors of the AV economy re their activities/financial situations/no. of people involved should be made available...

V. We must create mutual understanding through open dialogue. The different sectors of the AV economy have to meet regularly.

VI. Till now, the community has failed to create a climate of trust and safety re. the material welfare of its members. A basic minimum income for each Aurovilian should be guaranteed, provided that (s)he will work at least 5 hours day, 6 days a week for the community...
The preceding citation stands as a summary as to what participants from differing points of view in the economic study group could agree. The issue of transparency was a key concept from Economy Seminar I throughout the economic planning process that preceded the General Meeting. It is a concept related to the theme of trust.

THEME 7

Citation #7

Trust

a) -FNB#1 (epm#3) p.38b

BILL: Let's clarify our aims.

MATTHIAS: There are two groups: the generators — those who think "those others should work", and the consumers — those who think "those others are sucking up all the profits". We have to generate more trust. It's not that people don't want to work or don't want to contribute their money. I try. We can't impose, we can only recommend. We do as examples. Russia became nothing better.

Transparency, the effort to demystify the activities of others involved in the myriad activities of Auroville, was seen as the means to alleviate suspicion about the methods and intentions of Aurovilians with whom one may not be directly involved. Transparency was recognized as the means to generate trust, and was viewed as a singular achievement of the economic proposal. The proposal was accepted by the community of Auroville. Seventy-five residents were present at the General Meeting, and, as per the proposal, a newly-formed Economy Group convened on the 6th of March, 1989, to take up its mandate.
The economy work group set to its task of managing the Central Fund, the approved list of collective priority budgets. As a result of the General Meeting approval of the Economic Study Group Proposal, the monthly maintenance distributed to residents attached to some, but not all, work groups was raised to Rs. 1000 (C$90) per month from Rs.600. In addition, for each work group member, a Rs.200 contribution was given to the Central Fund, channelled by the work group but specified by each member as to which community budget would be targetted. The following priority budgets had been approved:

- education and culture
- roads repair/maintenance
- health
  - dental care
  - Auroville health care, AV workers health care, village health care
- shelter fund
- repatriation fund
- bridging fund
- townplanning
- environment
- administrative services
- communication and information (AV-News, seminars), PR
- Matrimandir
- Mother’s Agenda
- unspecified

Participation in the Rs.200 scheme was voluntary and was also asked of those who did not take maintenance but who subsisted on personal funds. The Economy work group set to document and publish in the Auroville News the month to month requirements of each budget, juxtaposed to the total channelled to each budget by individuals through the Rs.200 scheme and the contributions of each commercial unit.

In addition to managing the Central Fund, the Economy Work Group was responsible
for managing the bridging Fund, the fund for those Aurovilians who, (from E-P/D-10, p.3):

-for some reason or other, do not receive maintenance.
-for some reason or other do not receive sufficient maintenance.

After three months of preparation, the Economy Group implemented the budget system starting June 1989: documenting and publishing input and output, and recommending priority budgets for the month to come. The proposal had been accepted as an experiment for a period of six months. Although the proposal had been respected by the community at large, the steps implemented were not satisfying for many. To the residents, Auroville is a vision to be fulfilled, yet a vision also vague enough from its inception to be understood somewhat differently from one resident to the next. Hence the third parameter of conflict in Auroville:

THEME #3

Conflicting Visions of Auroville

A.

a) Unity of the Collective manifested in collective structures and processes, a concrete demonstration of the Aurovilian aspiration.

vs

b) The Collective united in common purpose/ideals/inspiration, a subtle unity, where action is unhindered by others in the community: the freedom to realize one's dreams/the ideal of non-imposition/ the past experience of central control of a few legitimated by ideology of collective agreement - No trust in community process or the main actors in that process.
B.

a) Transformation of all dimensions of life vs

b) Appeal to Practicality

c) -FNB#1 (epm#1) pp.17b-18a

PATRICIA: Efficiency fine, but we’re also here to be a little bit idealistic. We’re here to do an impossible experiment — the stuff that Mother wrote. Efficiency, intelligence, it’s hard to argue against, but inside it feels wrong, there’s something else.

TINE: In balance.


MATTHIAS: We work, this is part of our yoga. A common pot, everyone sees it. Money earned, we give it to Auroville, then we decide where it goes.

JACQUES: The symbolic is important: Together! if even it takes longer.

BHAGWAN DAS: I agree. After(wards), let us improve our efficiency.

JUDITH: Money (is) sticky stuff: part of our yoga is detachment, the extra step then is important.

MATTHIAS: A gesture: we give it (money earned) to Auroville Trust. Our books — one sum, then you maintain us.

The extra, symbolic step of channelling all money through a central body such as the already established, though meagrely used, Financial Service was dismissed during the proposal development of the economic study group because of the consideration of some regarding efficiency: What practical purpose would it serve? Transactions would
not be facilitated; exchange would remain under the surface. Subsequent initiatives by the membership of Pour Tous and, later, proponents of a complementary central fund, the Collective Fund, demonstrate the significance of that extra, symbolic step. The effort to make the Auroville economy more transparent had not been a big enough first step for many.

5.2.2 Antithesis: Collectivity

Citation #9

e) -E-P/FN-1 (GM-F2889.E-P) p.5

Aster (57-Indian-AV: 12 yrs) thanked those who had contributed to the economic work group and said obviously a lot of work had gone into it. She said there seemed to be something missing in the proposal and maybe it’s something that could be worked out during the course of the meeting. She said the proposal involved exchange and that maybe in Auroville that was one part of something much larger. Something needed to be added to the proposal to make it more holistic. She explained that exchange may be necessary but it’s the way in which it’s done that’s important. The proposal needed something to reflect that: it’s part of something greater.

Young-mi (31-Korean-AV: 2 yrs) first proposed in the General Meeting of 28.2.89 a central accounting system for Pour Tous which would eliminate the use of cash at the Pour Tous food stalls. She joined the Economy Group and made the tentative proposal again but did not receive a sympathetic hearing. At the second meeting she read the Pour Tous proposal which its membership would implement starting April 1st.
NEW ECONOMIC POLICY FOR POUR TOUS

"There will be no exchange of money in Auroville. It will be only with the outside world it will have money relations."

-Mother

Consistent with Mother's vision of Auroville and with growing consciousness for collective economy, Pour Tous, in accordance with Finance Group, wants to work toward the surpassing of a money-exchange system. As a first step toward this experiment, from 1st of April 1989, we will discontinue accepting cash at the Pour Tous stalls. And instead operate on an account system...

Young-mi's original proposal included taking the 2.25 lakh rupees (1 lakh = Rs.100,000) which was passing through Pour Tous monthly as the Aurovilian contribution to a central food distributing channel, which would then be divided equally for the delivery of bi-weekly food baskets to each Aurovilian household. The basket system, without individual donation, was the system which obtained in Auroville from the mid-1970's to 1984. The proposal adopted was much more cautious because of reflection on the experience of the early eighties. Yet in the Economy Group meetings of March 1989 its reception was cold; it was viewed by some as an imposition on those who wanted to use cash. The concept of non-imposition was becoming a legitimation of the status quo, supporting the (b) side of the tension between the conflicting visions of Auroville in terms of both Theme 3 (A) and (B), resisting movement, even symbolic, toward more collective structures, and reinforcing the appeal of practicality. Young-mi and Bhagwan Das (45-French-AV: 8 yrs) viewed the Pour Tous proposal in the following manner:
YOUNG-MI: Why we came to Auroville, ask ourselves: Then there will be a certain direction. We can’t please everyone...with a certain direction.

BHAGWAN DAS: (It is) something that can change a certain spirit — (We have to do something) a little radical to start it. Otherwise it’ll take a long time. Start! It will give a new true impulse (towards the) spirit of no exchange of money in Auroville. Practically I don’t see any true objection.

The members of the Economy Group reached a consensus in their second meeting to support the Pour Tous proposal with the condition that accommodation would be made to those residents who dissented (Theme 6, Non-imposition). The Pour Tous policy was changed effective April 1st; the Economic Study Group proposal was activated for June. Bhagwan Das, with other participants of the former Economic Study Group, established the following initiative in July:

"COLLECTIVE FUND"

Since July 1st 1989, a Collective Fund has been started for Aurovilians who want to make an experiment towards a more collective economy.

To create a collective fund is not a new idea. But after so many years of Auroville, our economy is very much individualistic. Auroville being above all a collective experiment, many feel that there is an inherent contradiction between our present economic way and what we are supposed to have come for.
This creation of a new collective fund open to all that want to participate is first of all an expression of a collective will to take material and practical steps to implement Auroville’s ideals.

It is very important to insist on the fact that this experiment that is being started does in no way question the on-going effort to go towards a more collective economy which led to the creation of the Central Fund, under the responsibility of the Economy Group. It should be seen as an effort towards one more step. As a matter of fact the contribution to the "Central Fund" will be insisted upon for those who want to be part to the collective fund. There should be no conflicts between the two movements. They should be complementary.

The beginning that is proposed is very simple. Participants in the collective fund have one common account in Pour Tous which will provide basic food items and sundries. To start with, the financial basis is an amount of Rs.1000 per adult, which is separated between a remittance to Pour Tous (to be worked out on individual basis depending on personal needs) which goes into the common account at Pour Tous and an amount of Rs.200 which goes to the Central Fund under the responsibility of the Economy Group. The balance is given in cash to the individual for the other needs. In due course, majority of these other needs should be covered also by the collective fund, but this requires study before implementation.

... What matters above all is the spirit — A spirit of caring. The conviction that every Aurovillian should be properly looked after. The conviction that deep Commitment of each Aurovillian is what is most needed and that this Commitment does not depend on financial "reward". The conviction that fraternity is part of the essence of Auroville and must have a material base.

The Collective Fund participants met early every Friday morning to find ways to expand the collective nature of the endeavor. By November, eighty adult Aurovilians were participating and being maintained through a common pot, an early Aurovilian economic ideal. A majority of the participants were SAIER members, Auroville’s largest work group, responsible for art, research and education.
Thus far the two sides of Theme 3A are evident, the value of non-imposition operating as support for 3A(b). We see furthermore the expression of Theme 3B, transformation versus practicality. The meeting report (E-P/D-2) of the economic seminar of November 1988 presented summaries of the expectations of the seminar expressed on the first morning by the participants. They included: 1) To come closer to Mother’s dream; 2) More information; 3) Change of consciousness; and 4) Practical steps. The proposal of the economic study group effort emphasized (2) More information and (4) Practical steps. Subsequent developments, Pour Tous and the Collective Fund, are movements to articulate what Aster, in the General Meeting, indicated was absent in the proposal, some reflection of what Auroville means. The Pour Tous and Collective Fund initiatives sought to elaborate the other two concerns of the seminar participants: (from E-P/D-2)

1) To come closer to Mother’s Dream. This implies a.o. (sic) to guarantee a basic minimum income and the provision of free basic services for each Aurovilian, to minimize the physical exchange of money, to de-link work and money, to arrive at a more conscious collective economy, to aim at self-sufficiency.

3) Change of consciousness. Participants expressed the need for a shift of consciousness, an attitude of more sharing, more caring for each other, of being truly servitors of the Divine. To generate positive attitudes and formations, to connect with the true creative power will bring the means for growth.

The practical steps had been endorsed. It was the resistance to the other key concerns that Aurovilians were finding the means to sidestep. The Collective Fund
Report of August 1989 (E-P/D-13) included a copy of the seminar report of November 1988 and recommended reflecting on it and working towards it.

In November, 1989, a proposal to the community by those residents working in Auroville Services brought back into centre stage key concerns of the original seminar. In order to keep in perspective the two orientations which characterize Conflicting Visions, Theme 3A and B, Rolf's statement to the Economic Study Group in January 1989 exemplifies the point of view which to a large extent determined the substance of the original proposal. The statement by Rolf (34-German-AV: 3 yrs) was his reaction to the concerns of the participants who were proponents of immediately implementing aspects of the Mother's dream.

**THEME 8**

**Citation #14**

**Resistance to Institutionalization**

-E-P/D-5

Thoughts on Auroville economy

"Unity through harmony of complexity"

If we see Auroville as an unending learning process, we have to think of a strategy or direction in which we aspire for the goals and ideals, but focus on the process itself, with its possibilities to discover all the forces, powers and movements, from the very obvious to the most subtle.

It is dangerous to introduce institutionalization, monopolization and centralization into the life of Auroville.
As our experience in certain countries and government organisations have (sic) proved, implementations of institutional structures or closed systems are out-dated and incompetent to provide any progress (exceptions can be seen).

Closed Systems lead

- to a tendency to become comfortable and complacent;
- to the impossibility to hold track with the general worldwide development;
- to suffocation of the challenge of life;
- to fossilization of each process;
- to a kind of rest on achievements; improvement by more mobility and innovation gets very difficult or even impossible;
- to a creation of uniformity and inflexibility;
- to a creation of huge administrative overheads;
- to a covering of shortcomings by implementation of rules and regulations;
- to an attempt to complete and not to build up;
- to a reduction of individual efforts.

I (would) like to introduce in our discussion the direction of an open system, a kind of organized chaos, by compiling wide outlines and examples.

Open Systems lead (excerpts)

- to genuine achievements. Only when they appear natural and voluntary they are admirable;
- to more effort;
- to a wide and blank space to express all thinkable varieties.
  Life becomes a laboratory;
- to loyalty to our inner program without imposing moral limits;
- to the ability to include without the necessity to delimitate itself to an outside world;
- to support and trust those who are willing to take initiative;
- to take responsibility for oneself;
- to dynamic evolvement through competition and conflict;
- to more participation, to be at the pulsation of the world.

Concerning an open system, we are fulfilling already a lot of basic requirements.

1. We have no hierarchic structure in Auroville and we should avoid building one up.
2. Due to the international character of Auroville, we are less bound by cultural and religious limits.
3. We can assume, that the people in Auroville are somehow dedicated towards the collective.

4. The wild and decentral functionings of Auroville can be seen also as an asset. Despite of (sic) all our tendencies, centralization has still not proved to be able to create an optimal organization.

Closed Systems provide a certain security by giving a frame to hold on.

Open Systems are more frightening, because we cannot predict what comes next. Open systems create vacuums, and we don’t know how to grasp them. But it is this vacuum which keeps the place free for the unexpected.

Resistance to institutionalization, the final theme, raises the question: does Auroville’s value scheme mean lack of organization, or a different form of organization? The evidence indicates that there is resistance to hierarchy, collectivization, centralization and bureaucracy. What then is the evidence for their being any unity? In his article about social movements, Parker J. Palmer (1992: 10-17) argued that if one thinks of organization only institutionally, hierarchically, social movements don’t exist as organizations. They’re chaos. But if one recognizes that there is something between chaos and hierarchy which is structured more like a network (Gerlach and Hine, 1970), then there is organization although it doesn’t look like hierarchy. Resistance in Auroville, then, has meant that one has prevented the formation of a hierarchy, of a centralized structure within the endeavor. It does not mean the absence of organization per se. In Auroville, particular forms of organization were being resisted and prevented which had features that would be experienced as violating the culture.

The passing of the Auroville Foundation Act (Theme 5, Auroville/Central Government Relationship) had set in operation the arenas for reflection on what
economic organization residents envisioned for Auroville, and of what they currently felt capable, but about which the emergent perspectives had not converged. The two divergent perspectives recognizable at the end of the Economy Seminar had been elaborated but had not yet been mediated. The six month trial period of the Economic Proposal of 28.2.89 was expiring and, although the system was still in place, it was not meeting the needs of the approved community budgets. This initiative appeared to be near termination. The proposal presented to the community on November 7th, 1989 by the Aurovilians working in community services was made because of severe financial shortfalls therein. In the General Meeting, the service representatives stated their difficulties and their objectives, and insisted on action. The process which ensued resulted in the implementation of an economic organization that reflected the ideal of collectivity, manifested nearly complete community participation, and led to the disbandment of the Collective Fund, the latter being viewed as superfluous.

5.2.3 Synthesis: Unity in Diversity

During the last two weeks of October, representatives of the different Auroville services convened in order to "find a new direction to move out of their present financial crisis" (E-P/D-14). Included were members of Pour Tous, the Auroville Electrical Service, the Auroville Water Service, the Farms and Dairies Service, the Dental Service, the Auroville Health Centre, Auroville Trust and Bharat Nivas (the auditorium). From E-P/D-14:
A Proposal from the Aurovilians working in Services to the Auroville Community

(excerpts)

...It was immediately clear that we were unanimous in not wanting commercialised services in Auroville (sic) in fact we want: 1) Free services in Auroville funded collectively, not individually; 2) Auroville units to give priority to basic services rather than activities which have (the) possibility to raise funds outside; 3) All contributions from units and Aurovilians to be unspecified.

From our discussions the following emerged:

1) **The purpose of having services in Auroville:**
   a) for a few people to do things for everyone which would otherwise have to be done individually; this allows people to concentrate their energies more efficiently on their field of work.
   
b) to set a tone for the collective life of Auroville.
   
c) to enable people working in services to learn the true meaning of service.
   
d) to enable people being served to learn the true attitude of receiving.
   
e) to give us all living experience in oneness and human unity.

2) **No exchange of money in Auroville**

   This means something deeper than credit cards or money substitutes. It means more than the Financial Service.

   It means no exchange on the basis of monetary values — it means letting go of money as the measure of worth and efficiency, and replacing it by the "psychic being" — the true inner guide. Are we sincerely able to live that out right now?

   ...

   We propose to make a leap for the Ideal. Our ideals are already so small and lacking in true vision, it seems a waste of time to aim for compromise or a step-by-step approach.
We propose:

1) No more bills or accounts for services, though, where relevant, ordering within more or less fixed but wide parameters would continue.

2) Every Aurovillian and Auroville unit contributes to the maximum possible from whatever source to a Central Fund. All maintenance from collective sources would automatically go to a Central Fund.

3) (i) All services will be paid from the Central Fund.

(ii) ...

4) Each service will appoint a group of Aurovilians to help them review their service in terms of finance and appropriate functioning and will be willing to make changes.

5) The service people will work together to help create a psychological atmosphere where Aurovilians feel enthusiastic to make another step together towards our ideals. They will work together to keep the community awareness and sense of participation alive by informing everyone of the part they have to play to keep the experiment alive.

We believe we are short of approximately Rs. 1.25 lakhs per month to cover properly all the needs of maintenance and we are asking the whole community to participate, in every possible way, to raise this amount.

We will definitely reduce expenses and bureaucracy by eliminating accounts and billing.

The Service representatives speaking in the General Meeting of 7.11.89 expressed discouragement on two levels: the current economic organization was contrary to their vision and insufficient to sustain their endeavors. Auroville Services would not survive the status quo, nor was commercialization acceptable to them. The General Meeting resulted in a series of meetings between members of the Service groups and the Economy Group. Subsequently, the Auroville Council formed a group of seven to refine the Services proposal on the basis of close study of the Auroville Economy and the
practical implications of implementing a change of system. After three months of study and the writing of a sixty page report, the second Economic Study Group presented its proposal to the community at the General Meeting of March 20th, 1990.

The Proposal, THE AUROVILLE ECONOMY: A FIELD OF RESEARCH TOWARDS MOTHER’S VISION, was a sharply defined five stage program culminating in free food and services (including Nandini, the free store). It was based on the current maintenance allocation of Rs.1000 per person which would be channelled monthly from Auroville units through the Financial Service such that no exchange of money would occur for food, services and second-hand clothing. For Aurovilians unattached to a unit, they would themselves allocate the sum and receive the services freely. For those who desired not to participate, they would be charged for the services. The assumptions made were that all Aurovilians would participate, that the Rs.200 and Auroville unit contributions would be unspecified (the issue of power), that the community would trust an independent economy group to manage the channelling, that no more than 150 residents would need to receive a supplementary cash maintenance of Rs.300 per month, and that the cost of food consumption per person would not be greater than Rs.500 monthly. The General Meeting included the description of Auroville’s economic terrain and presentation of each of the five proposals in the program. Thereafter, participants were asked to come to a consensus on which proposal, which step of the process, would be acceptable presently. The five steps: (from E-P/D-16, summarized)

1) The community funds collectively the deficit of those services which are not able to meet their monthly expenditure.
2) Collective funding of the monthly budgetary requirements of all services.

3) Proposal 2 plus collective payment of land and house tax.

4) Proposal 3 plus collective payment of the total TNEB electricity bill for all household connections and water pumps.

5) Rs.200 contribution discontinued. All maintenance, Rs.1000, channelled through Central Fund. Proposal 4 plus Food Consumption at Rs.500 per person, per month covered through Central Fund. Personal Emergency Fund financed through Central Fund.

The General Meeting resulted in approval of the program as a whole, the formation of the Economic Task Force, the implementation of Proposal #2 by August 15th, approval of research into implementation of Proposal #3, and the stipulation that the implementation of proposals subsequent to #2 first be accepted by the General Meeting process.

Following community approval on the 20.3.90, members of the newly formed ETF met with every resident of the Auroville community seeking their participation in the program, including contact with all commercial unit operators to solicit as high a contribution rate as possible. The proposal was activated in August 1990, and by November 1990, the individual participation rate was close to 90%. The new economic system was by this time operating without deficit, meeting the objectives of step #2, and the ETF was planning the implementation of Proposal #3. The Collective Fund no longer existed. Recognizable in the effort of the Economy Task Force was the synthesis of practical hard work and the aspiration towards the Mother’s dream, a synthesis reflecting the original concerns of the participants of the Economy Seminar of November 1988.
5.3 Conclusion

We have witnessed decision-making in a context of a tension between collective agreement/participation and individual judgement/initiative, the concern of the derivation of power given an emphasis on one side of this tension over the other, and the conflicting visions antecedent to this tension. The tension itself is played out within the context of valuation of non-imposition, trust, freedom and resistance to institutionalization. We see in the Aurovilian context a form of empowerment which, lacking the means of coercion, engenders diversity. Moreover, we see that Auroville’s value-context can support unity, in accord with the title of the Economy Seminar, Unity without Uniformity. Or, more to the point, we see that the value orientation of Auroville as a whole can sustain itself while retaining a sense of fidelity. Auroville’s network form of organization is demanding for the residents; decision-making is characterized by a high level of participation and effort. Without a formal chain of command, decision-making is time-consuming and participation is highly variable. A concern for efficiency -for project over process — has not eroded the effectiveness of the experiment.

The themes as elaborated are an attempt to get windows on a culture, to articulate the experience of participants on their own terms, and to delineate a set of tensions that run through their lives. The resistance to organization evident in the analysis was not a negative act, but rather a positive consequence of the residents holding the values that they do. This chapter demonstrates that Auroville was going to continue "not letting" some form of organization take over which would result in harm to it. Aurovilians were prepared to back away from such emergent forms to look for
something new, to engage in the process of trial and error, experimentation, until they found an organization that reflected their aspirations. Resistance to organization is an orientation that Aurovilians display under certain conditions when their primary values are violated. Given this culture and the efforts of these people to deal with the mundane realities of economy, we are left to understand something new about how Auroville is organized. It resists hierarchical structures, centralization, and the concentration of power in the hands of certain individuals or groups. Bearing in mind that the themes represent analytical distinctions of a reality that Aurovilians experience as an integrated whole, the themes come together in a positive way: Aurovilians were able to find a way to hold unity in diversity. This is a different kind of organizational development from the kind that Weber saw as inherent in, and as an inescapable consequence of, the routinization of charisma.
CHAPTER SIX: THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter Five, the themes that had emerged from close scrutiny of the data served as a shorthand identification of the values at the root of Aurovilian culture, and as a method for delineating and specifying the orientation of Auroville as a whole. The themes, in effect, help us to comprehend specific development in the culture. For example, the themes help us to understand why, at a time when the economy of Auroville was more prosperous and efficient than it had ever been previously, that representatives of the community underwent a tedious two year process in order to reform it, and why the resultant reforms took the particular forms that they did.

In this chapter, we look for a more general understanding of Aurovilian culture by scrutinizing it in terms of a fundamental dilemma of social life, the tension between the demand for spontaneity and the need for structure. In effect, the themes in Chapter Five made explicit and operationalized the cultural orientation of Auroville. These themes will now be analyzed in terms of the fundamental dilemma as that dilemma has been specified and operationalized by O'Dea into five distinct but interrelated dilemmas. The purpose of this analysis is to comprehend the dynamics of Auroville in terms which apply to one extent or another to all cultures and situations, thereby further exploring the
culture, and isolating the specific type it exemplifies. By means of this more general level of abstraction, we come to a theoretical understanding of Auroville which in its generality may be useful to the analysis of other organizations and intentional communities.

6.2 Auroville and Dilemma

-PATRICIA: After 18 years, we get stuck on these issues. It's consciousness that must change. Let's take a few if only symbolic steps. We can't wait for consciousness to change; That's like everywhere else. Everything works against us, the whole world. We have tried to live according to Mother's guidelines, but we're not, let's make a few symbolic steps.

Notable in the analysis of the economic planning process is the number of ways Auroville may exemplify the "return of the charismatically initiated process to a more everyday existence": accepting an exchange economy, imposing a non-exchange economy, emphasizing the freedom of the individual as opposed to the participation of the many, or vice versa, implementing the vision of one while ignoring that of many, or not implementing a vision at all. At every turn in the process, the acceptance of one form over another is controversial. Hence a common response to the first economic proposal was that residents liked the process, if not the proposal itself. It was the effort and cooperation that impressed many, giving hope for further changes because the cooperation was substantial in and of itself. Such comments are value-centered, rather than instrumentally-oriented and identify a concern central to Auroville: when means become ends in themselves or when concerns for efficiency replace concerns for
effectiveness. Such is the concern when a commercial unit does not share its profits, when money is generated or exchanged but does not reflect collective concern, or when a collective structure is insensitive to the visions and aspirations of the residents.

Routinization of charisma represents the need for structure encroaching upon the arena of spontaneity. The case to be made in this chapter is that Auroville exemplifies resistance to routinization, emphasizes process over project, stresses values over interests, and therefore may be regarded as demonstrating the living out of an inwardly experienced reality, an orientation of inner-worldly mysticism. Such an orientation would analytically be expected to resist objectification in so far as it would provide a basis for, and result in, the emergence of mechanisms of social control.

Key to inner-worldly mysticism is the belief in and acceptance of both a transcendant order which is experienced, and the need to express the latter in the world. Theme 1 indicates the tension engendered by the willingness to act on one’s ultimate values in the concrete world.

Auroville was intended to be an experiment in collective yoga. Theme 1 is the tension between Collective agreement/participation (C a/p) and Individual judgement/initiative (I j/i). Both C a/p and I j/i potentially impede freedom (THEME 7). Valuing C a/p may constrict I j/i while I j/i may ignore the involvement of the many where they feel something is rightly their concern.

The raison d’etre of Auroville is Human Unity, hence collective agreement is valued highly. Yet at the same time, individual development, the freedom to become the most one can be, is a value of equal order. Herein we see the fundamental tension between spontaneity and structure, inner contemplation and social action, demonstrable in the Aurovilian attempt to live out concretely two opposing and seemingly
contradictory values. Neither institutionalization nor individual judgement is accepted exclusively as the guiding principle. Instead, the retained tension between the two principles is itself the principle accepted.

6.3 Auroville and the Five Dilemmas of Institutionalization

The Dilemma of Administrative Order
The Symbolic Dilemma
The Dilemma of Power
The Dilemma of Delimitation
The Dilemma of Mixed Motivation

To characterize tendencies as a dilemma is to suggest that there is no resolution to a tension. One way or another, the situation has to be lived out. Each dilemma is analogous to a teeter totter: To move towards further elaboration in the Dilemma of Administrative Order, for example, is at the same time to raise the level of alienation, and vice versa. One is suspended, caught between the poles of spontaneity and structure.

While the values of Non-imposition, Freedom and Resistance to Institutionalization, themes (6), (8) and (9) respectively, appear to reinforce the individual side of Theme (1), concern over power and faithfulness to the ideal of collective development, Themes (2), (3A) and (3B), counterbalance in favour of the collective any possible individualizing tendency of the former values. These, in turn, operate to keep in check an overpowering central structuring. Therefore, as pertains to the Dilemma of Administrative Order, elaboration versus alienation, in Auroville alienation does not endure because elaboration of a non-participatory and disinterested bureaucracy or a non-participatory and disinterested corporate structure is not tolerated.
In Auroville there is recognition and rejection of the alienating tendencies of both collectivism and free enterprise. Rather than idealizing the qualities of either one as competing systems, it is to the danger of alienation itself that participants form a response. Although the degree of regulation is relatively low in Auroville, when a participant feels a person or unit has crossed the limiting boundaries of the culture, he, she or they yell, "Stop!". A forum is convened to bring the issue to the community. When a value is considered to be transgressed, the incipient social arrangement is questioned.

Aurovilian culture is characterized by a heightened sensitivity to the constricting effects of institutionalization and the delimitation of further possibilities through concrete definition. Yet at the same time, residents recognize both the necessity for, and the value of, organization. Persistent unwillingness to sacrifice cultural values or ideals for organizational stability or efficiency, with continuing readiness to cooperate in developing Auroville, including participation in its consensual decision-making process, is the core of the inner-worldly mystical orientation that characterizes being Aurovilian. Sensitivity to reification is pervasive.

The paradoxical relationship of objectification versus alienation sums up the symbolic dilemma: the need for ritual to keep an extraordinary experience alive erodes the original significance when that significance becomes lost in the mundane forms developed as ritual. Alienation from the original experience ensues. Initiated as an experiment in Human Unity, Aurovilian life was meant to symbolize the oneness of all humanity. The latter understanding is the very core of Hindu belief. The Matrimandir,
designated by the Mother as Auroville's spiritual and geographical center, "wants to be the symbol of the Divine's response to humanity's aspiration towards the Divine." (The Mother, 1971). The Mother encouraged Aurovilians to resist the development of rituals, the establishment of group meditation, and even treating meditation as a practice separate from activity. Sri Aurobindo and the Mother's concept of "active meditation" denoted work, activity in the world, as the medium of meditation. In the Aurovilian context then, work and activity, like ritual, are to be infused with the meaning and significance of the extraordinary. As seen in the Economic Planning process, when work and its fruits become ends in themselves, participants begin to experience alienation. That is, when work ceases to reflect the goal of Human Unity, Aurovilians start to question both its form and its purpose. The Mother having left a vision of Auroville as it will be, the criteria are available to members of the community to judge whether and to what extent alienation is occurring. These criteria include the collective providing for subsistence needs in order that one does not work in order to survive, but in order to realize and express one's potential, and the absence of the exchange of money in so far as money may become an end in itself, making work an end in itself. The symbolic dilemma identifies the process of means becoming ends in themselves through personal and collective attachment to the symbolic forms rather than to the reality expressed through the forms (reification). When Aurovilians recognize that a community form is operating for its own sake, the form becomes an object of questioning.

Aurovilians do not allow anything to become objectified so long that it might take on a separate reality which, in turn, would come to act back against them. In order
for social control mechanisms to operate, such objectification is a necessary precondition. The acceptance of the tension necessary in order to prevent the emergence of mechanisms of social control may be understood in terms of an apparent sensitivity in Auroville to the difference between the terms paradox and contradiction. Tension, rather than an objectified symbolic and organizational order, persists in Auroville because of the comprehension that seemingly opposing aspects of life operate at the same time, not in contradiction to each other, but as aspects of reality that will be expressed. Auroville's purpose is to transform life, not to reject it or to control it. Hence Aurovilians accept diversity, but only to the point at which the ethos of the experiment as a whole appears compromised. That point is the loss of individual freedom, the loss of collective participation.

Theme 1, collective agreement/participation versus individual judgement/initiative, is reflective of the Mother's operationalization of human unity, individual development within a sphere of collective care. Indicative of the fundamental tension between spontaneity and structure, the symbolic dilemma in Auroville is acted out by dialectical movements between objectification and alienation: alienation resulting from the "loss of resonance between the symbol and the attitudes and feelings from which it originally derived" (O'Dea, 1966:92) does not occur definitively. Community values of non-imposition, freedom and resistance to institutionalization restrict central structures to a minimum thereby preventing the loss of the original significance of collective structures (too much objectification). The tension engendered by the opposing value-scheme, collective versus individual (Theme 1), operates to keep the symbolic as
a struggle yet to be won; anomie due to the absence of collective structures (loss of the
symbolic: too little objectification) is checked by means of expression of the same
themes, the values which, in their specific expression, engender a non-coercive political
structure. The latter allows for an elaboration of the symbolic by those faithful to the
original ideal. Unlike a situation of anomie, Auroville has a framework of meaning on
the basis of which one may act. As seen in the Economic Planning Process, lack of
consensus engenders diversity. The voluntary nature of Aurovilian participation, since
it is rooted in the Hindu assumption of the unity of humanity, promotes movement away
from unity identified simply as uniformity, while still promoting unity within diversity.
Therefore, there is little effort to enforce uniformity to achieve unity and there is little
concern about the diversity. The diverse and voluntary commitment of Aurovilians
appears to indicate something central about the culture, the acceptance of the reality of
unity, a unity that is considered lost if imposed externally. Furthermore, the important
symbols in Aurovilian culture are embedded in day-to-day activity, political and
economic. Because of this coherence, a reduction in resonance is more easily
identifiable, and therefore more easily reacted to by the few or the many, than a ritual
in a particular place, on a particular day. Segmented as such, there is no difference in
consequence in ritual enacted by the inspired and the alienated. Aurovilians are very
sensitive to the symbolic because of the consistency and coherence of meaning across
their way of life, as opposed to the segmentation of separate spheres of meaning into
various sectors of their living.
In the movement from the extraordinary to a new structuring of the mundane on both the ideological and organizational levels, the routinization of charisma is indicative of a fundamental dilemma of social life in one phase of its cycle: the need for structure delimiting the demand for spontaneity. Yet in Auroville the need for stability appears minimal and interrupts the cycle before a controlling and centralizing elaboration takes place. In the five interconnected dimensions of this dilemma, we have thus far recognized two in which the orientation of Auroville resists the need for structure, resists routinization: the Dilemma of Administrative Order and the Symbolic Dilemma. In the former, the resistance is based on the acceptance of prevailing tensions engendered by Auroville’s value scheme while, in the latter, the resistance is based on the practical nature of the value scheme. An Aurovillian does not seek communion removed from his or her field of activity; alienation experienced in activity is unacceptable. While values do not determine interest, they do shape interest. Work, together with its organization, is the context in which Aurovilians realize their values; Aurovilians are quick to recognize the alienation in any separation of activity from values. Aurovilians hold that matter is imbued with meaning; work and the freedom to decide on the manner of work are integral to participation in that meaning. Alienation is not an ineffable general malaise, but individual dissatisfaction recognizable in the gap between aspiration and actuality, a dis-ease that no resident has an interest in maintaining. Despite alienating tendencies in the past and present, the residents of Auroville have neither compromised nor abandoned their fluid and consensual community decision-making process, thereby retaining the flexibility necessary for change. Aurovilians keep returning to the
spontaneous side of the dilemma equation. Diversity engenders choice and the potential for change.

The application of the Dilemma of Administrative order, elaboration versus alienation, and of the Symbolic Dilemma identifies ways in which Auroville resists the emergence of mechanisms of social control, and thereby a basis for the routinization of charisma. By minimalizing elaboration, the external criteria needed for social control are minimized. It appears that in Auroville primacy is given to experience over form. Certain values have been internalized but not identified with a specific external form. There is a fusion on a cultural level, the fusion of values and experience. Form and experience are related such that values can take on different external forms. Hence diversity is not problematic. Where the symbolic may become a form of internal social control through internal consent, Aurovilians tolerate a diversity of form while continuing to experience unity. The objectification of both symbol and organization which may tend toward uniformity and social control is resisted.

The Dilemma of Power, conversion versus coercion, involves the movement towards a consensus of ideas creating a "specious obviousness". Such a "plausibility structure" (Berger, 1969: 45-48) has potential benefits for the administrative order in terms of legitimation. Consensus, however constructed, may lead to coercion, coercion that is itself condoned by the public yet contrary to "the spontaneous and voluntary nature of the religious experience" (O'Dea, 1966:96). Closely connected to the dynamics of this dilemma is the dilemma of delimitation:

While the process of delimitation is an attempt to maintain religious insights and the organizational integrity of the movement, the original
"call to the extraordinary" may be lost in the accumulation of doctrine and regulation. (O'Dea, 1966:94)

Themes (3A) and (3B), Conflicting Visions of Auroville, represent a pattern of discord in Auroville over what Auroville means and how it is to be achieved. These conflicting visions infuse expression of the tension between collective agreement/participation and individual judgement/initiative (Theme 1) and the struggle for power (Theme 2). Where consensus is sought on community policy and direction, consensus of vision is not. The patterns of meaning evidenced under the themes of non-imposition, freedom, and resistance to institutionalization, and the trust implied thereby, prevent such a consensus. Hence, while delimitation of the message of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother on the community level is synthesized, on the individual level it remains pluralistically interpreted. The danger of religious coercion, the use of power, is diminished on two levels: delimitation of the spiritual message remains individual, hence plural; elaboration of an administrative order is minimal. Therefore the administrative order lacks the means of coercion. The development of both internal and external means of social control is prevented. Auroville maintains voluntary choice.

Given the diversity of interpretation of the charismatic message in Auroville, the dilemma of mixed motivation in Auroville on one level is hard to interpret. The parameters of conflict in Auroville are identified by themes (1), (2), (3A) and (3B). There is emphasis on the individual and the collective (1), emphasis on the understanding of power as not only a means to delimit freedom and impose oneself on others, but also as the means to implement a sincerely held vision (2), and on attention to the context of a plurality of visions as interpreted from leaders who incorporated both...
pragmatism and idealism (3A,3B). Therefore one is not necessarily insincere simply because one leans more towards one side of a spectrum than another. Above all, residents consider Auroville to be a laboratory in which there must be room for growth and change, both individual and collective.

The initial stage of a religious movement is characterized by the single-mindedness of motivation of the followers. "The religious movement does satisfy complex needs for its adherents, but it focuses their satisfaction upon its values and their embodiment in the charismatic leader" (O’Dea, 1961:33). This "wholehearted response" is transformed with the emergence of a stable set of statuses and roles, a structure of offices, that constitutes the institutionalization process. (O’Dea, 1961:33)

Despite the precarious nature of attempting to interpret individual motivation, it is apparent in Auroville that the original values, recognizable in the themes as an integrated whole, continue to be a focus of satisfaction for the residents. Furthermore, minimal elaboration, as pertains to the dilemma of administrative order, reduces the potential for self-interest to become identified with the stabilization of organizational forms, the investment of the self in the forms themselves. There is little bureaucratic support for the desire for respectability, influence and power. The pattern of organization which is emerging for the purpose of giving expression to Auroville’s values is not becoming fixed in the interest of the office-holders themselves. The potential for movement-wide goal displacement is similarly diminished not only because of the lack of a hierarchical structure, but also because of the trend towards diversity in the absence of consensus.

The Government’s passing the Auroville Foundation Act (Theme 5: Auroville/Central Government Relationship / The dilemma of administrative order) set
Toine (37-Dutch-AV: 17 yrs), a service unit operator, summed up the situation in November 1989 during a meeting between the Economy Group and the Service representatives. He said that since the former envelope system had involved only 10% (his estimate) of real turnover in Auroville, the evolution of the economy since 1984 was a change from a "false collective" to a "true uncollective", the effort now being to develop a "true collective". The dynamic of discourse pertaining to this effort can be dichotomized in terms of the theme of freedom. A "freedom from" / "freedom for" dichotomy is a way of articulating spontaneity in the Aurovilian context drawing on the stated fundamental dilemma of social life, spontaneity versus structure. Please note Figure 6.1.

Induced from the discourse is the concern on one side for "freedom from need", and on the other, "freedom from regulation" (social control), each with a corresponding complementary "freedom for" personal and collective development. The "freedom from need" involves maintenance as a collective concern and no exchange of money, freedom from survival needs, as described in the Mother's Dream. The "freedom from regulation" involves maintenance and the exchange of money more as an individual concern sensitive to the potential for collective constraint. Both "freedom froms" emphasize "spontaneity". The former envisions "freedom for" personal and collective growth and creativity promoted when one does work for its own sake. One is not working to survive. It is not done for oneself (Theme 7: Trust). The latter envisions "freedom for" personal and collective growth and creativity promoted when one judges
Figure 6.1. Freedom.

"From" Need

Routinization

Spontaneity

"For" Personal Development

"For" Personal Development

"From" Regulation (Social Control)
for oneself the appropriate ways and means to contribute; the forms do not compromise the meaning of the effort (Theme 6: Non-imposition). Hence the arena of discourse in Auroville is Theme 1, the tension between the collective and the individual (agreement/participation, judgement/initiative respectively). Figure 6.1 characterizes routinization as leading from need to regulation. The spontaneity line indicates the synthesis achieved in Auroville’s economic planning, basic needs met while allowing only minimal regulation, minimal social control. The diagram is constructed to order to indicate that Auroville’s development does indeed fall within the purview of Weber’s theory of the routinization of charisma but in a manner contrary to his expectation.

6.4 Conclusion

We recognize a demand for spontaneity prevailing in Auroville, as opposed to the need for structure circumscribing spontaneity. As witnessed in the specific treatment of the themes by the operationalization of the fundamental dilemma, in each of the five dimensions of the dilemma, spontaneity is preserved, an emergent and potentially transforming form of social control is resisted:

Administrative order: Elaboration is minimal and most often ad hoc.

Symbolic: Symbols are embedded in the day-to-day, hence when means become ends in themselves, the day-to-day concerns become a collective concern. From the beginning the symbolic is not alienated from day-to-day life. Work and ritual are one, yet work is not ritualized: no separation of the spiritual from the material.

Delimitation: Delimitation is individual, not movement-wide.

Power: Consensus of opinion is not sought or valued, synthesis is. The organizational and symbolic elaboration necessary to sustain a means of coercion is absent. With the
absence of social control deriving from social position or concrete definition, social control mechanisms in general are weak or absent, that is, the control over work, over food, the means of coercion which are potent yet operate without the threat of violence.

Mixed motivation: The stable set of statuses and roles that would reorient one to the values and goals of an organization itself is absent.

Despite the diversity of vision, concern, opinion and situation represented in Auroville, the preservation of spontaneity appears to be considered fundamental. Therefore we conclude that spontaneity is central to the orientation of Auroville. Unlike the ideologies which support capitalism and socialism, Aurovilian discourse treats the dangers of elaboration, power and delimitation, endemic to both systems in different ways, as issues in and of themselves. While working "for" the development of a certain form of survival, Aurovilian discourse indicates the recognition of the potential consequences for social control in that development. Therefore, concurrently, they prevent mechanisms of social control "from" emerging. The free participation in the society is maintained. Auroville is developing, consistent to its value-orientation.

By linking the five interconnected dimensions of a fundamental dilemma of social life to the themes which emerged in my analysis of the data on Auroville, we recognize an overall orientation in Auroville which involves effective resistance to routinization. While not shunning organization per se, we recognize in the culture of Auroville the persistent return to "spontaneity" when emergent "structure" ceases to reflect the meaning and purpose of Auroville. Such an orientation, being value-centered and experience-based, we term inner-worldly mystical, the attempt to live out an
inwardly experienced reality. Such an orientation resists the tendency to develop external, consensually-validated criteria for social control.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS
AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Auroville exists as a culture within a culture, an international community within the country of India, which finds nowhere a model for its development. This situation is generally true in cases of charisma; the leader's vision of what can and will be is the ideal to which adherents form a personal commitment. Weber proposed a theoretical model for social and cultural developments in circumstances like Auroville, the routinization of charisma, a model for which many examples can be enumerated. In this thesis, I have argued that Auroville appears as an exception to this general pattern of routinization. This chapter is an attempt to draw out some of the sociological implications of the analysis of Auroville as a sociological case study of resistance to routinization.

7.1 Chapter Overview

In Chapter One, I delineated the hypothesized tension between the orientation of Auroville and the pressures to routinize, the theoretical perspective adopted for the purpose of analyzing the international township of Auroville. The second chapter provided an historical-cultural background to Auroville. I examined the charismatic
leadership of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, their lives and vision, and the initial challenges faced by the participants of Auroville, in the absence of their leaders, to express the meaning of Auroville as they understood it. In Chapter Three, I identified the orientation to theory adopted for the purpose of conducting this study, Weber’s conception of the ideal type, and I elaborated the components of the theoretical framework developed: charisma, the routinization of charisma, O’Dea’s five dilemmas of the institutionalization of religion, and Weber’s typology of two dimensions of orientation to salvation. The process of methodology development was described in Chapter Four. From the outset, I judged that participation in the culture would be crucial to understanding Auroville. The thematic analysis method, which provides a link between the data collected and the theoretical framework adopted, developed as a result of my participation in the culture. On the basis of the themes which emerged from that analysis, key features of the culture of Auroville were delineated in Chapter Five. Focusing on the sphere of economic planning in Auroville, given Weber’s emphasis on the economic as a key factor in the routinization process, the resistance to routinization in Auroville was specified. Organizational development in Auroville is characteristic of networking, exhibiting both unity and diversity, an organization distinctly different from the kind Weber saw as inherent in the routinization of charisma. In Chapter Six, I applied the theoretical framework, analyzing the themes in terms of O’Dea’s operationalization of a fundamental dilemma of social life, his five dilemmas of institutionalization. By means of this analysis, I argued for the appropriateness of the
inner-worldly mystical type of orientation to Auroville and set the resistance to organization in Auroville in terms applicable to sociological analysis.

7.2 Strengths and Limitations

The methodology examined in Chapter Four may be divided into four segments: 1) Theory development; 2) Data Collection; 3) Data Analysis; 4) Writing Up. The type of data collected by means of participant observation reduces the danger of interpreting events in a manner different from the meaning attributed to them by participants in the culture. This data collection strategy also poses problems. Returning to Saskatoon after twelve months of data collection (December 1989), I was both intimidated and confused by the nature and amount of data. How does one make sense of it all? Finding an appropriate means to analyze the data was no respite. Applying a thematic analysis method was the most difficult and frustrating aspect of this research. The body of data isolated had to be scrutinized repeatedly in order that patterns could be recognized. At the same time, the ever-present danger of mechanically coding and categorizing material as one theme or another had to be resisted so that new themes, if present, would be discovered. An advantage of the thematic analysis method over the original method of coding and categorizing material into theoretical categories was that the relationships between both the statements and the themes became evident, such that the change in method became a change from clerical categorizing to analysis. The thematic analysis method, although time-consuming, stimulated insight into themes and their interconnectedness.
The limitations of my data collection and thematic analysis methods are related to the hermeneutical circle. Despite my declared sensitivity to the latter, the methodology adopted puts the onus on my own judgement and discipline. Participant observation is ex post facto in character. Inference rather than experimentation is operative. Hence statements of relations are weaker in a field study such as mine than they are in experimental research. (Kerlinger, 1973:408) My participation in, and sympathy to, the culture allowed me to generate a study sensitive to the culture of Auroville. At the same time, a different person adopting the same methods may identify and develop different patterns. My particular experience of, and faith in, the purpose of Auroville may be reflected in this research and its results.

Auroville presents a vast field of research, recognizable in the fact that two other researchers were present in Auroville to carry out studies at the same time that I was: a Ph.D. candidate in Political Studies from Yale University, and a M.Phil. candidate in History from the University of Madras. My particular research is limited to an emphasis, from a Weberian perspective, on the cultural orientation of Auroville and its impact on economic and organizational imperatives. The focus of the research is limited to a period of two years of a 25 year history, limited by the opportunities for data collection made available to me in Auroville, and limited by my current grasp of social theory. This thesis has merit only to the extent that the few features of Auroville I’ve identified are recognized to be valid.
7.3 Contributions

In Chapter Five we identified the positive nature of resistance to organization in Auroville. Such cultural themes as non-imposition and resistance to institutionalization operate because of the time and energy Aurovilians are willing to put into implementing their visions of Auroville, the community effort to manifest collective care and responsibility without compromising individual freedom. Inner-worldly mysticism, as a type postulated by Weber but not elaborated, appears to represent a dominant orientation in Auroville. Rather than accept the advantages of institutionalization — a stable field for social activity — Aurovilians resist elaboration of organization which may act back against them in the form of social control (Chapter Six). Nonetheless, they continue to cooperate in the development of Auroville. We recognize in Auroville an emphasis on activity in the world coupled with a heightened sensitivity to the dangers inherent in objectifying it, indicative of an orientation both inner-worldly and mystical, based on Weber’s two dimensions of orientation to salvation. Resistance to institutionalization takes place, not for its own sake, but to make room for what is envisioned by the participants in the culture.

Weber did not elaborate the inner-worldly mystical type. Rather he assimilated asceticism to the inner-worldly orientation and mysticism to the other-worldly orientation (1963:129). Robertson (1978:128-131) develops the four types, following Weber’s typology of two dimensions of orientations to salvation, identifying the manner in which mysticism tends to complement the inner-worldly ascetic orientation and asceticism tends to complement the other-worldly mystical orientation. By identifying elements of
mysticism in specific historical and contemporary social movements in the West, Robertson (1978:103-147) demonstrates that mysticism is not necessarily acosmic and anti-organizational. Following therefrom, this thesis takes a step beyond Robertson's "ascetic mysticism" (1978:131) to apply the inner-worldly mystical type itself. Auroville is an example of an inner-worldly mystical orientation perduring over 25 years and in the face of significant challenges.

Despite the major conflicts in which they have engaged, the residents of Auroville continue to struggle for and maintain the legacy of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, the vision of Auroville. An inner-worldly mystical orientation appears to be viable. Rather than a brief originating period that is quickly lost, inner-worldly mysticism can be a continuing orientation. To the extent that Aurovilians are able to resist routinization, the inner-worldly mystical orientation appears to be a useful construct to apply in relation to routinization of charisma. Two implications for Weberian theory follow from the analysis of Auroville. First, Weber's inner-worldly mystical type appears to be a useful and socially viable theoretical construct. Second, a culture which resists the routinization of charisma might be usefully analyzed in terms of this ideal type.

O'Dea's five interrelated dilemmas were particularly appropriate to this analysis. The notion of dilemma imputes to social reality seemingly opposing dimensions which obtain but cannot be contained without a gain also signifying a loss. With stability comes alienation; with concrete definition comes regulation. A facet of the inner-worldly mystical type of orientation appears to be a sensitivity to the partial and
incomplete reality of all social and cultural forms with the concomitant recognition that forms are necessary. Rather than accepting forms as definitive, with their resultant contradictions, Aurovilians accept social life as a dilemma, with its consequent ambiguity. In Chapter Five, we demonstrated the plurality of organization and vision tolerated in Auroville. Dilemma as a construct appears to fit the Aurovilian reality both at the personal and collective level. The Aurovilian orientation to the dilemmic aspect of social life has implications significant for modern western society. We may modify Robertson’s (see Chapter Three, p.42) ideal type of inner-worldly mysticism to include sensitivity to the dangers of objectification, a sensitivity to losing the reality expressed through a form in the form itself. This sensitivity is the basis of the Aurovilians’ intolerance of, and action against, the loss of meaning in their day-to-day activity, the alienation so widely discussed as present in modern Western society.

Through participation in modern public institutions, people tolerate considerable meaninglessness. As compensation, many attempt to recover meaning in other spheres of their lives. They live two lives. Aurovilians don’t allow this split to occur. In effect, the Aurovilians’ sensitivity to objectification, flowing from their inner-worldly mystical orientation, prevents their seeking a solution to one problem in isolation from and ignorance of the solution’s implications for generating other problems (dilemma), particularly in regard to generating both the material and social bases for social control.

5. I am grateful to Dr. Harley D. Dickinson, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, for pointing out the parallel between this point and the work of Jurgen Habermas. I hope to explore this connection in further analysis of Auroville.
Instead of seeking stability through the imposition of normative form, both organizational and ideological, Aurovilians compensate for a lack of institutionalization by increased participation and work: freedom with greater personal responsibility. Yet the participation level is not experienced as an imposition because, unlike the reality for many people involved in Western institutions, Aurovilians personally identify with their activity, its purpose and meaning.

The culture of Auroville, as a perduring inner-worldly mystical orientation, has implications for social change and adaptation. The orientation, sensitive to forms of social control and resistant to institutions which operate for their own sake, prevents the development of structures which are inflexible to change. The potential for adaptation to changing situations appears then to be characteristic of this orientation. We find in Auroville a network type of organization which emphasizes participation: freedom with personal responsibility. Access to decision-making and the freedom to participate in a manner meaningful to the individual corresponds to a low level of alienation, a useful example of small-scale development. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, the Aurovilian example is not the result of the external imposition of form, or of the external imposition of politically enshrined but often self-serving principles of equality or freedom. Auroville appears to exemplify Weber's third type of legitimate authority, charisma, through inner-worldly mysticism as a continuing and established orientation of the participants.
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APPENDIX B: THE MOTHER’S DREAM

There should be somewhere upon earth a place no nation could claim as its sole
property, a place where all human beings of good will, sincere in their aspiration, could
live freely as citizens of the world, obeying one single authority, that of the supreme
Truth, a place of peace, concord, harmony, where all the fighting instincts of man would
be used exclusively to conquer the causes of his sufferings and miseries, to surmount his
weakness and ignorance, to triumph over his limitations and incapacities; a place where
the needs of the spirit and the care for progress would get precedence over the
satisfaction of desires and passion, the seeking for material pleasures and enjoyment.
In this place children would be able to grow and develop integrally without losing
contact with their soul. Education would be given not with a view to passing
examinations and getting certificates and posts but to enriching the existing faculties and
brining forth new ones. In this place title and positions would be supplanted by
opportunities to serve and organise. The needs of the body will be provided for equally
in the case of each and everyone. In the general organisation intellectual, moral and
spiritual superiority will find expression not in the enhancement of the pleasure and
powers of life but in the increase of duties and responsibilities. Artistic beauty in all
forms, painting, sculpture, music, literature, will be available equally to all, the
opportunity to share in the joys they give being limited solely by each one’s capacities
and not by social or financial position. For in this ideal place money would be no more
the sovereign lord. Individual value would have a greater importance than the value due
to material wealth and social position. Work would not be there as the means for gaining one's livelihood, it would be the means whereby to express oneself, develop one's capacities and possibilities, while doing at the same time service to the whole group, which on its side, would provide for each one's subsistence and for the field of this work. In brief, it would be a place where the relations among human beings, usually based almost exclusively upon competition and strife, would be replaced by relations of emulation for doing better, for collaboration, relations of real brotherhood.
APPENDIX C: AUROVILLE TIMELINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF AUROBINDO GHose.</td>
<td>1872</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIRTH OF MIRRA ALFASA.</td>
<td>1878</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOUNDING OF THE SRI AUROBINDO ASHRAM, PONDICHERRY.</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEATH OF SRI AUROBINDO.</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MOTHER CONCEIVES OF AUROVILLE.</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREATION OF THE SRI AUROBINDO SOCIETY. (SAS)</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOUNDING OF AUROVILLE.</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEATH OF THE MOTHER.</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT WITH THE SAS COMMENCES.</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PASSING OF THE AUROVILLE (EMERGENCY PROVISIONS) ACT, DELHI.</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPREME COURT DECISION IN FAVOUR OF AUROVILLE, DELHI.</td>
<td>1982</td>
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<tr>
<td>BREAKDOWN OF THE COLLECTIVE ECONOMY.</td>
<td>1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASSING OF THE AUROVILLE FOUNDATION ACT, DELHI.</td>
<td>1988</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTIVATION OF THE AUROVILLE FOUNDATION.</td>
<td>1991</td>
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APPENDIX D: Economic Planning (E-P) Source Reference

Key:

AN - Auroville News
D - Document
FN - Field Notes
FNB - Field Notebook
PO - Participant Observation file book
epm - economic planning meeting
ewg - economic work group

2. E-P/D-1: Informational materials supplied to the participants of Economy Seminar I.
3. E-P/FNB#1: Notes on Economy Seminar I.
4. AN#261: Seminar I Report.
9. E-P/D-5: Rolf's statement to epm#6: "Unity through harmony of complexity."
10. E-P/D-6: A compilation of statements made by the Mother regarding Aurovilian economy.


15. E-P/FNB#2: Notes on Economic Seminar II.


20. E-P/D-11: Compilation of Meeting Minutes: epm#1-#5, ewg#1-#2; summary of meetings: Seminar I through epm#5.


29. AN#343: Economic Task Force report on the implementation of proposal #2, June 1990.


31. PO#3 Notes on meeting with Guy (Economic Task Force member), November 26th, 1990, regarding the development and implementation of the proposal of March 20th, 1990.