

PILOT WALDEN TWO EXPERIMENTS: BEGINNINGS OF A PLANNED SOCIETY¹

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Introduction

Until now, we have lived in societies that either have not been planned at all, or in which planning has existed in only a limited number of areas. The least amount of planning has occurred in the area of human behavior. To say there is no plan does not mean that development of a culture is ever "random," but only that we usually do not observe the events that actually control growth in these societies. The serious and destructive consequences of leaving societies to develop at "random" are obvious.

Several ways have been proposed in the past to change these societies to other, more planned ones. Unfortunately, these proposed changes have taken into consideration only philosophical, historical, political, economic, or religious suggestions. None of these fields has provided the objective data through which a culture can be designed to survive and produce happy people who do not harm others. Sometimes other proposals have been offered that are said to be based on "science," but the term "science" has been used in very different ways. Usually the so-called "science" is not based on scientific experimentation, which is the major requirement of a natural science. Such a "science" has nothing to contribute to cultural design. Nor can a useful contribution be made by a philosophy that is not based on a concept of man which is compatible with the image of man that scientific experimentation gives us. There is no reason to permit opinions from such a philosophy to intervene in the design of a culture.

Scientists, at least those who are most informed of what is happening in the world today, are gradually learning that there are problems in "applying" science. The technology that science in general gives cannot be used effectively without a complete social organization that provides the conditions for its use. Especially, a technology of behavior that is derived from the experimental analysis of behavior cannot be injected successfully into a non-planned or partially planned society. Results with cultural significance will be obtained only if every area of a society is planned.

To plan, or design, a society does not mean to apply aversive control to the members so that they will stop emitting particular behaviors. Instead, it means to design the environment in such a way that the members do what they like to do without hurting each other. Successful behaviors of the members will ensure their individual survival and that of the culture.

Experimental Analysis of Behavior: Its Contribution to Cultural Design

The evolution of a successful culture requires the participation of all the natural sciences and their technologies. The science called the experimental analysis of behavior is important

beyond all of the others, because the application of results from all sciences depends ultimately upon the behavior of organisms.

Perhaps the experimental analysis of behavior does not have all of the data necessary to solve all the problems that come up at the beginning of a planned culture. However, it does uniquely incorporate a methodology to study these problems and to find solutions in experimental investigation rather than in political, philosophical, or religious propositions. These prescribe only previously established responses rather than solutions to our problems. The initial sparseness of behavioral data relevant to cultural design should be a stimulus for experimental investigation rather than a stimulus to resort to other fields.

We hold that the science called the experimental analysis of behavior *now* gives us:

- 1) Sufficient data to form the basis of a planned culture when procedures are used that are consistent with these data.
- 2) A methodology necessary to investigate behaviors that have not been sufficiently studied, but which are relevant to cultural design.
- 3) A theory of behavior that is based on data derived from the experimental analysis of behavior, which does not stand in the way of the further investigation of behavior.
- 4) A philosophy which is consistent with the data.

With these data and the methodology, we can find effective solutions to the problems that come up when a culture is designed. Strategies are now available to initiate a planned culture. One of these strategies is to conduct Walden Two pilot experiments. The work is "pilot" only in the sense that at first there may be just a few members in a community, not in the sense that the scientific analysis is primitive. Each community will grow in numbers of members, but only, in proportion to the number of data that are produced by the experiment. In this way the group will avoid growth in numbers of people that occurs faster than does the growth and development of techniques for handling those larger numbers.

The application of the results of the experimental analysis in cultural design requires that *all* areas of the culture will be modified. Until now, the results of an experimental analysis of behavior have been applied to sectors of the culture at large (families, jails, schools, etc.). Valuable contributions have been made to cultural design, of course, from this segmentary application. We do not "blame" those who apply the experimental analysis of behavior to areas of an unplanned culture. Nevertheless, cultural design presupposes a total change of the culture and not a change of isolated areas. Modifications in every area of a society are required to evaluate the usefulness of the analysis. This total commitment is something that a Walden Two community can give to cultural design. Any or all of its areas are subject to modification so as to evaluate the techniques that are applied.

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Walden Two Communities: Social Laboratories

We define a Walden Two community as a group of persons, of different ages and sexes, who apply the results derived from the experimental analysis of behavior to their own behavior and that of their children. Everything they do makes possible more effective use of this science.

The complete application of behavioral analysis to a community includes the specification of behavioral objectives for its members and also the specification of procedures to reach those objectives. In this way constant experimentation is made possible, that will bring about even more effective procedures and even more culturally significant objectives. Walden Two communities can be considered social laboratories that generate data relevant to cultural design. They are an experimental space in which the behavior of the members can be analyzed in such a way that the community can obtain data that it needs to survive. Data will also be gathered that are needed to replicate the same experiments in other settings, either distant Walden Two communities or else settings in the larger contemporary cultures where concerned persons may also exist.

General Presentation of Los Horcones Community: As an Actual Walden Two Experiment

Los Horcones is a Walden Two style community in the sense that its members use *only* the results obtained by the experimental Analysis of Behavior to deal with their behavior and the behavior of their children. (Horcones, Nov. 1976-1; Dec. 1976-1; Feb. 1978). Los Horcones is the setting of a Walden Two pilot experiment, where the members work to obtain data about relevant behaviors for cultural design including: cooperative and competitive; aggressive and pacific; sharing and possessive; egalitarian and discriminatory behaviors. (Horcones, Dec. 1978-1). In this way experimental data are available for the development of the community and to start other Walden Two experiments in other places.

Brief History

In October 1971, a semidesert parcel of land was purchased of approximately 35 acres, located some six miles from the city of Hermosillo Sonora in Mexico. Construction of a school building, designed for children with a variety of behavioral deficits, was started in January 1972 by some members who had studied psychology. In October 1973, seven persons, most of them with information about Behavior Analysis, got together to plan how to live in community. The novel, *Walden Two*, by B.F. Skinner (1948) was used as a literary reference for the experiment. The group did not at any time consider Walden Two as a model to follow (Horcones, Dec. 1974-1). We agreed, however to experiment and change according to our research, a policy that had been described in *Walden Two*.

The children's house was the first building made by the community members themselves. It was completed in June 1974. The way to self-sufficiency began in December 1974 when a well was dug and a sufficient supply of water became available to grow crops and raise animals. In January 1977, the community obtained a permit from the Mexican Government to form a Cooperative, a legal entity that has the advantage of a non-profit organization.

Since its beginnings and up to May 1979, the adult population has varied from 6 to 22 resident members, with an average

age of 24 years. Twenty-seven persons have left, after staying an average of 7 months; 7 of them were permanent members and 20 were only provisional, (trying it out). Now in May 1979, the community has 16 members with facilities for about 35. (Horcones, Feb. 1977-1).

Physical Setting

At present in Horcones I, there are about 900 square meters of building space, consisting of the following communal buildings: school for children with behavioral deficits, with two classrooms, office, library, laundry building with clothes room and bathrooms, children's house with two bedrooms, play room, etc.; recreation center (*casa grande*); dining room; food storage room; barn and corrals; chicken coops and rabbit hutches; shop; and private rooms (bedrooms). (Horcones, Feb. 1979-2).

Organization

Los Horcones community is organized on the planner-manager system described in *Walden Two*. Two planners, or organizers, elected by the members, are in charge for a term of 18 months. They are responsible for naming the managers for the various areas (e.g., agriculture, work, economy, recreation, etc.). The planners also organize the areas that may not have managers at the time, and they represent the community and make decisions regarding external business. An additional planner is appointed to help the planners, and is included in the planning activities so that she or he can learn what is involved. The purpose is to afford training in this capacity. If performance merits it, he or she may become a planner in the future.

Neither the planners nor managers have special privileges; nor are they called planners or managers by other members. Every member is expected to do manual work. (Horcones, March 1977).

There are now a total of 22 managers, of which some of the most important are: economy, work, adult behavior (2), child behavior, etc. Actually the present population is too small in relation to the number of areas that have to be managed, however, the advantage in having one manager in each area is that public display of disapproving behaviors is reduced. (Horcones, Oct. 1974), because each member knows the proper person to reach for discussing suggestions or problems.

Work Area

The community organizes all work according to a Labor Time System, having abandoned the Labor Credit System described in *Walden Two*. The basic difference between the two systems is that the current system does not give extra minutes to activities that are considered "aversive" (Horcones, Feb. 1974-2). In general the Time System functions simply: The work managers measure the average time of each work that needs to be done to maintain and develop the community. The work is divided into areas, some of which are: organization, child behavior, adult behavior, food, education for children of the community, cleaning, training children with behavior deficits, animal care, tractor business, classes outside the community, agriculture, etc. The manager of each area informs the work manager about the amount of time required for that area. Based on this information, the total weekly minutes of work are obtained and divided by the number of members in residence. This will indi-

cate approximately how many minutes each member will be required to work during the week. Twice a month a work meeting is held at which the members may choose the work they prefer, but they must choose work that adds up to the quota for the coming weeks. Depending on the needs of the community, the number of minutes of the required work per week varies, and also the kind of work may vary from week to week. (Horcones, Feb. 1977-2)

Economic Area

This area is organized by a manager who does the book-keeping and makes decisions about expenditures. The community is self-sufficient in meat, eggs and milk products, as well as in vegetables for a part of the year. Alternative sources of energy (solar and wind) are being studied. It is expected that energy costs, representing 7% of the total annual expenditures, will be greatly reduced when the new systems are installed.

The major constant source of financial support is derived from the operation of the school for children with behavior deficits. The revenue obtained from the school is 30% of total income, another 10% comes from occasional work such as making clothing, crafts and printing, 50% comes from renting machinery, 5% from "donations", and 5% from giving classes about Behavior Analysis outside the community.

School Area

The community has a school for children with varying social and/or academic behavior deficits. Eight children now are in attendance in a day program and one child is in the residential program.

There is a school manager who supervises the programs, which are similar to those described by Ribes-Inesta (1972) and Bijou (1972). If one member of the community wants to work in the school he or she needs to receive intensive training in behavior modification techniques in the community. This work is included in the person's labor time system.

Behavior Area

This area includes the behavior of the adults and children in the community. To deal with this area, the community uses only the results obtained by the Experimental Analysis of Behavior. If there is not enough data about a behavior that is relevant for the community, the community investigates this behavior to obtain experimental data. However, it does not deal with this behavior through consideration of "psychological or philosophical systems" that are only based on subjective interpretations about behavioral events. The community has "enough respect for human liberty" to not manage human behavior "at random" or based on subjective considerations of "famous psychologists". (Horcones, Dec. 1978-2).

Adult Behavior

This area is organized by two members, the behavior managers, who are in charge of all aspects of adult behavior. When a member comes to live in the community he is asked to read the Behavior Code, which consists of a detailed description of the specific behavioral objectives for the members. These objectives are written in terms which have observable referents (Horcones, Jan. 1974).

The behavior code describes the communitarian behav-

iors that the community requires from its members and also describes some non-communitarian behaviors. The code includes 30 classes of behaviors, which group together the specific behaviors that are related to each one. (Horcones, Oct. 1978).

In general the behavior managers:

1) Obtain information about the actual repertory of communitarian or non-communitarian behaviors of each one of the members.

2) Design programs to modify behaviors (increase communitarian behaviors and decrease non-communitarian behaviors).

3) Supervise behavioral programs. (Horcones, Jul. 1973; Apr. 1979-3).

To obtain information about the behavioral repertory of the members, behavior managers hold behavior meetings, which can be in the following classifications: general behavior meetings, group behavior meetings and individual behavior meetings.

In the general behavior meetings each member reports those behaviors that need to be changed in the community, without reporting the name of the member that emits those behaviors. They also report if there is something in the organization that interferes with his or other members communitarian behaviors. Behavior managers write up these reports, and obtain in this way general information about what should change in the behavior area and in the organization of the community.

In group behavior meetings each member writes a list of communitarian and non-communitarian behaviors of each one of the members of the community, including himself (self-evaluation). Frequently it is required that members work on this record outside of the meeting time. By these meetings the community obtains actual information of the communitarian repertory of each member, a behavioral self-evaluation, and the social significance of the reported behavior (Wolf, 1978; Horcones, March 1979).

In individual behavior meetings, two members, report to each other the communitarian and non-communitarian behaviors. In these meetings one of the behavior managers serves as a mediator to keep them talking in observable terms and helps to design the specific programs to change the behavior of the members involved in the meeting. These meetings are appropriate when behavior problems affect only some members of the community.

General and group behavior meetings are held as often as is considered necessary by behavior managers and planners. The frequency of individual behavior meetings depends on how often the members request them.

To design programs of behavior modification, behavior managers ask each member personally for a list of behavioral objectives for other members and a list of behavioral objectives for himself. From both lists, and from the reports of the group behavior meetings, the behavioral objectives are obtained for each member. Based on these objectives the behavior managers and the member design the programs. In these programs are written the objectives, as well as the specific consequences that the rest of the members will give to the communitarian or non-communitarian behaviors of the member. The programs also give procedures to prevent non-communitarian behaviors and make more possible communitarian behaviors in the member. (Horcones, Apr. 1979-1).

To supervise behavioral programs, behavior managers and others give consequences to the members who maintain responding in the required way. (Horcones, Apr. 1979-2). Presently, the community is investigating ways to reinforce members who respond as they were asked to respond in the behavior programs made for other members.

Child Behavior

In the community the application of behavior analysis is very relevant to child behavior. Our children are raised and educated communally by trained members. These members may or may not be the "biological parents" of the children. (Horcones, Jan. 1978-2; Dec. 1975-3). All the members of the community are "behavioral parents" of the children. Although all the members are trained in child care, the metas of the community receive more extensive training in the management of our children's behavior, using a program that the community has designed for this purpose.

For now the training program for a meta is as follows (Horcones, Jun. 1978-1; May 1979-1).

- 1) The child behavior manager reads and explains the meta code and the list of behavioral objectives for the children of the community (Horcones, Jan. 1977; May 1978) with the member who wants to become a meta.
- 2) The manager gives this member material to read about child behavior analysis. (Bijou and Baer, 1961,65,67,78; Krumboltz and Krumboltz, 1972; Patterson and Guillon, 1974; Sulzer-Azaroff, 1977).
- 3) The member talks with the child behavior manager about the material that was read. (Horcones, March 1974).
- 4) The manager teaches the member to observe and record child behavior in natural settings and to describe behaviors in observable terms. (Bijou, 1968; Horcones, Jun. 1978-2).
- 5) The member accompanies different metas during their care time and the meta explains how to respond to the children in different situations.
- 6) Then the new meta takes care of the children while the child behavior manager or another meta takes records of the member's behavior.
- 7) The manager talks with the member about the records that were taken.
- 8) The manager shows the member videotaped situations showing desirable and undesirable behaviors of metas with the children. (Horcones, Jan. 1979).
- 9) The manager takes videotape records of the new meta taking care of the children, and shows it to the new meta.

Children of the community are constantly included in behavioral programs. Metas teach children self-care and basic social behaviors. When a child obeys instructions and has a large enough verbal repertory, the child is included in academic programs (reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.). Children are also included in self-control programs from the time they are very little.

All the metas are required to attend the weekly meta meetings that are held by the child behavior manager. There are also some days in the week when the child behavior manager and another metas review the child and meta behaviors that were recorded by the metas during the week.

A lot of behaviors are established in our children in natural settings. They learn occupational behaviors when they spend periods of time watching adults working. All members in the

community are informed that their behavior is a relevant model for children (Horcones, Jun. 1975) and that the consequences they give to the behavior of the children are the most relevant factor in the education of the little members of the community.

Horcones Community, June 1979-1

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