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# Utopia and Bureaucracy: The Fall of Rajneeshpuram, Oregon

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# Utopia and Bureaucracy: The Fall of Rajneeshpuram, Oregon

CARL ABBOTT

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There may be places in Oregon that are more isolated from their centers of population—towns like Wagonfire, Lonerock, and Remote—but Rajneeshpuram is hard enough to reach. The drive from Portland to its site in the central basin of the John Day River covers 175 miles. The hundred square miles of Rajneesh properties spanned two counties. The offices of Jefferson County were seventy miles away in Madras, population 2,235 in 1987. The offices of Wasco County were ninety miles distant in The Dalles, population 10,265. A circle of a hundred miles circumference centered on Rajneeshpuram embraces only one town of more than 1000 residents and one additional town of more than 500.

Between 1981 and 1985, followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh built a substantial utopia in the solitude of eastern Oregon. The instant community promised spiritual reassurance, material comfort, and opportunities for worldly achievement for a population that was officially planned for 3,700 and sometimes projected to reach the tens of thousands.<sup>1</sup> It also offered the chance to build a carefully planned new city. At its peak in 1984, Rajneeshpuram housed between 2,000

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1. City of Rajneeshpuram, *Comprehensive Plan* (Rajneeshpuram, Ore., 1982; Hugh Milne, *Bhagwan: The God That Failed* (New York, 1986), 215.

and 3,000 permanent residents along with varying numbers of visitors, students of Rajneeshism, and street people participating in a short-lived Share-a-Home program. The idea of a high-tech utopia that equipped itself with Uzis and Rolls Royces as well as beads and that counted Ph.Ds. in political science and linguistics along with its graying guru was irresistible to the news media. National magazines, newspapers, and network television chronicled evolving conflicts with the city's rural neighbors and its spectacular collapse in a wave of criminal indictments. Rajneeshpuram has figured prominently in at least seven books, including Frances Fitzgerald's widely read *Cities on a Hill*. In John Updike's recent novel *S.* it appears in transparent disguise as the Arizona-based Ashram Arhat.<sup>2</sup>

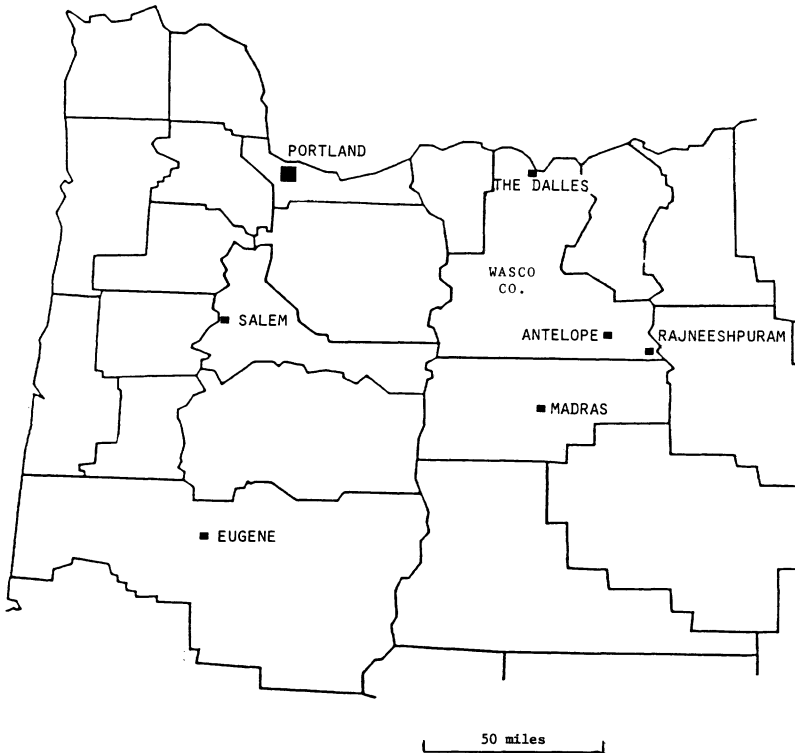
The building of Rajneeshpuram brought international scrutiny of Oregon's hard-earned reputation for tolerance. The state had supported a strong anti-Catholic movement and a strong Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and had joined the anti-Japanese frenzy of the 1940s.<sup>3</sup> Since then, however, it had grown substantially more open-minded in the public arena, a process assisted by the small size of its urban minority population and the tendency for counterculturalists to shelter quietly in the forest. Rajneesh and his true believers, however, were eminently visible and uninterested in compromise. They were impatient, insistent, implicitly threatening, and often directly confrontational. Whether intended or not, the repeated changes in their stated plans looked like conscious deception.

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2. Robert Anderson, *Behind the Red Door: The Rajneesh Exposé* (Portland, Ore., 1983); Kirk Braun, *Rajneeshpuram: The Unwelcome Society* (West Linn, Ore., 1984); Dell Murphy, *The Rajneesh Story: The Bhagwan's Garden* (West Linn, Ore., 1986); Milne, *Bhagwan*; Frances FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill* (New York, 1986); Kate Strelley, with Robert D. San Souci, *The Ultimate Game: The Rise and Fall of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh* (San Francisco, 1987); James S. Gordon, *The Golden Guru: The Strange Journey of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh* (Lexington, Mass., 1987); John Updike, *S.* (New York, 1988).

3. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (3rd ed., Durham, N.C., 1987), 85-91; Eckard V. Toy, Jr., "The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LIII (1962), 60-64; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia* (New York, 1967), 494-499.

LOCATION MAP: NORTHWESTERN OREGON



The initial response in Oregon was an uneasy balance in which tolerance tended to outweigh hostility with increasing distance. Nearby residents were caught between disapproval of a nontraditional lifestyle and an ingrained commitment to an individualistic ethos that would allow people to do what they wanted on their own property. More cosmopolitan residents of Willamette Valley cities and university towns were torn between commitment to freedom of belief and behavior, embarrassment over expressions of bigotry, and the fear that Oregonians were being conned by a set of tricksters.

The physical isolation of Rajneeshpuram offered a striking contrast to its obtrusive public presence. Most Rajneeshes themselves were city people from the American coasts or

Europe for whom a Wasco County ranch was a western adventure. Journalists faced the choice of utilizing Rajneeshpuram's own guest facilities or making the dusty round trip to Madras over bumpy gravel roads and two-lane blacktop. Its location tied the experience of Rajneeshpuram to America's nineteenth-century "backwoods utopias." Indeed, the reported comment of Rajneesh's "prime minister" Ma Anand Sheela on being shown the Big Muddy Ranch placed Rajneeshpuram directly in the line of succession. "This is it!" she announced, paraphrasing Brigham Young's famous "This is the place!" uttered as he crested the Wasatch Range into the Salt Lake Valley.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to the common impression, this paper argues that the physical isolation of Rajneeshpuram has diverted attention from the *closeness* of its public institutional context. Rajneeshpuram may have looked like it was in the middle of nowhere, hours from courtrooms and county planning offices, but it was actually embedded in a dense system of laws and regulations. Like every other location in late twentieth-century America, Rajneeshpuram was within reach of local, state, and national bureaucracies. The constraints of this institutional context prevented the development of the city in its intended form and contributed to its collapse in 1984 and 1985.

### From Blithedale to Bureaucracy

When Nathaniel Hawthorne published his fictionalized account of the Brook Farm community as *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), he was far more interested in interaction among the Blithedalers themselves than in the relationships between the farm and its encompassing economic and social environment. Hawthorne's attention to personality and belief foreshadowed the standard approach to the historical study of American utopian experiments. Historians and historically minded social scientists have concentrated on questions internal to their subject communities. Writers concerned with human motivation have focused on program, ideology, and sources of individual commitment. Other scholars interested

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4. Braun, *Rajneeshpuram*, 28; Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 72.

in the dynamics of small groups have looked at the processes and problems of implementation, including physical construction and design, finances, and decision-making.<sup>5</sup>

The isolated locations of the most prominent of the nineteenth-century utopias seem to validate the internal emphasis. As geographer J. Wreford Watson has pointed out, "the communitarian movement...tended to be an essentially rural feature." A detailed analysis by Philip Porter and Fred Lukermann found a majority of communities located within a hundred miles of the standard frontier line of six persons per square mile.<sup>6</sup> Rajneeshpuram's regional predecessors have included later nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century

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5. Surveys of utopian communities in the United States include Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York, 1875); Arthur E. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopia: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America* (Rev. ed., Philadelphia, 1970); Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons, *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1952), 125-211; Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (Rev. ed., New York, 1966); Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, Conn., 1980); Yaacov Oved, *Two Hundred Years of American Communes* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1988). Works that emphasize the physical construction of the communities include John Reys, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, N.J. 1965), 439-474; Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); and J. Wreford Watson, *Social Geography of the United States* (London, 1979), 224-226.

Social and psychological dynamics are the focus of Rosabeth Moss Kantner, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) and *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life* (New York, 1973); John Whitworth, *God's Blueprints: A Sociological Study of Three Utopian Sects* (London, 1974); Ira L. Mandelker, *Religion, Society and Utopia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Amherst, Mass., 1984); Paul L. Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia: The Hutterites and the Llano Colony* (Lincoln, Neb., 1964); Benjamin Zablocki, *The Joyful Community: An Account of the Bruderhof, a Communal Movement Now in Its Third Generation* (Baltimore, 1971); William M. Kephart, *Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Life Styles* (New York, 1976); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981); Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Sexuality: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981); Lawrence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America* (New York, 1973).

6. Philip Porter and Fred E. Lukermann, "The Geography of Utopia," in David Lowenthal and Martyn Bowden, eds., *Geographies of the Mind* (New York, 1976), 197-223; Watson, *Social Geography*, 221; Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 8-13, 362-366.

communities in the Rocky Mountain states, California, and western Washington.<sup>7</sup> More recently, the sparsely settled lands of the Pacific Northwest outside the urbanized Willamette Valley-Puget Sound corridor have attracted a disproportionate share of countercultural communes, survivalist enclaves, and protofascist settlements.<sup>8</sup>

Frontier or rural locations have been attractive for two reasons. First, land is cheap enough to assemble in large parcels. Second, the absence of close neighbors presumably means an absence of constraints and community tolerance. The internal dynamics of each utopia have often played out to completion before the progress of settlement has interfered with their "natural" internal dynamics. Only in Mormon Utah did the success of a utopian experiment bring repeated contact and conflict with national values and the federal government. Unlike many analysts of utopia, historians of the Mormon experience pay full attention to this external context.<sup>9</sup>

The available literature on Rajneeshpuram follows the

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7. Robert V. Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies* (San Marino, Calif., 1953); Charles LeWarne, *Utopias on Puget Sound, 1885-1915* (Seattle, 1975); James F. Willard, ed., *The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-71* (Boulder, Colo., 1918); James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz, eds., *Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872* (Boulder, Colo., 1926); H. Roger Grant, "Blueprints for Cooperative Colonies: The Labor Exchange and the Colorado Cooperative Community," *Journal of the West*, XII (1974), 74-82; Clark Spence, *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies* (Tucson, 1985).

8. James Vance, "California and the Search for the Ideal," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LXII (1972), 185-210; Hugh Gardner, *The Children of Prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes* (New York, 1978); Richard Fairfield, *Communes USA* (Baltimore, 1972); Watson, *Social Geography*, 246.

9. Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter Day Saints* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) is exemplary. Also see Chauncy Harris, *Salt Lake City: A Regional Capital* (Chicago, 1939); Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City, 1952); Robert Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Ill., 1965); Richard Francavaglia, *The Mormon Landscape* (New York, 1978); Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo., 1984). The external relations of other utopias that persisted and moved closer to the American mainstream are treated in Maren Lockwood Carden, *Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation* (Baltimore, 1969); and Diane Barthell, *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community* (Lincoln, Neb., 1984).

"Blithedale approach." The first comprehensive account, by a sympathetic Oregon journalist, depicted the process of implementation as an example of successful community-making in the face of unreasoning hostility. A similar volume in 1986 revolved around the conflict of creative spirituality and religious bigotry.<sup>10</sup> Three memoirs by former Rajneesh followers are organized around their authors' personal journeys of belief and disillusionment. Frances Fitzgerald's finely shaded account in *Cities on a Hill* provides the most comprehensive and balanced narrative, but it too is organized around a similar shift from positive to negative evaluation on the part of an initially sympathetic observer. Along with James Gordon, Fitzgerald reserved her deepest interest for the motivations behind the increasingly self-destructive behavior of the Rajneeshee settlers.<sup>11</sup> Academic literature to date shares the internal orientation. Ronald O. Clarke has examined Rajneeshpuram as a formal belief system, while a team of University of Oregon sociologists have used survey research to profile Rajneesh residents and to measure their sense of well-being.<sup>12</sup>

The need remains for structured analysis of the formal interaction between Rajneeshpuram and its institutional environment. The absence of such an account is particularly striking in light of the attention that the Rajneesh leadership paid to the legal rights of the settlement. They made full use of the Oregon court system through preemptory lawsuits, close reading of land-use regulations, and utilization of the legal authority of municipal corporations. The growing negative response in Oregon from 1983 to 1985 was in large part a reaction against the efforts of the Rajneeshees to achieve indepen-

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10. Braun, *Rajneeshpuram*; Murphy, *Rajneesh Story*.

11. Anderson, *Behind the Red Door*; Milne, *Bhagwan*; Strelley, *Ultimate Game*; Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill*; Gordon, *Golden Guru*.

12. Ronald O. Clarke, "The Teachings of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh," *Sweet Reason: A Journal of Ideas, History, and Culture*, IV (1985), 27-44; Carl A. Latkin, et al., "Who Lives in Utopia? A Brief Report on the Rajneeshpuram Research Project," *Sociological Analysis*, XLVIII (1987), 73-81. One study that did look at relations between residents of Rajneeshpuram and Antelope was able to carry the analysis only to 1983. See Doyle W. Buckwalter and J. Ivan Legler, "Antelope and Rajneeshpuram, Oregon—Cities in Turmoil: A Case Study," *Urbanism Past and Present*, VIII (1983), 1-13.



dence by establishing or controlling local government units. In turn, resistance to the Rajneesh program and demands involved state-level institutions of land-use planning, election administration, and public education.

Historically developed models of the United States as an organizational society provide a framework for understanding these competing uses of local and state government. One of the most powerful interpretations of American development to emerge over the last two decades is the "organizational synthesis" identified by Louis Galambos in 1970.<sup>13</sup> The interpretation points to the increasing scale and complexity of organization during the last century as a common theme that links the often disparate experiences of government, corporations, and intermediate institutions such as labor unions and professional associations. The synthesis draws on historically minded theorists such as Kenneth Boulding and John Kenneth Galbraith and on Robert Wiebe's argument that the United States has moved from a nineteenth-century federation of "island communities" to a fully integrated national society in the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> The approach provides avenues for understanding the development of particular areas of activity (high-technology manufacturing, medicine, the defense industry) as well as the broad changes in the structure of American society.

In particular, scholars have explored "brokerage" and "bureaucracy" as alternative evaluations of the organizational process as it has operated over the last half-century. As described by Otis Graham, the broker state crystalized during the turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s. It involves a broad set

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13. Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in American History," *Business History Review*, XLIV (1970), 279-290; Galambos, "Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalization: Central Themes of the Organizational Synthesis," *ibid.*, LVII (1983), 471-493; Robert D. Cuff, "American Historians and the 'Organizational Factor,'" *Canadian Review of American Studies*, IV (1973), 19-31; Robert Berkhofer, Jr., "The Organizational Interpretation of American History: A New Synthesis," *Prospects*, IV (1979), 611-629.

14. Kenneth Boulding, *The Organizational Revolution* (New York, 1953); John Kenneth Galbraith, *American Capitalism* (Boston, 1952); C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, 1951); Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York, 1955); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1967); and Wiebe *The Segmented Society: An Introduction to the Meaning of America* (New York, 1975).

of organizations and institutions that are nationwide in scope but parochial in interest. Each organizational entity provides points of access for old and new interests, primarily but not exclusively those involved in the production of wealth. Graham adapts the term from John Chamberlain in *The American Stakes* (1941) and develops it with insights from Henry Kariel, Grant McConnell, Theodore Lowi, and other commentators on the dominant role of public bureaucracies and their private allies.<sup>15</sup>

The broker state at the national level has been analyzed in terms that range from neutral to negative. The modern broker state seems to lead to "iron triangles" or "triocracies," stable alliances of interest groups, legislators, and government departments that become permanent centers of power. In one reading, such stability really means stagnation, for the principle of something-for-everyone leads to politics without direction or movement. The extreme, as Mancur Olson suggests, may be a paralysis of countervailing interests.<sup>16</sup> In other versions, however, superficial stasis masks unpredictable change. Key descriptors in this version are "piecemeal," "ad hoc," and "segmented." The "atomized" state, as Anthony King has observed, will alternate periods of stability with sudden lurching changes as one interest and then another gains an upper hand.<sup>17</sup>

Government itself is a neutral entity within the system of brokerage. It brings together the needs of different interests

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15. Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Toward a Planned Society* (New York, 1976), 64-68, 96-97, 297-301; John Chamberlain, *The American Stakes* (New York, 1941); Henry Kariel, *The Decline of American Pluralism* (Stanford, Calif., 1961); Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy* (New York, 1967); Theodore Lowi, *The End of Liberalism* (New York, 1969).

16. Louis Galambos, *America at Middle Age: A New History of the United States in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1982); Galambos, ed., *The New American State: Bureaucracies and Policies since World War II* (Baltimore, 1987), 14-15; Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities* (New Haven, Conn., 1982); Dwight Waldo, *The Administrative State* (New York, 1948).

17. Graham, *Planned Society*; Theodore Lowi, *The Politics of Disorder* (New York, 1971); Douglas Yates, *Bureaucratic Democracy: The Search for Democracy and Efficiency in American Government* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 105-107; Anthony King, ed., *The New American Political System* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 388-395.

and furnishes authority and services to the highest bidder. Whichever interest presents the strongest coalition or finds the most effective point of access is able to enlist the legitimacy of the state. With neither democracy nor direction, the broker state is up for grabs.

The alternative idea of a regulatory or bureaucratic state begins with the same inclusive trend to large-scale organization but emphasizes modes of operation rather than external influences. The model accepts the possibility and necessity of defending public interests against private power and assigns a privileged role to government. Although the scope of action of this managerial or regulatory state is theoretically unlimited, it expresses itself ideally and sometimes in actuality through self-controlling bureaucracies as modeled by Max Weber—neutral, rational, uninfluenced by individual status or connections. The mesh of uniform rules insulates society against special interests and pleadings.<sup>18</sup>

Bureaucracy in this conception is conservative. It offers protection alike against aberrant behavior and disturbing social creativity. Dwight Waldo has likened it to the flywheel of a machine or the ballast of a ship, providing “predictability, stability, and continuity” whose absence might lead to imbalance, chaos, or catastrophe. It is particularly relevant to the case of Rajneeshpuram to note that the basic function of modern land-use planning—to assure predictability in the process of land conversion and development—coincides with an essential characteristic of public bureaucracy.<sup>19</sup>

### **Rajneeshpuram and the Regulatory State**

The availability of a detailed narrative record of the Rajneeshpuram experiment makes it possible to test the

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18. Max Weber, “Bureaucracy,” excerpted from *Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft* in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1958); Charles T. Goodsell, *The Case for Bureaucracy* (Chatham, N.J., 1983); Peter Steinberger, *Ideology and the Urban Crisis* (Albany, N.Y. 1985), 26-62; Richard J. Stillman II, “The Constitutional Bicentennial and the Centennial of the American Administrative State,” *Public Administration Review*, XLVII (1987), 4-8.

19. Dwight Waldo, *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (Scranton, Penn., 1971), 274-276.

applicability of the two models of an organizational society.<sup>20</sup> Much of the conflict between commune and community arose from different assumptions about the nature and functioning of local and state government. In seeking their understandable and utopian goal of complete self-determination, the Rajneeshees found that battles with bureaucracies in one area often led to new conflicts or problems with another part of the regulatory network.

In summary, the Rajneesh leadership repeatedly operated as if Oregon were a broker state in which influence was up for grabs. In their first two years, the newcomers made a variety of efforts to identify allies within Oregon. A strong public relations effort targeted the state's large (albeit unorganized) community of "ecotopians" by emphasizing Rajneeshpuram as a social and environmental experiment. The Rajneeshees also used their local economic impact as a potent argument during Oregon's timber recession of 1981–1983, expecting to trade contracts and purchases for political influence. At the same time, the Rajneeshees attempted to identify the points of access to governmental power. They looked for levers of influence on individual Wasco and Jefferson county officials. The city's leaders engaged Robert Davis, a prominent and respected Oregon lobbyist, to represent their interests in the state capital, although they were unwilling to follow many of his recommendations and terminated the contract in 1983. They also used the Oregon courts to influence or intimidate. In a take-it-or-leave-it approach, the Rajneeshees acted as if government institutions and regulations were tools without inherent value. They used the legal

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20. In addition to the sources cited in note 2, the analytical narrative draws on Bob Mullen, *Life as Laughter: Following Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh* (London, 1983); City of Rajneeshpuram, *Comprehensive Plan*; a twenty-part investigative series by Leslie Zaitz, James Long, and Scotta Callister in the *Portland Oregonian*, June 30–July 19, 1985; Ron Lowell, "Dissecting a Sect," *The Quill*, LXXIV (May 1986), 6–16, 36; 1000 Friends of Oregon, *Newsletter* (1981–1983) and *Landmarks* (1983–1987); news and analysis articles that appeared on a monthly basis in *Oregon Magazine* from 1981 to 1985; interviews with Edward Sullivan, attorney representing Rajneeshpuram in land-use cases (Portland, Aug. 11, 1988) and Dan Durow, Wasco County Planning Director (The Dalles, Sept. 2, 1988).

and regulatory system when expedient, ignored it when inconvenient.

Rajneeshpuram was located, however, in a state with a political ethos that accepts the rational bureaucratic state at something like face value. Within the spectrum of American political cultures, Oregon exemplifies a moralistic and issue-oriented approach to public affairs. As defined by Daniel Elazar, moralistic states accept the limitation of private activities by the intervention of community or government in behalf of the public interest. Their citizens accept the idea that government should and can be a neutral arbiter and that well-run bureaucracies can protect the general welfare.<sup>21</sup> An example with direct relevance is Oregon's statewide system of land-use planning, which requires that all cities and counties develop and periodically review comprehensive plans that further a set of statewide goals. Planning initiative rests with the localities, but the state Land Conservation and Development Commission retains the power to acknowledge or reject the local efforts. Oregonians complain that the addition of a state layer to land-use decisions is cumbersome and that specific state goals may need revision, but a clear majority accept that the effort as a whole is legitimate and administered honestly.<sup>22</sup>

Given the inherent differences in approach to civic life, it is ironic that Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh came to Oregon essentially by accident. He decided to move his base of operations from Poona, India, to the United States in 1980. Important lieutenants arrived at a Rajneesh-owned estate in New Jersey in 1981. A systematic search for a large property began in May, with attention centered on Colorado and the Southwest. Bhagwan's arrival in New Jersey on June 1, however, pres-

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21. Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (New York, 1972), 96-101.

22. Charles E. Little, *The New Oregon Trail: An Account of The Development and Passage of State Land Use Legislation in Oregon* (Washington, D.C., 1974); John M. DeGrove and Nancy E. Stroud, *Oregon's State Urban Strategy* (Washington, D.C., 1980); H. Jeffrey Leonard, *Managing Oregon's Growth: The Politics of Development Planning* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, University of Oregon, *Guide to Local Planning and Development* (Eugene, Ore., 1984); Mitch Rohse, *Land-Use Planning in Oregon* (Corvallis, Ore., 1987).

sured Ma Anand Sheela to find an acceptable site for a major settlement. She decided on the Big Muddy Ranch in central Oregon essentially at first sight, completing purchase on July 10, 1981. For \$5.75 million the Rajneeshee organization acquired 64,229 acres of hills and streambeds that sloped west to east from a high point of 4,745 feet to a low of 1,400 feet. Several dozen Rajneeshees were soon at work preparing "Rancho Rajneesh" for the arrival of Bhagwan himself on August 19.

The first steps in the formal transformation of the agricultural property of Rancho Rajneesh into the City of Rajneeshpuram came in the fall of 1981. The first Rajneeshee statements that they intended a farming commune of a few dozen members quickly changed to population projections of several hundred. With their property zoned for exclusive farm use, the Rajneeshees anticipated serious problems in obtaining building permits and other permits necessary for expansion. On October 14, they filed a petition for municipal incorporation with the Wasco County Court (the county's governing board), citing the need to provide urban services to an intensive agricultural community that might reach 1,770 residents. The petition identified 2,135 acres in three separate parcels as the territory of the proposed city. On a two-to-one vote, the Wasco County Court approved the petition on November 4 and set a local election on the incorporation for the following spring. Because none of the ranch's Jefferson County lands were part of the incorporation, that county escaped most of the ensuing legal controversies.

The most important response to the idea of a new city in Wasco County came from 1000 Friends of Oregon, a respected land-use watchdog organization whose founders had included former Governor Tom McCall. 1000 Friends had a reputation for tenacious and consistent use of litigation to require strict adherence to Oregon's statewide land-use goals by both state and local officials. On December 1, 1981, the organization joined six nearby landowners challenging the legality of the incorporation. Their suit argued that the direct incorporation of land zoned for farm uses created a huge loophole in Oregon's regulatory system. As long as Rancho Rajneesh was farm land controlled by Wasco and Jefferson county zoning,

large-scale development would be scrutinized by relatively disinterested parties for compliance with county plans and state goals. Once a portion of the ranch was transformed into a city, however, the residents themselves could approve their own expansion within a system that assumed the basic right of cities to meet the needs of growing populations. Incorporation, according to the argument, would allow the Rajneeshees to bring in more settlers to justify urban expansion which in turn could support new residents in a repeating loop. Although their lawsuit was without immediate practical consequences, it started a court battle that lasted for six years and initiated the institutional embroilment of Rajneeshpuram (Table 1).

The tenacity of the challenge by 1000 Friends needs to be understood in the context of 1981, when every precedent and victory in the cause of land-use planning seemed vital. Oregon's land-use planning system had survived referendum challenges in 1976 and 1978 and would face another in 1982. Although metropolitan and Willamette Valley counties and cities had developed responsive comprehensive plans relatively quickly, several rural counties were strongly resisting the state mandate to restrict natural-resource development. In particular, one of the currently active issues was the potential proliferation of ill-planned recreational developments of the sort that former Governor Tom McCall had damned with the phrase "coastal condomania and sagebrush subdivisions." Rajneeshpuram looked like a dangerous precedent for more ordinary resorts and subdivisions because it was less a real city than a sort of New Age theme park or (or to quote Frances FitzGerald) "a year-round summer camp for young urban professionals."<sup>23</sup> It was also located in a county where 1000 Friends could count on local opposition to, rather than support for, large-scale land development.

The political implantation of Rajneeshpuram paved the way for rapid growth. Residents approved incorporation by a margin of 154 to 0 in May 1982, giving the city legal standing. As required by the Oregon land-use system, Rajneesh officials completed a comprehensive plan and received

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23. FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 275.

**Table 1. Chronology of Land-Use Litigation**


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December 1, 1981: 1000 Friends of Oregon files suit challenging approval of incorporation election for Rajneeshpuram
September 1982: Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) acknowledges Comprehensive Plan for Rajneeshpuram
March 2, 1983: Court of Appeals returns case to Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA) for determination of substantive compliance with state land-use goals.
July 14, 1983: LCDC adopts administrative rule on incorporation of new cities retroactive to August 1981
September 29, 1983: LUBA rules that the incorporation of Rajneeshpuram violated two state land-use goals and LCDC administrative rule
September 30, 1983: LCDC approves LUBA ruling
October 1983: Wasco circuit court enjoins further development under authority of City of Rajneeshpuram
March 21, 1984: Court of Appeals reverses LUBA decision of September 1983
June 27, 1983: Full ten-member panel of Court of Appeals upholds LUBA decision of September 1983 by 6 to 4 margin
July 9, 1985: Oregon Supreme Court overturns LUBA decision of September 1983 but returns case to LUBA for review of two additional issues
March 14, 1986: LUBA rules in favor of Rajneeshpuram <i>re</i> conflict of interest and against Rajneeshpuram <i>re</i> compliance of incorporation with the state agricultural land goal
August 6, 1986: Oregon Court of Appeals reverses LUBA by deciding against Rajneeshpuram <i>re</i> conflict of interest and for Rajneeshpuram on compliance with agricultural goal
September 9, 1987: Oregon Supreme Court upholds LUBA's decision that the incorporation of Rajneeshpuram was not invalid because of conflict of interest
1988: U.S. Supreme Court refuses certiorari, ending litigation on the status of Rajneeshpuram under Oregon land-use planning law

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acknowledgment from the Land Conservation and Development Commission in the fall. Intensive development followed over the next year. Two of the three incorporated parcels—now named Desiderata Canyon and Gautam the Buddha Grove—were largely left for future growth. Housing and community facilities were concentrated in Jesus Grove, the largest of the three units. Rajneeshpuram by late 1983 included a two-story shopping center, hotel, counseling center/administrative building, warehouse, heavy equipment building, Rolls Royce garage, service station, airstrip, dining hall, meeting hall, A-frame housing, and manufactured modular housing. Outside the city limits were new check dams to guard against flash floods, a large storage reservoir, and a sewage disposal system sufficient to deal with thousands of visitors during annual summer festivals. Population has been estimated at 200-400 in the fall of 1981 and at 2,000-3,000 by 1983 and 1984, although the large numbers of short-term and long-term visitors make any estimates suspect.<sup>24</sup>

Investment capital for Rajneeshpuram, which certainly totaled in the tens of millions of dollars, depended on the generosity of followers around the world. The city itself participated in the American service economy, as projected in the comprehensive plan. The first World Celebration in July 1982 brought 6,000 or 7,000 visitors to pay room and board and buy souvenirs. World Celebrations in 1983 and 1984 may have brought as many as 15,000 visitors. Participants in smaller quarterly festivals added to the flow of cash, as did journalists and parents of residents who paid \$90 a night at the Rajneeshpuram hotel. Students and seekers came to spend time at the Rajneesh International Meditation University. The Rajneesh Humanities Trust offered a workcamp experience to the faithful for \$400 per month. In the shopping mall, visitors and residents could buy Bhagwan pillowcases, Bhagwan flashlights, and Rajneeshee books and tapes. Intensive irrigated farming supplied vegetables and dairy products.

The Rajneeshees simultaneously took control of the government of the nearby town of Antelope as an alternative

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24. Official state population estimates for Rajneeshpuram were 1,000 for July 1, 1983, and 1,400 for July 1, 1984.

municipality should the legal challenges to Rajneeshpuram prove serious. A town of two streets and forty people located twenty miles northwest of Rajneeshpuram, Antelope was unprepared for the arrival of Rajneeshism. In the early months, the Rajneeshees used a trailer in Antelope as a receiving point and office. When they bought additional property and requested building permits for a printing operation, however, the Antelope council dragged its feet. Rajneesh insistence on the letter of the regulations introduced a discomfiting pressure into Antelope's casual small-town government. As stubborn residents continued to put off the request, the newcomers lost patience with bureaucratic remedies and turned to systematic nonviolent harassment of Antelope residents. Fearing a Rajneesh takeover and subsequent increase in taxes, the Antelope city council set an election to *disincorporate* the town and revert to the jurisdiction of Wasco County for April 15, 1982. Utilizing Oregon's liberal voter registration laws, enough Rajneeshees moved to Antelope in the space of a few weeks to defeat disincorporation by a vote of 54 to 39. At the regular municipal election in November 1982, Rajneeshees gained control of the Antelope city council. Early in 1983 they renamed the town Rajneesh.<sup>25</sup>

For their first two years in Oregon, from the purchase of the Big Muddy Ranch in July 1981 to the middle of 1983, the Rajneeshees met significant resistance and hostility but no serious blocks to their work. The situation changed in the second half of 1983 as Rajneeshee plans and Rajneeshpuram itself became increasingly entangled in legal and administrative rulings.

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25. A clash of cultures in Antelope was nearly inevitable. As the larger city of Rajneeshpuram converted Antelope into a satellite, observers might have found insight in the experience of "reluctant suburbs" as described by William Dobriner in *Class in Suburbia* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), 127-140. There was an almost sure conflict between an easy-going style of government through a network of neighbors and a legalistic insistence on rights by a growing number of sophisticated and cosmopolitan newcomers (Braun, *Rajneeshpuram*, 115). The instructive difference between Antelope and Dobriner's case of "Old Harbor" was the Rajneeshee insistence on complete accommodation of their needs. Although newcomers to Old Harbor clearly intended to use their growing numbers to have the final word, in contrast, many of them showed interest and willingness to adopt some of the local customs and behaviors and to move toward a compromise on public issues.

Problems with the Oregon land use system mounted in March 1983, when the state court of appeals agreed with 1000 Friends that the incorporation of a new city was a land-use decision subject to state planning laws. The appeals court returned the case of Rajneeshpuram to the state Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA) to consider whether the new city in fact met the state land-use goals.<sup>26</sup> In turn, LUBA ruled on September 29 that Wasco County's approval of incorporation for Rajneeshpuram had violated the state's Agricultural and Urbanization goals. It also ruled that the incorporation violated an interpretive rule pertaining to the creation of new municipalities adopted by the Land Conservation and Development Commission in July 1983 and made retroactive to August 1981. Wasco County circuit court Judge John Jelderks promptly barred new development in Rajneeshpuram. The injunction had no immediate effect because the city of Rajneeshpuram had already issued a stockpile of building permits to cover substantial expansion, but it did place an ultimate limit on growth.

The same court also agreed with Wasco County that a 119-acre annexation to Rajneeshpuram was invalid. An additional injunction halted all construction on the disputed acreage and rendered twenty-four buildings illegal because they had been erected under invalid Rajneeshpuram permits. Although action on the violation notices was stalled in Wasco County circuit court, the decision placed a further cloud over the free evolution of the commune. These citations against major buildings, such as the town's motel and factory, also represented an extension of Wasco County's ongoing efforts to contain Rajneesh projects within the limits permitted elsewhere in the county.<sup>27</sup>

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26. The Oregon judicial system includes circuit courts, which are state trial courts of general jurisdiction; a court of appeals, which has exclusive jurisdiction for all civil and criminal appeals; and a supreme court, which is a court of review for cases from the court of appeals. In addition, the Land Use Board of Appeals, rather than circuit courts, has exclusive jurisdiction to review all government land-use decisions, both legislative and quasijudicial; its decisions can be appealed to the court of appeals. See *Oregon Bluebook*, 87-88 (Salem, Ore., 1987).

27. For example, the Rajneeshees had built a two-acre "greenhouse" on

The two sides in the land-use dispute were arguing past each other. The Rajneeshees presented their settlement as a textbook example of environmentally sensitive planning within a detailed and professionally sound comprehensive plan. They argued that they had transformed overgrazed and nearly useless land into a garden. They pointed with justifiable pride to hundreds of acres of irrigated crops, to major flood control and water impoundment dams, to an ecologically sound sewer and waste disposal system, and to several dozen school buses that substituted for private automobiles. In the Rajneesh presentation, the town was a special effort that Oregon should treasure as a sort of ecological Epcot in the desert. The argument of 1000 Friends, in contrast, was essentially bureaucratic. The land-use system and the bad precedent were what counted, not the circumstantial accomplishments of the settlement. Just as the ideal bureaucrat treats all citizens alike regardless of their social or economic status, the core of the case against Rajneeshpuram was the belief that the state should treat all cities and citizens alike. As the Wasco County planning director put it in retrospect, "we attempted to make them follow the laws like everyone else did."<sup>28</sup>

The absorption of Antelope into the Rajneesh sphere of influence led to a simultaneous conflict with the bureaucracy that supervised the state's public schools. In the spring of 1983, the Rajneeshees and the residents of the Antelope school district, which extended miles into the surrounding ranch country, had engaged in reasonably cooperative negotiations to separate Rajneeshee and non-Rajneeshee students. The intended compromise—to alter the district boundaries and bus the non-Rajneesh children to Madras or Maupin—broke down during the summer over school board delays and Rajneesh pressure for a decision. The Rajneeshees used a legal technicality to take over the school board and proceeded to withhold \$50,000 previously earmarked to cover busing

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land outside the city limits under a county permit allowing agricultural use. County officials protested its transformation into a meeting hall and were prepared to take the issue to court when the city collapsed.

28. Durow interview.

costs.<sup>29</sup> State officials responded by questioning the credentials of teachers at the existing school in Rajneeshpuram and laying down requirements for certification as a public rather than a religious school. In October, the Wasco County circuit court also held up \$30,000 in state aid to the school on the basis of the LUBA ruling.

The school controversy helped to trigger a third problem. In October 1983, Oregon Attorney General David Frohnmayer responded to a legislative inquiry by issuing an advisory opinion that Rajneeshpuram inextricably linked church and state in violation of the federal and state constitutions. The opinion noted the “unique and pervasive interrelationship” between the city and the various corporate entities set up to advance Rajneeshpuram, including the sharing of office space and secretaries, religious ownership of all real estate, and extensive contracting between the municipality and Rajneesh entities for public services. With everything except the right of way for the main access road held as private property by Rajneeshee entities, the city could be completely closed to unwelcome visitors. Given the determination that Rajneeshpuram was an invalid city, the opinion recommended that the governor sign a bill withholding federal revenue-sharing funds, that the Rajneeshpuram Peace Force be denied access to the Oregon Law Enforcement Data System, and that the city’s share of state liquor and gas taxes be withheld. In early November, Frohnmayer started another long legal process by asking the state courts to back up his advisory opinion that Rajneeshpuram was a private religious enterprise rather than a city.

After a relatively calm winter and spring of 1984, tension again began to build after June 27, when the state court of appeals upheld the LUBA decision of the previous fall. If Rajneeshpuram were indeed held invalid after final appeals, then complete Rajneeshee control over their own enterprise would require control of the county, which had approximately 12,000 non-Rajneesh voters. During the summer, the city’s leadership encouraged Rajneeshees who were United States

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29. By petitioning for separation from the Antelope school district, the local ranchers made themselves ineligible to serve on the Antelope school board.

citizens to move to Rajneeshpuram on at least a temporary basis. In early September, they instituted a Share-A-Home program that recruited transients and homeless people from many of the nation's major cities and bused them to Rajneeshpuram if they met the requirements of U.S. citizenship and a minimum age of eighteen. Destitute families were not eligible to share the Rajneeshpuram experience. Rajneeshees from around the country flew in during the early days of October. When the program was halted on October 10, the cutoff for residency for the November 6 election, the Rajneeshees had imported an estimated 3,700 street people and had begun to flood the Wasco County clerk with a reported 3,000 voter-registration cards. With two of the three seats on the Wasco County Commission up for election on November 6, Ma Anand Sheela had already announced two write-in candidates for the positions.

To control both the Rajneeshee challenge and mutterings by anti-Rajneesh Oregonians about moving temporarily to The Dalles to qualify as Wasco County voters, county and state election officials led by Secretary of State Norma Paulus halted mail registration on October 10. They required individual registration hearings in The Dalles at which prospective new voters would be required to prove their residence before the cutoff and to demonstrate their intention to reside permanently in the county. The first hearing on October 23 certified approximately ten percent of 200 applicants. No Rajneeshees appeared on November 1, leaving several dozen volunteer registrars to stare at the walls. Rajneeshpuram's voters boycotted state and county elections on November 6. Many of the transients were dropped on surrounding communities without funds or bus tickets home. They were painful evidence that the Rajneeshees had not devised an effective way to manipulate the election system beyond the level of Antelope.<sup>30</sup>

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30. Criminal indictments and proceedings in 1985–1986 confirmed that the campaign to manipulate the Wasco County election was accompanied by violence, including an effort to poison Wasco County Judge William Hulse on a visit to Rajneeshpuram on August 29 and the spreading of salmonella at several restaurants in The Dalles in September, resulting in the infection of 751 people.

The bureaucratic entanglement of Rajneeshpuram tightened after the election fiasco. Wasco County planner Dan Durow had found his access blocked by carefully placed road equipment on previous attempts to visit Rajneeshpuram. In November 1984, however, he managed to inspect the shelters that had been erected for the street people. Several hundred "winterized tents" proved to be permanent structures with electric wiring and piped gas that had been built without permits. The state building code agency used the new information to impose a fine of \$1.5 million. In March 1985, state Superintendent of Education Verne Duncan threatened to cut off state aid to the Rajneeshpuram school because of its "religious" character. Complaints ranged from the use of the term "beloved" in addressing teachers to a work/study program that put the schoolchildren to work for a religious organization. After bitter confrontations, the Rajneeshes suspended the work/study program. On July 9, the Oregon supreme court overturned the court of appeals and ruled in favor of Rajneeshpuram on the LUBA findings. However, it also introduced two new issues that it returned to LUBA for further consideration.<sup>31</sup> In a different sphere, *The Oregonian*, Portland's major daily newspaper with a statewide circulation, published a twenty-part investigative expose of the Rajneesh movement and Rajneeshpuram. The articles placed a powerful and relatively neutral mold of opinion in the anti-Rajneesh camp.

The increasing ability and capacity of local and state regulators to actively limit the development of Rajneeshpuram was one of three major factors leading to the sudden collapse of the commune in September and October 1985. The others were growing internal disaffection and factionalism within the commune leadership and decline in the worldwide Rajneesh income that had helped to subsidize the growth of Rancho Rajneesh. The world press chronicled the collapse.

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31. The issues were (1) whether the land incorporated as Rajneeshpuram was in fact unsuitable for agriculture as claimed by the Rajneeshes, and (2) whether the approval of the incorporation petition by Wasco County in November 1981 was invalid because of a conflict of interest on the part of one of the three county commissioners.

On September 13, Sheela fled to Germany. Ten other officials resigned on September 15. Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh followed on September 16 by denouncing Sheela for poisoning internal and external opponents, plotting assassinations, maintaining secret spy tunnels, tapping telephone wires, and defrauding the commune. As the commune tried to settle down under new leadership, a federal grand jury returned a secret indictment of immigration fraud against Rajneesh himself, who attempted an unsuccessful flight on October 27. His bargained guilty plea on November 14 included a fine of \$400,000 and immediate departure from the United States. Sheela was returned to Oregon for trial in February 1986. She and several colleagues were convicted of arson, wiretapping, immigration fraud, and attempted murder.

Rajneeshpuram as a viable community lasted only a week after the deportation of its leader. The Rajneesh Investment Corporation listed the ranch for sale on November 22, 1985. The asking price was \$40 million, soon reduced to \$28.5 million. Demountable buildings and equipment were put up for sale. The eighty-four Rolls-Royces went to a dealer in Texas. Many of the housing units and furnishings ended up at yet another controversial religious settlement in Montana—the Royal Teton Ranch of the Church Universal and Triumphant. The population of Rancho Rajneesh was down to a hundred by February 1986 and to a handful of caretakers by June. Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, the holder of a mortgage assumed by the Rajneeshees at the time of purchase, received a summary judgment of foreclosure in August 1988. At the foreclosure auction on December 2, Connecticut General purchased the ranch for \$4.535 million, enough to cover its own mortgage and accrued interest. Wasco County brought action for unpaid property taxes of more than \$1.2 million in May 1989.

The legal standing of the city remains ironically problematic. Federal Judge Helen Frye ruled against Rajneeshpuram in the church/state suit late in 1985, a determination that has not been challenged because it came too late to have practical impact. The Rajneeshees lost the case on the testimony of former Mayor Krishna Deva (David Knapp) that the



city government was in fact a sham that rubberstamped decisions made by the religious leadership. The Oregon courts, on the other hand, eventually found in favor of the city. In 1986, the court of appeals determined that incorporation had not violated the agricultural lands goal of the state planning system. In 1987, the state supreme court ended the litigation by dismissing the claim that a conflict of interest on the Wasco County Commission in 1981 should invalidate the incorporation. Rajneeshpuram is now empty, bankrupt, and legal within Oregon law.<sup>32</sup>

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By their own claim, the Rajneeshees came to central Oregon to be alone. According to Ma Anand Sheela, they were seeking "a desert kind of land, away from the people so people's neuroses did not have to bother Bhagwan's vision or work [...][a] place which was our own."<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, they found themselves in the midst of a fully articulated institutional framework. Once the Rajneeshees decided to invoke the regulatory and governmental system on their own behalf, they found it increasingly difficult to opt out when regulations proved limiting. It also became clear to many Oregonians by 1983 and 1984 that the Rajneeshees understood the formal rules but not the informal public consensus that governed their use. They lost potential supporters when they abused the openness of Oregon's political system by violating assumptions about honest elections, the neutrality of public schools, or the evenhandedness of state land-use planning decisions.

The peculiar circumstances of the siting and development of Rajneeshpuram also placed land-use planning in the unusual position as the center for a popular political coalition. In fighting what it perceived as a land-use loophole, 1000 Friends of Oregon weakened the Rajneeshees' natural appeal to Oregon's many ecological liberals. It also broadened its base of support in reaching toward the state's moder-

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32. *1000 Friends of Oregon v. Wasco County Court*, 703 P.2d 207 (Or 1985), 723 P.2d 1039 (Or App. 1986), 752 P.2d 39 (Or 1987).

33. *Portland Oregonian*, July 6, 1985.

ate conservatives, as reflected by the expansion of its own membership list by several thousand.<sup>34</sup> Ranchers and retirees in small central Oregon communities, who normally complained long and loud about interference with private property rights, found themselves applauding the effort of Wasco County to enforce building permit requirements and turned the county planners into something of local heroes.

The Rajneesh leadership responded by treating their opposition as a set of individuals to be influenced or manipulated rather than a public consensus to be accommodated. They hired a skilled and respected lobbyist to deal with the state legislature and then fired him because he suggested conciliation rather than confrontation. They offered in the spring of 1983 to trade Antelope for legislative confirmation of Rajneeshpuram, a deal that violated the state's sense of fair procedures. Where 1000 Friends tried to bring a regulatory *system* to bear on Rajneeshpuram, the Rajneeshes replied by attacking individual critics, bureaucrats, and politicians through defamation and conspiracy suits. In theoretical terms, the commune and community assumed different models of their political arena—the regulatory state on the “Oregon” side and the broker state on the Rajneesh side. In practical terms, as Fitzgerald has noted, the commune strangled in a crossfire of litigation.<sup>35</sup>

Ironically, the final land-use decisions had something for both sides, giving 1000 Friends its precedent but approving Rajneeshpuram on substantive questions. On basic principle, the Oregon supreme court acknowledged that incorporation decisions fall within the statutory category of planning responsibilities which counties must exercise in accord with state land-use laws, in particular the statewide goals pertaining to the containment of urbanization and the protection of agriculture. On a related procedural issue, however, the court found that the state's urbanization goal did not automatically prohibit municipal incorporation on previous agricultural

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34. There was substantial criticism of 1000 Friends in 1983 for basing a statewide membership drive on its efforts against Rajneeshpuram.

35. Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 343.

land without the formal taking of an exception to the goal.<sup>36</sup> In effect, the court separated the question of incorporation from that of urbanization, with the latter process beginning when an incorporated municipality decides to plan for urban growth within its regional context.

At the level of practical implementation, the supreme court held in favor of Rajneeshpuram in finding that Wasco County had met its own planning responsibilities by showing a "meaningful degree of foresight" about probable land-use consequences of the incorporation. The county had also satisfied itself that the new city had the ability to comply with state goals once it assumed comprehensive planning responsibility. The court of appeals further supported Rajneeshpuram on the specifics of the case by agreeing that there was substantial evidence that the lands included in the new city were in fact unsuitable for grazing, row crops, or other farm use in their present condition and therefore not excluded from development.<sup>37</sup>

Beyond the specifics of land-use law, the Rajneeshpuram experience demonstrates the importance of understanding the rules at the local level. Efforts to describe the effects of the organizational revolution on the structure and operation of the American political system have commonly been stated in comprehensive national terms. Our understanding of American federalism, however, suggests that the models may be differentially relevant from state to state as well as decade to decade. Although the bureaucratic model prevailed within the specific context of Oregon in the 1980s, a Rajneeshpuram

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36. Under the Oregon planning system, an "exception" involves the waiving of a statewide goal. More precise, an exception is a comprehensive plan provision that (a) applies to specific properties and situations and does not establish a general policy, (b) does not comply with some or all of the applicable statewide goal requirements, and (c) complies with one of three standards for an exception. These standards are (1) land is already physically developed and unavailable for natural resource uses, (2) land is irrevocably committed to nonresource uses, or (3) resource land is needed for an unusual purpose, such as a dam or power plant. In practical terms, strong local opposition is usually adequate to block an exception. See Rohse, *Land Use Planning in Oregon*, 92-93.

37. *1000 Friends of Oregon v. Wasco County Court*, 703 P.2d 207 (Or 1985), 723 P.2d 1039 (Or App 1986).

planted in a different location such as Arizona or Louisiana might have had greater success with broker politics. This case study suggests the value of enriching structural-functional models of the evolution of large-scale organization with an understanding of the historical and cultural basis of public action.<sup>38</sup>

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38. Studies of regional differences in political culture include Elazar, *American Federalism*; Raymond Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (Seattle, 1975); Ira Sharkansky, *Regionalism in American Politics* (Indianapolis, 1970).