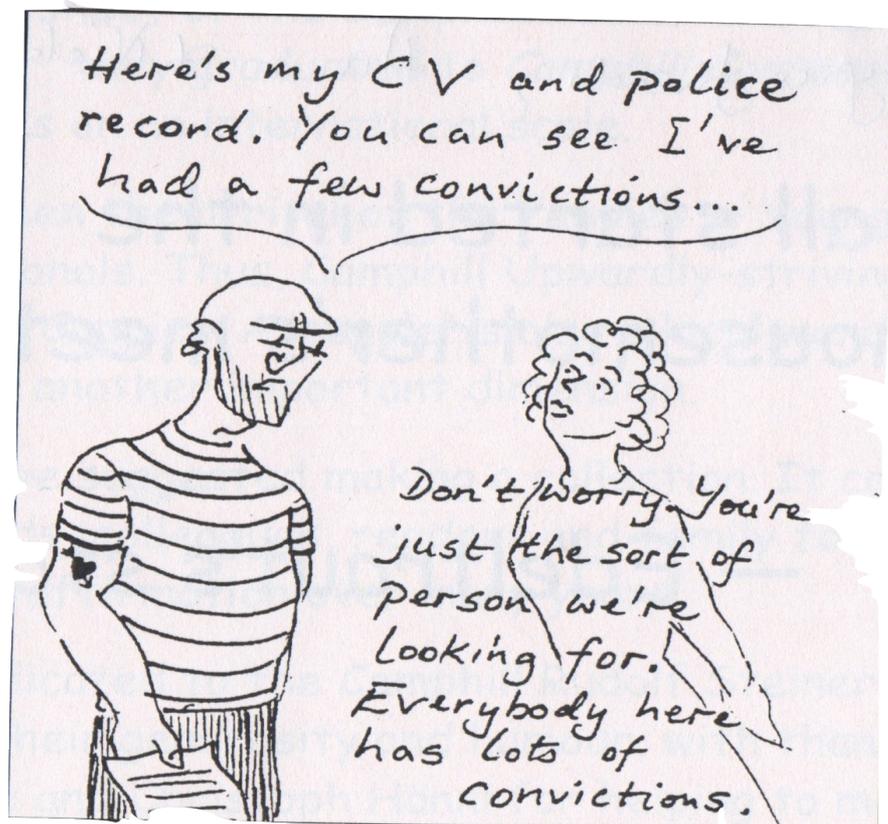


Valuing Camphill

by

Noel Bruder



From The Collected Cuppies by Peter Howe

Declaration

I certify that this dissertation, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Management: Community and Voluntary Services, All Hallows College, is entirely my own work, has not been taken from the work of others, and has not been submitted in any other university. The work of others, to an extent, has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my own work.

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August 2012

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor, Andrew O'Regan, for his support with this research project and for his dedication to the cause of the Community and Voluntary sector.

Thanks also to my wife and family for their support.

Above all, I am indebted to my Camphill colleagues, especially those who took part in the research, for their cooperation. I hope this final work is of interest to them!

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Abstract

'Valuing Camphill' by Noel Bruder

This dissertation examines the values that are alive in the Camphill Movement in general and in Camphill Communities of Ireland in particular. The focus is on the role of long-term co-workers, that group who have traditionally embodied the mission and vision. Pressures in the institutional environment and arising from the demands of the role have resulted in vocational volunteering becoming less popular and thereby created a succession challenge.

Through an analysis of different aspects of Camphill and of the development of Community and Voluntary Organisations, the research arrives at a number of conclusions for the future prospects of Camphill, both the individual co-workers and the organisation as a mediating institution. It emphasises that external legitimacy and internal integrity are essential to Camphill's future and these rely on attention to values alignment. Furthermore, the research proposes that the leadership provided by long-term co-workers is needed now more than ever. This role should therefore be re-evaluated so as to make it more sustainable. This will require that personal leadership be cultivated in Camphill and that this be placed at the service of the communities.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Camphill Communities of Ireland (CCoI) is a charity that provides living and working opportunities for people with special needs within a lifesharing community setting. CCoI is forty years old this year and is part of an international organisation that is now over seventy years in the making.

Camphill has been my home and source of inspiration for about fifteen years. This Summer I will be leaving Camphill and this departure has come about in part because I have found myself increasingly un-aligned with the developments in the organisation. For a number of years I endeavored to work together with my colleagues to find a way forward whereby Camphill could maintain its traditional ethos while at the same time developing in such a way that it remains relevant in society.

I had begun my studies on the MAM course prior to my personal circumstances changing, with the intention of up-skilling in order to be of more service to the organisation in this phase of transition. By the time it came to choosing a research topic, my circumstances had changed and so had my motivation for study. I began to question whether CCoI has the ability to manage the organisational transition now underway. More particularly, I had begun to focus on that group of 'long term co-workers' (LTCW's), such as I had up to recently been, who could be seen to have carried the organisational values and vision. I know that this group of people has been struggling, as I had, to realise how our personal values would continue to be expressed in CCoI as it transitions to being a different type of organisation. This question is part of a bigger issue of how ideals-based organisations, such as CCoI, can develop while maintaining external legitimacy and internal integrity.

1.1 Research aims

Milliman et al (2003), among others, has emphasised that an individual's well-being is partly derived from an alignment of personal and organisational values. This is not surprising, particularly in Community and Voluntary Organisations (CVO's), given that the sector we work in is essentially defined by its values-expressive nature (see, for example, Marshall, 1996; Frumkin, 2002; O'Regan, 2004). However, organisations as well as people are in a continual state of transformation, so how can the alignment of values be maintained? This is a question that has also exercised others working in the Irish Third Sector also. For example, Gallagher (2008) examined Catholic Youth Care, a Christian-based organisation “faced with the task of handing over responsibility to a different management structure while at the same time ensuring that the primary vision and ethos is retained” (p 51). Stover (2008) sought to apply strategic planning as a capacity building tool in order to facilitate institutional and individual learning. Fanneran (2009) studied organisational change as a process of transformational leadership, finding that mis-alignment of values between the individual and the organisation lead to disempowerment and a sense among staff of not being valued (p 41). Curran (2008, p 153), in conclusion to a collection of work on this topic, says the aim is to find “a way of working that is professional, but also compassionate and full of 'heart'”.

My aim is to help CCoI find a way to work that is full of heart: that has legitimacy, integrity, compassion and vision. A starting point for the research is the proposition by Jeavons (1992, p 406) that an organisation that does not up-hold its values loses its social legitimacy: “the claims of philanthropic organisations on resources are based on their embodying moral commitments.” It is an assertion that has a good degree of academic support in general literature on CVO's (see, for example, Handy, 1988; Drucker, 1990; Brinkerhoff, 2000; Jeavons, 2008). Kanungo and Mendonca (1994) and Jeavons (2008) go as far as to state that when those in leadership of an organisation compromise their moral values, they corrode the moral health of society.

Brookfield (1987, p 138) refers to a 'dialectical analysis' as being when “we identify a contradiction and begin to explore how the differences between apparently opposed

positions might be resolved, or how diverse ways of organising the workplace might be integrated.” For Camphill, I will explore the essential nature of the original values and the extent to which they can be translated into a new organisational mission so that the “founding charism can best be kept alive and appropriate today” (Benefiel, 2005), and the organisation therefore remain relevant. The research aims to make recommendations for Camphill to be able to move forward with legitimacy and integrity, combining the personal values of the LTCW's with a relevant and evolving organisational mission and culture. These findings should have more general applicability in the CVO sector, specifically where organisational culture, leadership and up-holding strong ideals are key issues.

The next section will provide a background to Camphill and CCoI, highlighting the organisation's history, structure and mission.

1.2 Background on Camphill

The following background is drawn from some of the promotional material and the website of CCoI (CCoI, 2008a; www.camphill.ie).

Camphill is an international movement working with children, adolescents and adults with special needs. The original Camphill community was established by a group of Austrian, Jewish, refugees outside Aberdeen in 1940. The Camphill Movement has now expanded to over 100 communities in 25 countries, stretching from South Africa to Finland and Siberia to California.

Camphill is inspired by the philosophy and practical teachings of Rudolf Steiner (1861 - 1925) and Karl König (1902 - 1966), the founder of Camphill. The character and purpose of each community is distinctively formed by the constellation of its members. Schools for curative education, centres for further education and training of adolescents and young adults, and lifesharing communities or working environments for adults each have their own distinguishing qualities. There are 18 Camphill centres in the Republic of Ireland (17 of which are in CCoI) and four in Northern Ireland. As new challenges have arisen in fields such as mental health, training and supported living, so

communities have adapted or developed new initiatives. CCoI is a registered charity and a limited company. Although there is a Board of Management (called 'the Council') there is very little by way of central management capacity, including no CEO. The 17 communities in CCoI best conform to Helgerson's (1995) Web of Inclusion organisational model: each community is structured so as to manage locally and there is a very strong sense of personal autonomy.

The following characteristics are shared common values (CCoI, 2008a, p4):

- ⤴ “Mutual respect between individuals of all abilities.
- ⤴ Concern for the spiritual and mental as well as the physical health of each individual.
- ⤴ Recognition of the importance of setting the working life within a cultural and artistic environment, with a home life that is community based rather than institutional.
- ⤴ Community life based on Christian values, celebrating the Christian festivals of the year.
- ⤴ A feeling of joint responsibility for all that occurs; and the overcoming of individual ambition.
- ⤴ A social ethic of mutual support where each contributes according to ability and receives according to need. Most co-workers do not receive a wage or salary, but are supported directly from community funds.
- ⤴ Recognition of the need to avoid isolation; rather to work in the world, in partnership with others.
- ⤴ Concern for the protection and sustainability of the natural environment.”

In one of the few accredited independent pieces of research into Camphill, Lawlor (1998) recognises the fundamental difference between the Camphill value system and that of society in general and the disability sector in particular. Central to the work of Camphill is the notion of 'Community' in which 'freely chosen, unpaid relationships' have provided the basis for lifesharing between individuals with a wide range of abilities and disabilities. People share life together out of a sense of 'solidarity' with each other. Households are based on an extended family model with co-workers and those with intellectual disabilities living side by side. Traditionally, the workers in Camphill have been called 'co-workers' in order to recognise this mutuality. Long-term co-workers (LTCW's) are a category of vocational volunteer: all needs are met by the community in return for their help. They are often couples with families and the community will support all the costs of living, including housing, education, holidays, medical, etc. Short-term co-workers are more typically recognised as 'Gap year' volunteers: often taking a year out either during or immediately after Third Level

studies. Another group, rather prosaically called the 'Next Generation' co-workers (NGCW) in Ireland, are those who have remained for two years or more but are not yet in leadership roles.

Traditionally, co-workers tended to be from Europe and North America but in the last 15-20 years, they have increasingly come from all over the World. At the same time, the number of employees and the range of tasks carried out has expanded rapidly. Such trends and their implications have been the focus of a good deal of recent research (Plant, 2008; Jackson, 2011; AoCC, 2012; Fekete, 2012a&b). The forces that have been impacting our contemporaries, particularly in other European countries and the USA, for a number of years have recently manifest more clearly in Ireland. CCoI has therefore the benefit of the experience gained elsewhere to help it shape a better organisation.

There is within Camphill a group which is made up of people who have committed themselves on a spiritual level to the development of Camphill values. This 'Inner Community' seeks to enact in daily life a recognition of the spiritual wholeness and integrity of each person. Towards this end, they endeavour to develop themselves through study and reflection. Although membership is not restricted, the requirement to align personal values with those of Camphill in a very personal way means that it is generally the LTCW's who are members of the 'Inner Community'. Paralleling the transition taking place at an organisational level (see below), there is a transformation under way within the Inner Community. While it is not yet totally clear where this will lead, it seems likely that the Inner Community will become more clearly separate to the Camphill organisation and activity.

1.3 Recent developments in strategic planning

In recent years there has been a concerted effort to re-frame the organisation through a series of what might loosely be called strategic planning exercises. Beginning with a 'Strategic Review' in autumn 2009, progressing through a 'Common Endeavour' exercise and encompassing an array of Briefing Reports, Position Papers, background papers, workshops, strategy meetings, etc, what came to be termed the Transition Process facilitated a comprehensive, if rather un-coordinated, strategic planning exercise. This

exercise culminated in the presentation of a final proposal to the Council of CCoI in May 2011. This proposal was duly passed, with some reservations, and the work was passed on to an Implementation Group for further development.

The Transition Process was itself building on the work of a previous 'policy and procedures' process (actually called the 'Open Road' initially because we saw it as taking us clear of conventional systems). This had begun in late 2005 and had involved an intensive participative process aimed at clarifying the purpose of CCoI. After a protracted writing-up period, the outcome appeared as 'Life In Camphill in Ireland' (CCoI, 2008b).

In-between these two major processes, there was another attempt at strategic planning, this one called 'Community Reviews'. This involved a more artistic and somewhat spiritual attempt to get a sense of place, an appreciation for the rhythms and vitality and a consciousness of the individual in community. This was designed and managed to be a very inclusive exercise, specifically orientated to gain views of people with special needs. In this sense it achieved its goal, but in terms of results, it got somewhat lost as it dovetailed with the more managerial Transition Process.

The main tangible output to date from all these related processes is the document 'Life in Camphill in Ireland'. This was published and widely distributed to stakeholders in late 2008/early 2009. It also became the key descriptor of Camphill in discussions with the HSE, the main funder and regulator. Apart from detailing policies and procedures, this document sought to describe the 'Ways of Being' of CCoI. In essence, this is a mission statement and a narrative on organisational values. The mission is (p 2):

“Camphill Communities of Ireland works to create sustainable communities where children and adults of all abilities, many with special needs, can live, learn and work with others in healthy social relationships based on mutual care and respect.

Most communities are a home for both people with special needs and volunteers. Members of the community share responsibility for the tasks and cultural activities of day to day life.

Camphill is inspired by Christian ideals and the impulse of community building as articulated by Rudolf Steiner and is based on the acceptance of the spiritual

uniqueness of each human being.”

This mission is clearly very broad and encompasses aspects of vision in the opening statement and of deep lying values in the closing statement. These values are elaborated on in the subsequent narrative where Camphill communities are described as “a social organism that reflects the threefold nature and needs of the whole human being.” This principle of threefoldness is integral to the beliefs of Camphill (see, for example, Konig, 1993; Luxford and Luxford, 2003; Plant, 2008 and 2009). It is described as follows (CCoI, 2008b, p 7):

“The spiritual and cultural realm of community life addresses the needs of the human spirit and each person's unique individuality. The social realm addresses the needs of the human soul and is the domain of the heart and human connections. The economic realm addresses the needs of the body and the physical and material aspects of life.”

This principle is then translated into chapters on separate aspects of these three realms. Subsequent sections of the document then go into detail on the policies, procedures and guidelines that will enact the mission. These tend to focus on the managerial aspects of providing an effective care organisation. Quite significantly, there is no 'action plan', monitoring and evaluation procedures nor any detail on how the mission is to be carried forward. It is presented as a “framework” to articulate the organisation (p 3) and part of the “continual development of self and community” (p 32).

In conclusion, CCoI has in recent years been attempting to manage a transition to a more structured organisational form. There have been attempts to plan from the 'inside-out' (Bryson, 2011, p 56) through the focus on mission and values using participative processes. My research aims to explore this transition and make recommendations for how it might be better managed for the organisation and the individuals.

1.4 The main research fields

The research for me is an opportunity to tell a human story: the story of Camphill; an ideals-based organisation struggling to remain relevant in the world, with people who dedicate their lives to these ideals. There is therefore both an organisational layer to the

story and an individual layer, and this is all happening within a social context that is itself important to understand. My focus will be on the individuals, in so far as they construct their lives in and around Camphill's ideals. The research is in the field of management, so it is not the personal psychology of the individuals that I am enquiring into, but rather their enactment through the organisation.

I am using the concept of 'research fields' to denote the idea that there are layers of knowledge that need to be understood in order to get a full picture of a topic area. However, not everything in all the layers can be investigated, so I will define the boundaries to my research project: not too narrow so as to omit relevant findings but not so broad so as to make it unmanageable. Smit (1992) describes this as seeking understanding at levels from social, through to organisational and ultimately at the level of the individual. Furthermore, he suggests that we need to work on the micro and the macro scales in order to perceive the 'right moment' for the right action. I would add to this by clarifying that the meso scale is an essential intermediate level for enquiry. In the context of my research topic, the main emphasis is on the individual co-workers (micro), operating within an organisational setting (meso) which in turn operates within a social context (macro). Each layer, or scale of enquiry, helps to contextualise an issue and thereby clarify important aspects for further investigation.

Following from the overall topic of the research, I will be looking to highlight aspects of values that arise in the course of the literature review in chapter two. Chapter three will set-out the methodology used to collect and analyse the primary data and this is then presented and discussed in chapter four. Chapter five draws the discussion to a conclusion and makes a number of recommendations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Chapter one has outlined my areas of interest and provided background on the Camphill Movement and CCoI. This chapter will now seek to put the subject area in an academic context. My method here is a narrative review (see, for example, Bryman, 2004). This is a way to focus directly on the most interesting and relevant literature and to approach it with a relatively open mind; searching for congruence and seeking to develop themes as their relevance to my discourse is disclosed.

I am not seeking to develop a specific theory to then go on and test, nor am I aiming to design an analytical framework that will become a 'hard' tool into which my empirical data will be made to fit. As elaborated on further in chapter three, I am working with a qualitative research emphasis and building my research using an inductivist strategy. I am therefore looking to the literature for patterns and to further conceptualise the themes within my chosen research fields. These fields provide the structure for the discussion. In order to gain a fuller understanding for the individual context presented in section 2.2, the next section will first locate Camphill within its institutional context.

2.1.0 The institutional context

By institutional context, I am referring to the organisation CCoI operating within a certain socio-economic setting. Chapter one described some of the aspects of Camphill: a community of shared meaning, a movement for social renewal, a care setting providing contracted services, an intentional communal setting with an emphasis on developing spiritually and sustainability. Each aspect affords a different view of the organisation and the aims.

With specific reference to CCoI, the clearest public expression of the organisation is perhaps as a Community and Voluntary Organisation (CVO) working in the area of

special needs provision. This will therefore be one aspects examined below. Within this sector there is a category of organisation, referred to as a Faith Based Organisation (FBO) to which Camphill arguably belongs, so this will receive particular attention. Finally, moving away from the emphasis on 'organisation' and more towards the aspect of 'community', I will seek an understanding of CCoI as an intentional community; a place where people choose to live and work together towards shared goals.

2.1.1 Camphill as a Community and Voluntary Organisation

The title Community and Voluntary Organisation describes well what Camphill is. However, 'Non-profit Organisation' (NPO) is a well accepted and widely used descriptor, so both terms will be used interchangeably in the discussion. First, it is necessary to locate the sector in which CVO's operate. In a socio-economic sense, CVO's can be seen to be part of Civil Society. The table below (Anheier, 2005) shows the key distinguishing characteristics of this sector in counter-point to the State/Public and the Market/Private sectors.

	State/Public	Market/Private	Civil Society/Third Sector
Primary importance	Political	Economic	Social
Primary control	Voters; political parties	Owners; Board	Society; members
Informal control	Officials	Managers; Board	Manager
Goods produced	Public goods	Private goods	Quasi-Public goods
Core responsibilities	Enforcement of standards	Production of goods and services	Mobilisation of society
Primary resources	Legislation; law enforcement	Capital; labour; resources	Energy of volunteers
Primary weaknesses	Rigidity; bureaucratisation	Market failures	Fragmentation
Financed by...	Taxes	Profits	Donations and contributions
Ideologies	Democracy; Liberalism; Totalitarianism	Market capitalism; Mixed economy; Socialism	Individualism; Collectivism
Formal consultation	Government miniseries	Employers organisations	Trade Unions; NGO's

Prevalent liability	No liability	Limited liability	Personal liability
Parameters	Coercion; codification	Competition	Co-operation; co-option
Dominant organisational form	Departments; ministries; regional structures	For-profit; PLC; Ltd Co.	Non-profit; Voluntary association; Foundation

Figure 1 Characteristics of the sectors

Within the Civil Society sector, NPO's are the dominant organisational form. The key internationally recognised definition for NPO's is that arrived at in the Johns Hopkins University (JHU) International Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (Salamon, Anheier and Associates, 1999):

- ✧ *Organisations*: they have an institutional presence and structure;
- ✧ *Private*: they are institutionally separate from the State;
- ✧ *Not profit distributing*: they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of 'owners';
- ✧ *Self-governing*: they are fundamentally in control of their own affairs;
- ✧ *Voluntary*: membership in them is not legally required and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time and money.

There is a comprehensive framework of theories that help explain Civil Society activity and CVO functioning. On a sectoral level there is Public Goods/Heterogeneity Theory (Weisbord, 1975, 1977) and Interdependence Theory (Salamon, 1987); at an organisational level there is Contract Failure/Trust Theory and Consumer Control Theory (Hansmann, 1980, 1987). Then there are Integrating Theories such as The Theory of Excess Demand/Supply-side Theory (James, 1987) and Social Origins Theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998).

Notwithstanding the contribution of these theoretical insights, Donnelly-Cox and O'Regan (1998) argue that “non-profit-sector-specific theories, developed at a sectoral or societal level have been found to have limited explanatory capacity when applied to the analysis of an individual organisation”. They suggest examining the experience of

CVO's using generic organisational theories, in particular Resource Dependency Theory and theories of organisational institutionalisation. Resource Dependency Theory (see, for example, Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Scott, 1992) posits that organisations are in dynamic relationships for the control of resources, be it finances, people, materials, information or anything else on which its legitimacy and survival depends. Institutional Theory (see, for example, Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Aldrich and Fiol, 1994) adopts a more sociological perspective, arguing that organisations are manifestations of rules and myths and they are defined through isomorphic processes of homogenisation and the search for conferred legitimacy.

The concept of legitimacy is central to an understanding of the distinctiveness of the CVO. Suchman (1995, p574) defines legitimacy as: “A generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions.” He identifies three aspects of legitimacy: moral, pragmatic and cognitive (see also figure 4, section 2.1.4). It is arguable that legitimacy in CVO's is defined by their values expression (Jeavons, 1992; Donnelly-Cox and Breathnach, 2008; Donnelly-Cox and O'Regan, 1998a, 1999). In contrast to the profit motive of the private sector and the political motives of the public sector, NPO's “come into being and exist primarily to give expression to the social, philosophical, moral, or religious values of their founders and supporters” (Jeavons, 1992, p 404). Another expression of this concept, from Marshall (1996, p 58), states: “If the private sector constitutes the marketplace for material negotiation and the public sector the marketplace for negotiating legal rights, then the voluntary sector can be seen as the marketplace for negotiating social values and social relationships.”

A useful way to distinguish between different types of CVO's is according to activity or function. A very basic typology is therefore as: mutual support organisations, service delivery organisations and campaigning organisations (Handy, 1988). Most organisations support a mixture of functions but it is important to be clear on the assumptions behind the different activities. One of the most useful expressions of the CVO sector and activity is from Frumkin (2002), who distinguishes organisations according to their rationale and orientation of activity, as illustrated in the table below. While CCoI and even individual communities could be identified with all of the quadrants, it is perhaps the category of 'values and faith' that most closely matches the

organisation's aims and mission. Frumkin references Berger and Nuehaus (1977) and their seminal study on the role of CVO's as mediating institutions between private values and public policies.

	Demand-side orientation	Supply-side orientation
Instrumental rationale	<i>Service Delivery</i> Provides needed services and responds to government and market failure	<i>Social Entrepreneurship</i> Provides a vehicle for entrepreneurship and creates social enterprises that have social and charitable goals
Expressive rationale	<i>Civic and political engagement</i> Mobilizes citizens for politics, advocates for causes, and builds social capital within communities	<i>Values and faith</i> Allows volunteers, staff, and donors to express values, commitments, and faith through work

Figure 2 Frumkin's quadrant

Referring back to the notion of voluntary action in the JHU definition and linking this to the concept of legitimacy, it can be claimed that it is through values expression that CVO's activity is most clearly explained. Hudson (1999, p XX) has one of the most memorable quotes in this regard. Referring to CVO's he says "they do not exist to make profits, but they do need to be driven by prophets."

Jeavons (1994) identifies the essential values of managers in NPO's as being: integrity, openness, accountability, service and charity. The socially constructed values of individuals and the coherence of these values in a 'community of value or meaning' (O'Regan, 2004) are therefore defining aspects of CVO's. The civic and potentially spiritual opportunities that this affords to CVO's and people who work in them are qualities that are perhaps unique to Civil Society organisations such as CCoI. This is discussed further in the next section.

2.1.2 Camphill as a Faith Based Organisation

Religious organisations have been at the heart of much charitable work, both historically in the sector in general and in particular in the Irish context. Jeavons (1992) traces the roots of religious non-profit activity back to medieval times, but it is not hard to find references to such activity in the founding statement of many religious organisations. Of particular relevance in Camphill's context is the history of monastic orders, and the foundation principle of 'ora, labora, vita communis' – 'prayer, work, community' (Pennington, 1983). The ideal of faith in action and living in service is very close to what many would see at the core of Camphill communities (see section 1.2). Pennington (p 33) quotes from Basil the Great, the founding father of the monastic tradition: "if a man lives alone, whose feet is he going to wash?" Bonner (2004) reminds us that early monasticism was a lay movement; a coming together of individuals in a common, spiritually oriented, endeavour.

In the CVO sector, these organisations are referred to as Faith Based Organisations (FBO's). A FBO can be defined as "any organisation which derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith" (Clarke and Jennings, 2008, p 6). While there is considerable differences in the role of FBO's in different countries, and much of the literature is focused on the USA where there has been a very particular history to this development (Stackhouse, 1990), there are some general observations to make and some aspects that elucidate the Irish context.

Douglas (1987) draws comparisons between the values of religious organisations and the requirements for social welfare services in order to highlight the natural fit of activity and need. Referring back to section 1.2 on the origins of Camphill and section 2.1.1 on CVO's, it is clear that Jeavons' (1992, p 404) contention that CVO's exists to promote the social and spiritual aims of the founders applies to Camphill.

However, Ver Beek (2000), in reference to the field of development work, has highlighted the uncomfortable relationship between religious organisations and service provision. This has parallels to Handy's (1988) distinction between mutual support and service delivery activities. The dominant neoliberal political theory seeks to have a

separation between religion and politics and downplays or sometimes seeks to co-opt FBO's to their own agenda (Bacon, 2011). This agenda also promotes individualism and a withdrawal of the State from welfare provision. Elsewhere, Bacon (2002) refers to the essential role that FBO's have in developing and maintaining social capital. He uses Putnam's (1996) definition of social capital as “features of social life - networks, norms, and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.” This is an important theme because it reflects a policy of active citizenship that is a key ideological backdrop to social services. Cloke et al (2009, p 74), as part of a major European study into the social role of FBO's, describe this as a shift, under neoliberalism, from a system of governance to one of governability. This is evidenced in a 'post-welfare' regime through tighter regulatory controls, more complex relationships and 'good citizenship'. FBO's could be seen to be in welfare compacts with the State to provide for needs that the State either can not or will not support. One such area of activity identified by Cloke et al (2009, p 26) is residential care facilities, such as exist in Camphill.

Cloke and his colleagues continued their study of European FBO's with a report on their role in combating social exclusion in Ireland (2011). Historically, the Catholic Church in Ireland had practical control over the areas of health, education and social services. Although the Catholic Church is shown to be withdrawing from social services, it is still reported to be “the most durable influence in the Irish voluntary sector” (p 12). This is maintained both directly, for example through lay religious organisations such as the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, and indirectly through residual influence (e.g., in the case of care services, on boards and from owning premises). Cloke et al view the diminished influence of the 'Catholic Corporatist State' as a good thing but caution that there has been a tendency to replace it with a neo-corporatist governance model, using social partnerships to groom particularly favored groups. This trend is being countered though the emergence of a new wave of voluntary organisations, beginning in the 1970's and supported by the welfare pluralism of the EU. CCoI, established in 1972 and with a broader Christian spiritual rather than religious sectarian tradition, could be viewed as part of this trend.

Cloke et al (2011, p 10) also take up the theme of individualism. They report that the social division this has caused has made Ireland one of the most unequal countries in the

World. The institutional advantages of FBO's, as outlined by James (2009), are: providing sustainable, efficient services; good networks with global reach; and they can motivate volunteers, action and civil society advocacy. Thus FBO's have a key role in promoting social action and countering inequalities and exclusion. Chester (2004) highlights this aspect of FBO's, referring to 'Integral mission': a consistency between what the organisation is and what it proclaims.

Finally, with regard to Camphill as a FBO, the earlier comparison with religious orders and especially the monastic movement may offer some further insights for the future. One lesson is surely that communal living has always been a challenge. This is not a modern construct. Pennington (1983, p69) quotes Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the Eleventh Century founder of the Cistercian Order: "vita communis ponitientia maxima" - "community, my greatest challenge." Saint Bernard recognised that the ideal is in the striving. The crisis in the established Christian Church and how it is changing these institutions offers some pathways to maintaining a spiritually based organisation in a time of increased secularism and materialism (Faring, 1983; Arbuckle, 1988; Felknor, 1989; Wittberg, 1996). Felknor (1989) cautions against building higher walls in order to protect the institution from change. Such a "retreat into anxious security" (p 8) would just increase the social isolation and irrelevance of the mission. Arbuckle (1988, p 3) recognises the creative tension between 're-founders' and 'administrators' and sees this archetypal dynamic as attracting the kind of 'prophetic leadership' that is needed.

Interestingly, there is reported to be a new flowering of monasticism, influenced by Eastern traditions and often as off-shoots of established monasteries but on a smaller scale and focused on new, often urban, social needs (Pennington, 1983)

2.1.3 Camphill as an Intentional Community

First, I want to outline the argument for defining Camphill communities as intentional communities. In a Camphill context, this term could be used to refer to different scales and aspects of the organisation. In an esoteric sense, Plant (2009b) refers to the 'community of universal harmony', being a place for "the truly conscious and free individual working together with other free individuals in community." This relates in

part to the Inner Community aspect of Camphill discussed in chapter one, but also refers to the communally held values. Elsewhere (see, for example, Bruder, 2004; Bang, 2005; 2007) Camphill communities have been described as sustainable communities: “a human scale, full-featured settlement in which human activities are harmlessly integrated into the natural world in a way that is supportive of healthy human development and can be successfully continued into the indefinite future” (Gilman and Gilman, 1991).

The main point with regard to examining Camphill as an intentional community movement is to highlight the aspect of communal living with shared purpose. The discussion in chapter one on mission and values made reference to the principle of 'threefoldness', where economic life is promoted through brotherliness, social life is imbued with equality and cultural life is a matter of freedom (Luxford and Luxford, 2003; Plant, 2008 and 2009). This principle gives rise to three further Principles, that draw on the insights of Rudolf Steiner (see Steiner, 1957; 1974; 1988) and that together define the intentional community aspect of Camphill. This particular form of the Principles is from Plant (2008, p 61):

The Social Principle

‘In a community of human beings working together, the well-being of the community will be the greater, the less the individual claims for himself the proceeds of the work he has himself done; i.e. the more of these proceeds he makes over to his fellow workers, and the more his own requirements are satisfied, not out of his own work, but out of work done by others.’

The Sociological Principle

‘The greatest ideal of the state will not be to control anything. It will be a community which wants nothing for itself, but everything for the individual. He who can read the development of mankind rightly can only support a social order which has as its aim the unrestricted all-round development of individuals, and which abhors the domination of any one person by another.’

The Spiritual Principle

‘No spiritual movement in our time can flourish if its aims are specialised in any way. It is what you might call an occult law that every genuinely sound and fruitful spiritual movement must exist for the good of humanity in a general way.....It is purely and simply a spiritual law: if a spiritual movement is to help humanity to progress it must be generally human in intention and character.’

These principles will be referred to again in section 2.2.2.

2.1.4 Phases of organisational development

The discussion to date has focused on categorisations of Camphill in order to help understand the different forces at work in the organisation. Another approach to understanding an organisation is to examine its life-cycle, following the phases of development and tracing the patterns of change. It is worth bearing in mind that an organisation's life-cycle can be likened to that of a person but that the corporal reality is not the same and therefore an organisation is more able to transition back and forth. It is also important to realise that change management is among the most difficult tasks to successfully accomplish, not least because, as Handy says, “everyone tends to favour development but few favour change” (1988, p 141). So, understanding phases of organisational development does not guarantee an ability to be able to effect the desired changes.

Of the wide body of literature that addresses the topic, I have found the most useful to be those authors who take account of the social and personal transformations that are required in order for organisations to develop (see, for example, Smit, 1992; Senge et al, 2004; Beck and Cowan, 2006; McIntosh, 2008). Of particular note in the Camphill context is the work of Van den Brink (2004). She presents a seven phase model and relates the individual's life path directly to that of organisations and communities. Her work has been a major influence on co-workers in Camphill and she is still actively involved in training. Figure 3 illustrates the phases as they relate to the individual and the organisation.

Most organisations, including Camphill communities, can be located in phases 2, 3 and 4. A few could be deemed to have transformed themselves and emerged as more moral and integral entities but there are more that think they have than have actually achieved lasting development.

	Individual	Organisation
Phase 1	Undivided unity	The theocratic organisation
Phase 2	The old group	The autocratic organisation
Phase 3	The ego	The bureaucratic organisation
Phase 4	Transformation	The transforming organisation
Phase 5	The Spiritual self	The organisation based on moral values and principles
Phase 6	The new community	The organisation as a new community
Phase 7	Differentiated unity	The organisation as a contributor to World development

Figure 3 Van den Brink's Phases

Plant (2008, 2009a), in a comprehensive study of change and development in Camphill in Scotland, has identified three phases, which could apply equally to CCoI. These are in part based on the work of Van den Brink and also on an analysis of more conventional literature. The first phase was one of pioneering. The organisation was established by Jewish refugees who escaped to Scotland from Vienna in 1940. Leadership was quite autocratic, with the organisation's identity and direction fashioned by the founder, Dr Karl Konig. Although many in Camphill would question this view of the history, there have been a number of recent studies that have comprehensively explored this aspect of Camphill's past (Brennan-Krohn, 2011; Costa, 2011). Phase two was a time of organisational development and expansion. Leadership became more devolved and democratic but identity also became less clear and complexity led to attempts at clearer structures, policies and role descriptions. Leadership became synonymous with management, based on expertise rather than inspiration. Phase three, that of change and transformation, is where Camphill currently is. The characteristics of phase two are accelerating and it is a time when new approaches are needed but the way forward is not clear. Plant relates the current situation to the era of postmodernism where values and identities become relative, all subject to a social and cultural construct. Significantly, he refers to the emerging process of individualisation, which I will return to in section 2.2.1.

Plant's findings can be related specifically to the development of CVO's in the Irish context (Donnelly-Cox and O'Regan, 1999). According to this typology, Camphill would appear to be an 'Established', organisation, with a clear trajectory towards becoming 'Institutionalised'/'Embedded'. In a further development of this typology (O'Regan, Donnelly-Cox and Hughes, 2005) some of the factors in the external and internal environment affecting legitimacy and organisational capacity are more clearly defined, as illustrated below.

As O'Regan et al recognise, the managerial utility of the model depends on it being tested in organisations, so this typology together with the other work discussed above will help inform the analysis in chapter 4.

		Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
<u>External Environment</u>	1. Need Legitimacy	Emerging	Established	Embedded
<u>Internal Environment</u>	2. Organisational Legitimacy	. Pragmatic	. Moral . Pragmatic	. Cognitive . Moral .
	3. HR	. Volunteers	. Mixed (V & Staff)	. Professionals
	4. Finance	Unstable	. S - t Stable . L - t unstable	. Very stable
	5. Leadership	Values Leadership Systems Leadership		

Figure 4 O'Regan et al typology of organisational development

There may be no easy answers to shaping the development of organisations, but there does appear to be a natural progression that corresponds to a life-cycle. This has been rather prosaically called a transition 'from grassroots to business suits' (Lindberg and McMorland, 1996). Referring to Handy (1988) again, the question remains whether this

also means becoming “grey bureaucracies” or whether NPO's can be “the seedbed” for a better theory of management.

2.1.5 Mission and planning

CVO's are often characterised as 'mission based organisations' (Handy, 1988; Drucker, 1990; Hudson, 1999; Brinckerhoff, 2000). Chapter one discussed the mission of CCoI and how this has been shaped by recent strategic planning exercises. It was also discussed how the mission is an expression of communal values. It is clear that, as O'Regan (2004) says, an organisation's mission is socially constructed but must be held individually by the people in the organisation in order for it to be meaningful. This involves a continuous values engagement, enactment and alignment in what is essentially a socio-political negotiation process (see Kay, 1996; Marshall, 1996). This refers back to the values expressive nature of CVO's and the concept of legitimacy discussed in section 2.1.1.

The role of CVO's as mediating institutions, transmitting and shaping values, is well recognised. Jeavons (2008), for example, identifies that the primary tools organisations have in this regard are rhetorical, intellectual and moral and these are expressed, promoted and negotiated in organisations through the words and deeds of their mission. However, the warning from Jeavons referred to in section 1.1 that failure to adhere to expressed values will corrode rather than promote the health of society needs attention. Lack of internal legitimacy is essentially a lack of integrity.

In relation to the conceptual basis for the work on 'Life in Camphill' and the related processes of mission formation and strategic planning discussed in chapter one, I would describe the work as lying in the classical school of Whittington's (1993) four-part classification. This is demonstrated by, for example, the supposition that the elaborately detailed mission and values would be simply passed down the organisation and then realised. Another example is with the proposal to Council at the end of phase one of the Transition Process which was then passed to a separate Implementation Group to be put into effect. However, it would be too easy to simply dismiss the strategic planning attempts as a failed classical approach. In practice, there was evidence of a processualist

perspective in the recognition that a learning organisation needs to take small steps within an overall framework. There was also some evidence of a systemic perspective through the emphasis on social networks in community and that strategic planning is really only relevant in limited social contexts. Thus the community-based focus of the strategic reviews, common endeavour exercise and especially the community reviews. There was also a growing recognition in the Transition Process of the overriding importance of organisational culture in achieving lasting change.

2.2.0 The individual context

The research fields highlighted in chapter one outlined my aim to explore layers of knowledge from the macro (socio-economic) to the meso (organisational) in order to gain a fuller understanding of the micro (individual) context and how co-workers, particularly LTCW's, construct their lives in and around Camphill's values. Many aspects of the individual context have already been highlighted in the foregone discussion. This section will pick out two particular themes that require further consideration. The first is around the individual co-workers identity and how this is shaped, particularly focusing on values enactment and the volunteering context in Camphill. The second theme is on the crucial issue of leadership and what this means and could mean in an organisation like Camphill.

2.2.1 Identity, values, volunteering

Section 2.1.1 discussed the role that CVO's have in providing individuals with a social context for values enactment. Within Frumkin's quadrant (figure 2), Camphill was identified most clearly with the category of 'values and faith', an area of activity that “allows volunteers, staff and donors to express values, commitments and faith through work” (2002, p 25). As such, Camphill can be viewed as a community of shared meaning. This has been another theme in Plants research on Camphill. He defines identity as follows:

“In a general sense it is about what we have in common that distinguishes us in a

significant way from others. It is what marks us out as being the same as each other and what marks us out as being different to others. It is about what we stand for and aspire to. It is about what we do and how we do it.”
(Plant, 2009a)

Identity can be described in an individual context in the way that 'culture' is normally seen in an organisational context (see, for example, Bolman and Deal, 2008). Indeed Plant highlights aspects such as symbols, myths, norms and networks of social interaction as being the characteristics of identity. Organisational culture as such is not the focus of this research. However, in so far as a culture promotes “a dominant and coherent set of shared values” (Peters and Waterman, 1982), it is intrinsic to the social construction of identity.

In terms of the identity of co-workers, one of the most interesting features is that of being 'vocational volunteers'. Indeed, this title is a Camphill construct because there is no official categorisation available when dealing with the authorities. Chapter one described some of the essential aspects of being a vocational volunteer. Central to our discussion here is the aspect of economic benefit. From a functionalist perspective, one of the core meanings of volunteering is that there is no major economic gain. In Ireland, the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs definition (Government Publications Office, 2000, p 83) is as follows:

“Volunteering can be defined as the commitment of time and energy, for the benefit of society, local communities, individuals outside the immediate family, the environment or other causes. Voluntary activities are undertaken of a person’s own freewill, without payment, except for reimbursement of out of pocket expenses.”

The paradox of being a volunteer but receiving major economic benefit has been resolved in other Camphill Regions by the simple expedient of co-workers registering as being employed and, in some cases, other arrangements made to fulfill the principle of economic brotherhood referred to in section 1.2. Similar arrangements are currently being explored by CCoI. However, what is particularly interesting is why co-workers in Ireland have to date resisted attempts to replace vocational volunteering with more formal arrangements. To examine this issue it is necessary to look further into the characteristics of volunteering.

Much of the literature on volunteering is focused on the aspect of motivation and the degree to which volunteering acts are altruistic or self-serving. Moving beyond this simplistic dichotomy, O'Regan (2008a; 2009) has explored the motivations of the 'voluntary actor' in the Irish context and highlighted the following as representing the internalised, subjective, intent of the individuals:

- △ “The presence of early significant others in their lives;
 - △ Early reflexive experiences and a sense of difference;
 - △ The experience of epiphany;
 - △ The search for work that supports the expression of self;
 - △ The rigorous and on-going testing of values with experience;
 - △ A willingness to undertake personal responsibility for making change happen;
 - △ An ability to give organisational expression to a values enactment; and
 - △ In their lives, regularly reaching and recognising a time to move on.”
- (2008a, p 8)

O'Regan (ibid, p 2) concluded that “for these individuals, voluntary activity is an expression and outcome of an overriding concern with the creation and maintenance of integrity between their personally held values and their actions in the world.”

An interpretative perspective on volunteering brings to the fore the aspect of 'individualisation' referred to in the discussion previously.

“Individualisation’ consists in transforming human ‘identity’ from a ‘given’ into a ‘task’ – and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance ... needing to become what one is, is the hallmark of modern living ... to speak of individualisation and of modernity is to speak of the same social condition.”
(Bauman 2002, p. xv)

In the modern age, the workplace becomes an essential source of personal identity and a mediating institution where the reflective and collective motivations of volunteers become meaningful (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003). In this context, the individual enters into a compact of some sort, or what Handy (1988, p 27) refers to as a 'psychological contract' in order to achieve a balance between their expectations and their contribution. A satisfactory 'contract' increases motivation and reduces dissonance.

A final aspect of identify to examine is the notion of the 'vocation' of co-working. The nearest equivalent to the vocational aspect of co-working is perhaps that of being in a

religious order. Indeed, in the UK where there is an official category for the purposes of tax and immigration, this is the nearest equivalent 'profession'. This comparison is also supported by the view expressed in section 2.1 on Camphill being an intentional community and FBO. The emphasis on mutual growth and development in Camphill's values supports co-workers in their goal of personal enactment through the organisation. The workplace provides one of our key arenas for gaining transpersonal insights.

Camphill has provided a vocational setting for this personal development to take place. However, as Moore (2008) outlines, a vocation is a polycentric calling whereas the dominant values in society are towards unity and single-mindedness. It may be that the place for vocation in Camphill has receded. The organisational mission may need to change to reflect this. In place of vocational volunteering there may be an opportunity to develop a 'profession' of co-working. Professions should be rooted in service (McDermott, 1994) and can therefore potentially provide the same ground for growth. Such a development, however, would need to be carefully designed so as to avoid a “surrender to the orthodox models” that would accompany overt professionalisation of the organisation (Glenn, 2000).

2.2.2 Leadership

Conger (1994) suggests that leadership, the workplace and spirituality are a trinity. The rather ephemeral nature of leadership makes it difficult to pin down but it is arguably at the core of the LTCW's role. This section will first outline leadership as it is manifest in Camphill and the potential for further development. The ability to imbue leadership in particular and the organisation of Camphill in general with a sense of spirituality will then be explored. It will be argued that the future development of CCoI will depend on retaining a 'community of leaders' that is nurtured by the organisation and that in turn creates a wholesome working and living environment.

From an organisational perspective, leadership in CCoI lies with the members of the company. However, this membership is not active and de facto leadership therefore resides with the Council. However, this is not a sufficient explanation because the organisational model is based on subsidiarity and local autonomy (see section 1.2). In

reality, leadership has resided with the LTCW group in each community. However, the locus of leadership arises from informal norms rather than prescribed rules; it is part of the organisational culture mentioned earlier. This has in recent times given rise to what I would describe as a crisis in leadership and led to a search for new organisational forms through the Transition Process. Resolving the leadership crisis will be a major challenge for Camphill.

Ruth (2006) has noted that rather than leadership being viewed as a force for transformation and liberation in organisations, it is often perceived as an oppressive influence. McGeachy (2001) says:

“Leadership is fraught with dangers. Leaders become lightning rods, recipients of people's often unrealistic expectations. People project their hopes and fears onto leaders and as a result, leaders and their actions become larger than life.”

Referring back to the phases of organisational development discussed in section 2.1.4 in terms of leadership, this transition will likely result in the original values-based leader figures giving way to systems-focused leaders: “the organisation requires a leader who has significant experience of strategic planning and service delivery and of relationship building within a wider environment. These being the skills required to create the framework and formalisation of goals necessary to build embeddedness of need and organisation” (O'Regan, Donnelly-Cox and Hughes, 2005, p 12). Elsewhere, O'Regan references Kay (1996) in describing the role that leaders play in social and cognitive sense making that is an essential requirement for CVO's in the challenge to remain relevant in social and political terms.

The skills referred to here are lacking in Camphill because there has been very little capacity building in management and leadership. Handy's (1988, p 6-7) characterisation of many CVO's as existing as if the cause is all that matters and that management is tantamount to manipulation could apply to CCoI. He refers to 'the tyranny of democracy', where an illusion of consensus masks faction-fighting and 'strategic delinquency'. Ruth (2006) refers to the confusion often evident between authority and authoritarianism, suggesting that organisations succumb to “a tyranny of indecision, fear and distrust.” For Ruth (ibid, p 16), this is his inspiration for developing the concept of 'Liberation Leadership':

“leadership is a process of building close relationships within which we listen deeply to people's thinking and feelings so as, together, to think clearly about what is happening in the current situation and what needs to happen to address the issues facing us.”

The emphasis here on reciprocal relationships is crucial. Liberation leadership has a pedigree that draws heavily on theories of transformational leadership (e.g. McGregor, 1960; Burns, 1978; Bass, 1985), servant leadership, as exemplified by Greenleaf (1977) and Spears (2002) and also on the relationship oriented theories of Rost (1998) and Kouzens and Possner (2002). However, it seems to me that these theories, certainly those emphasising servant leadership, have their lineage in theories of leadership based on the management of religious orders. Dating back as far as the Fifth Century, orders such as the Benedictines, the Jesuits and the Vincentians have been espousing the virtues of what might be called relationship leadership (see, for example, Galbraith and Galbraith, 2004, Lowney, 2003 and Murphy, 1998). Murphy (p 3) encapsulates the idea as follows: “Vincent [de Paul] and Greenleaf both realised that followers are incomplete creations and the only way to accomplish anything through them was to serve them.” Thus, the individual is seeking social enactment and meaningfulness through joining in the collective; the very inspiration for why organisations come about in the first place. Plant (2008) also examines servant leadership in the Camphill context and suggests that this is the approach most appropriate as we enter a phase of change and transformation: “the leader lets go of control and relinquishes power and status. Instead he cultivates self-knowledge and self-leadership” (p 89). This is in line with the kind of personal development described by Van den Brink in figure 3.

Murphy (1998, p 15) quotes from a talk given by Greenleaf to the School Sisters of St. Francis at Alverno College, USA, in 1974: “An institution is a gathering of persons who have accepted a common purpose, and a common discipline to guide the pursuit of that purpose, to the end that each involved person reaches higher fulfillment as a person, through *servicing and being served* by the common venture, than would be achieved alone or in a less committed relationship.” There is a remarkable similarity between this definition of an 'institution' and the Social and Sociological Principles underpinning Camphill outlined in section 2.1.3. While both Principles emphasise service, the former puts the individual at the service of the organisation while the later has the organisation

at the service of the individual. Plant (2008) suggests that these principles can be viewed as archetypal for both the development of individuals and organisations and that Camphill should now be in a phase where the Sociological Principle is dominant. It is in this light that the process of individualisation that I mentioned earlier needs to be viewed. Referring back to Ruth (2006), the phenomenon here is not one where there is a leaderless group but rather a group where everyone is a potential leader; leadership ability is inherent in us all. Avison (2005, p 56) says that “it is no true community that simply states 'we have no leaders here, all decision-making is collective' because collective decision-making is only morally sound when each individual carries individual responsibility.”

As a FBO, Camphill has always promoted workplace spirituality in the sense described by Ashmos and Duchon (2000): “the recognition that employees have an inner life that nourishes and is nourished by meaningful work and that takes place in the context of community”. The social context for the development of organisations and the place of spirituality is an increasingly common theme in the literature (see, for example, Delbeq et al, 2004; Biberman and Tischler, 2008; Giacalone and Jurkiewicz, 2010). The processes through which organisations develop are usually described from a managerial perspective, as discussed in section 2.1.4. However, organisational development can also be examined from a spiritual perspective (see, for example, Van den Brink, 2004; Conger and Associates, 1994; Howard and Welbourn, 2004). There is experience that Camphill can benefit from in the transitions that other FBO's have made. For example, Benefiel (2005) discusses a range of organisations where there is spiritual leadership present, Brookfield (1987) examines the challenges of bringing spirit to work in co-operation settings and Moore (2008) looks at broader community settings.

2.3 Conclusion

This review of literature has been framed by the core topic of values in Camphill but has fanned out to encompass a range of issues that are relevant in many CVO's, where values alignment, mission relevance, leadership and development are quintessential themes.

As described in the next chapter, the literature review coincided with the collection of primary data and each informed the other in an iterative fashion. The pattern that emerged highlights the role that Camphill, in its various manifestations, has as a mediating institution, where values are the currency and individuals, the organisation and society are all involved in the exchange. In terms of the individual's relationship with the organisation, this exchange is measured by the degree of internal integrity maintained. As regards the relationship between the organisation and society, the exchange is judged according to the necessity to maintain external legitimacy. These issues are examined further in chapters four and five. First, chapter three outlines the research methodology.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will set out the methodology that is used in the research. It begins with an overview of my worldview and how this has developed and the influence this has had on my approach. It will then examine in some detail the methods used for data gathering and analysis. The methodological challenges will be discussed in the course of the chapter and the conclusion will suggest how the research topic might be further developed in the future.

I have found the idea of crafting a research work as a useful concept to help develop a conceptual framework. If I think of the research as a sculpture, I can imagine the process of chipping away at the body of knowledge in order to uncover the answers that lie within.

3.1 My developing worldview

I can trace a certain evolution in my worldview that has parallels with developments in social research methods. In the early 1990's I was working as a researcher on the emerging process of environment auditing in local government (see Bruder, 1996; Barton and Bruder, 1995). Because there was very little primary data on the environmental process and the research was conducted in a University faculty where the natural sciences were the orthodoxy, I adopted a primarily quantitative and positivist approach to the work. Although case studies were employed alongside a national questionnaire survey, they were structured and sought to generate 'analytic generalisations' from the survey data that would help categorise the presentation of the data (Yin, 1989). My research methodology recognised the limitations of this approach but the focus was on 'rational' processes and people in 'role'.

My research findings, not unsurprisingly, highlighted the overriding importance of

agents in the process. It was people as individuals and not solely because of their roles who promoted change, accessed resources, generated involvement and created commitment. Weber's (1947) argument that people need to be viewed as active, conscious, beings assigning meaning to their world became clearly evident to me. I determined then to apply a more qualitative approach if the occasion ever arose again.

3.2 My approach to the research

I would now describe my worldview as being interpretivist: I am seeking to gain an “empathetic understanding of human actions” (Bryman, 2008, p15). My epistemology has therefore progressed from seeing the world as objective and knowable to realising it is inherently unknowable in any objective sense and can only be understood in terms of how individuals themselves make sense of their world. Furthermore, this view is based on an ontology where social constructionism and symbolic interactionism are deemed to create ever shifting actions and actors; the actions being subjective interpretations and the actors continually interpreting and acting on imputed meaning.

In line with this shift in my worldview, the conceptual framework that I see as being relevant to gaining useful knowledge has also changed. I therefore adopted a predominately qualitative approach to the research and an inductive research strategy. Qualitative research emphasises that social actions can only be understood by interpreting the meaning and motives for those actions. It follows from this that research questions are posed as initial propositions in order to guide the development of methods and the analysis of findings. Blumer (1954) suggests that the aim is to generate rather than test theories; a process of 'sensitising' rather than arriving at definitive concepts. Thus, an iterative research strategy leads to the development of grounded theory, with data collection, analysis and findings being in close relationship (Barney and Anselm, 1967).

In relation to values in Camphill and in light of the worldview outlined above, I adopted a multi-disciplinary approach in order to give access to a range of sociological views. The aim was, as Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest, to offer a glimpse into another person's perceptual world. I did not, however, adopt an ethnomethodological or phenomenological approach. My concern was more with seeking patterns and

explanations rather than describing particular situations (McNeill and Chapman, 2005).

Although I was working in Camphill and was conducting the research on colleagues, the approach was not 'action research', which implies that there is a systematic enquiry designed to yield practical results (McNeill and Chapman, 2005). While I hope my research is relevant, trustworthy and authentic, it was not designed with a particular practical solution in mind. Likewise, I did not adopt a participant observation stance. This is an ethnographic method where the researcher both observes and participates in the life of the organisation. For practical reasons it was not possible for me to conduct the research in my own Community and I was therefore not in a position to benefit from the lived experience of the research setting.

The main method used was qualitative interviewing in the context of selected case study communities. The development and application of this method is explained next.

3.3 The case study method

Gill & Johnson (2010, p 225) provide a comprehensive definition of a case study, as follows:

“A case study entails empirical research that focuses on understanding and investigating particular phenomena and their dynamics, within the context of a naturally occurring real life single setting, that uses multiple sources of evidence, usually using an array of quantitative and qualitative methods to collect that data ... An intensive study of an individual, a group, an organisation or a specific process.”

In this context, it was important to be clear what the unit of analysis was. I selected communities through a process of 'purposive sampling', where they were chosen because of their direct relevance to the themes being investigated. The case studies themselves therefore make no claims to be generalisable or generally representative because “the essence of the technique is that each subject studied is treated as a unit on its own” (McNeill and Chapman, 2005, p121). It is hoped, however, that they have been revelatory, because I had unique access to individuals in Camphill and have therefore been in a position to analyse phenomena that have been previously inaccessible to investigation (Yin, 2003, p 42).

Bryman (2008, pp 376-380) suggests that rather than applying criteria of reliability and validity to case studies, it is more appropriate to evaluate the approach on the basis of trustworthiness and authenticity. The former highlights credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The later highlights fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity.

I adopted a multi-method approach to the case studies, particularly drawing on Bryman's distinction between the method and the methodology. So, although my research is clearly located within the qualitative tradition, I used quantitative data sources as needed. Semi-structured interviews were my main research method (see below), with two subjects in each case study. Interview findings were backed up by reference to written policies, procedures and plans, where these existed.

Stake (1998, p 103) outlines the following as being the main 'conceptual responsibilities' of a qualitative researcher and I aimed to have particular regard to these factors in conducting the case studies:

- ⤴ Bounding the case, conceptualizing the object of study.
- ⤴ Selecting phenomena, themes, or issues – that is, the research questions – in order to create emphasis.
- ⤴ Seeking patterns of data to develop the issues.
- ⤴ Triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation.
- ⤴ Selecting alternative interpretations to pursue and developing assertions in an iterative fashion.

The quality criteria proposed by Yardley (2000) provided another benchmark to evaluating the quality of the research: sensitivity to context, commitment and rigor, transparency and coherence, impact and importance.

3.4 The Interview method

The interviews were conducted using a qualitative approach. My aim was to get the participants viewpoints and to allow for flexibility in my approach in order to elicit the

greatest diversity and richness of expression. Interviews were semi-structured. This method is defined by Bryman (2008, p 196) as:

“a term that covers a wide range of instances. It typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of an interview schedule but is able to vary the sequence of questions....The interviewer usually has some latitude to ask further questions in response to what are seen as significant replies.”

My aim was to strike a balance between allowing the interviewee free expression and having some points in common across the interviews. All the interviewees were known to be, some very well, so the discussion flowed freely and this was encouraged. The main limitation on the personal narrative of the individual was the requirement to keep the discussion to the theme and within a certain time limitation.

I aimed to adhere to the qualities identified by Kvale (1996) and Bryman (2008), among others, for what makes a good interviewer: knowledgeable, structures the interview, is clear, gentle, sensitive/empathic, open, steers the conversation, is critical/challenging, remembers what has been said, interprets meaning, is balanced and ethically sensitive.

My intention was to gain an understanding of the individuals as interpretive beings, but there was not sufficient scope in the research to gain an in-depth view of each interviewee through a process of narrative or life story interviews. The research is therefore not focused on the existential self-enactment of the individuals but rather how they express their social values and the capacity of the organisation to facilitate this expression. I am conscious that the interviews were essentially artificial conversations. As Millar and Dingwall (1997, p 59) say:

‘the consequence is that data produced by interviews are social constructs, created by the self-presentation of the respondent and whatever interactional cues have been given by the interviewer about the acceptability or otherwise of the accounts being presented.’

The interview questions were not pre-coded and it was intended that the themes and discussions develop in an iterative fashion during the data gathering phase. The interviews were analysed using a thematic approach. The basic method was to identify and then place within some framework the emerging themes and sub-themes. I adapted a particular approach developed by Philip Burnard (1991) that divides the analysis of interview transcripts into a staged process. The overall approach developed by Burnard, whereby interview data is 'funneled' and 'collapsed', offered a useful systematic process

to code and thereby handle complex data while enhancing validity.

I selected two people in each of the three case study communities. I looked for unrelated co-workers so as to enhance the diversity of viewpoints and maintained an overall gender balance. Individuals were chosen because of their relationship to the key themes and not through an attempt to be a representative sample. Candidates were contacted to confirm their participation and selected interviewees were sent in advance an outline that set the context for the research and listed a set of questions (see appendix A). Each interview lasted between 1-1.5 hours. Interviews were taped and selectively transcribed. All interviewees signed consent forms (see appendix B) and were assured of anonymity. Case study communities and LTCW's are identified by pseudo noms in the analysis.

3.5 Conclusion

In his reflection on research, Foucault questions the value of knowledge that does not also result in “the knower’s straying afield of himself” (1990, p 8). I therefore hope that the research will stretch my knowledge of myself and of how I understand my organisation.

The pros and cons of the methodology and methods were discussed above. Other than this, the main limitation is that of time and space. There is, I feel, a pressing need for further research on the themes addressed here. Some part of this further research might also focus more deeply on the individual context. It was originally my intention in the dissertation research to develop a methodology with an element of transpersonal research methods. These are approaches that highlight the lived experience of the research participants in a more profound way than is normally done (Varela and Shear, 1999). The methods I have looked at to date are variations on what Bryman refers to as the 'Emotionalism' tradition in qualitative research, which aim to elaborate on the inner experience of the research subjects (2008, p 367). However, although there is a growing body of academic literature on transpersonal research methods (see Varela and Shear, 1999; Zajonc, 2010; Anderson and Braud, 2011), the scope of such an exercise was outside what was achievable within the timescale of this dissertation.

Chapter 4 Research findings and analysis

4.0 Introduction

Chapter three described the methodology for conducting the interviews in the three case study Camphill communities. This chapter will now present the findings and relate these to the insights gained from the literature review in chapter two. In line with my research method, the emphasis in this chapter is on giving voice to the LTCW interviewees and locating their insights within the institutional context.

The first section examines the personal motivation and values of co-workers and how these may have changed over time. This is followed by a section on the degree to which the individual's values find alignment with those of the organisation. Section 4.4 goes on to examine the mission of CCoI and how the case study communities are actively working on this. The final section brings the discussion directly on to the challenges CCoI faces in terms of external legitimacy and internal integrity of purpose.

4.1 Motivations for being in Camphill

Traditionally, co-working has been presented as a vocation. It is therefore not simply an occupation but a way of life. This is still the predominant view of all the interviewees, as applied to themselves. I sought to get a sense for why people had originally chosen to come to Camphill and whether their original motivations were still valid in their eyes.

There was a clear view expressed that the main reason for being in Camphill is that the organisation held ideals that resonated with the individual. Molly and Henry express something of the common view:

Molly

“I came very young. I was already then looking for a different form of relating to people. I found living in a small family in a small town to be quite narrowing. I wanted more from my future than living a normal satellite life. I was looking and

got involved in different attempts to break out. Finally I was pointed to Camphill.

I was always interested in people who were different. I was mainly interested in bringing a new social form. I experienced in Camphill that people were interested in you. This was the first time where I encountered that. You were free but there was also interest. That was good for me.

I didn't come because of people with special needs as such; there was a social need”.

Henry

“I came as an on-looker; came to see what it was like; heard some descriptions of it; but didn't really know. When I came I discovered it was a place to be, not just to seek direction. The ideals were same as what I had. Were living them out. I continued to stay there then. Discovered Camphill – it got richer and more interesting. Came part of it so that I and Camphill came to be as one.

No initial motivation for care work. I knew; heard about it. A place that tries to meet the needs of human beings in all their variety and texture. Trying to develop a community to meet human needs in broadest terms”.

Significantly, the wish to work in a care organisation was not a primary motive for coming to Camphill. This was seen as part of the common endeavour to create an inclusive society. The main emphasis was on joining an intentional community. Another common feature was that people did not come to Camphill by design but rather discovered its existence and then began to appreciate what it had to offer them.

There was a considerable anti-establishment view expressed by some, seeing Camphill as an alternative to mainstream society. Nora's views illustrate this:

“To help create a way of life that is different to the norm. To overcome the separation of life and work. More integrated. The spirituality of it all; the values – this works in and around it all.

The whole normal employment situation. Where you are on the receiving end of the orders. The whole mechanism of it all. When I got to know something different, I wanted to look into it. Each to their abilities. A different social context.”

A particular focus of the interviews was to discover whether the ideals that originally inspired people to come to Camphill still applied. Everyone recognised the considerable challenges that present circumstances create. Most, however, felt that their original

motivations were still valid for themselves. Gretta, for instance, said that:

“I have mostly found what I was looking for... I had a month away recently and that was good. To get perspective. It made me come back with questions and concerns that I could voice. That was good. I feel settled. I know the people. It'll still be a challenge to make a difference. I am basically still happy to be doing what I'm doing.”

4.2 Values alignment

Generally speaking, although the interviewees own motivations had not changed, they experienced themselves to be increasingly out of line with the organisation's values.

Stephen had a particularly forthright view on this:

“If I see Camphill as I see it now and was making my choice whether I would come, I'm not sure I would. To what Camphill is today. My picture of it is very sepia; all in together. Your best is good enough. Now days, only whats good enough is good enough. In the service side but also the social side.

I am motivated by those people who I am trying to make community with at the minute. What I can create with the longer-term group is a strong motivation. That together you can do quite a bit. The working with people with special needs is still enjoyable, when you are allowed to do it. This is a bit of a dodgy area. Its a narrowing plank, whats acceptable socially and politically.”

Everyone recognised that it is essentially a matter of personal striving. However, the ability of some to maintain this striving came into question. Nearly everyone had taken one or more breaks from being in Camphill, some being away for a number of years. These were times for reflection and renewal. At the time of interviewing, most were feeling somewhat strained. For some this was attributable to their stage in life; the majority were in their mid-40's or older, a time of life that is perhaps one for re-evaluation. However, there was a general feeling of being out of alignment with organisational developments taking place:

Henry

“I wonder if the organisation and how its structured – I'd have questions about it. I see my peers struggling. We need to make adjustments. There is too much mutual dependence. People don't experience they have freedom. Everything is contained in Camphill's World.”

Stephen

“I'm feeling a bit uncertain how to shape the future to allow all those things about aims, values, objectives, etc to be done. That's a challenge. I'm at a point where if I have them laid out and I'm challenged, then I clearly have an answer for myself – that I'm the wrong man in the wrong place! If you are in a place of freedom there has to be insecurity. These have to go together. So, I am in a free place but this does not make me feel comfortable.”

Re-gaining a personal alignment, a more sustainable way of living and working, was a common theme:

Nora

“I had been over-demanded for many years. It came to a point when I started to reflect on what I was doing. The funny thing is, I had to start separating my life and work more! This is my job, my home, my family. One big pea soup. I had to see what was going right and what was going wrong. Ever since this, I feel positive. It is now unstuck. I am in the same house but I employed a house coordinator and got a care assistant for one of our ladies.”

In all cases, the communities were attempting to gain a new alignment of values, by way of re-evaluating their mission and way of working. This is examined in the next section.

4.3 Organisational mission

All knew roughly what the mission said but it was not a statement that resonated with them personally. This was partly due to a certain resistance to the strategic planning philosophy behind it. Henry, who was part of the working group that devised the mission statement, said:

“The writing of mission statements became an 'in thing' in organisational development. It didn't used to be. It used to be that there was a view of an organisation as a continuous striving. There are ideals far away into the future. We are building communities to attain higher development. Our mission is living in that space in the future. Putting it into words; was difficult to do.”

Generally the view was that the mission of CCoI was irrelevant at best and a hindrance at worst to how their particular community operated. Each of the three communities was involved in some way in re-evaluating what their particular mission is.

In Camphill Byrnestown they had been slowly working towards becoming a separate legal entity, one of the options arising in the Transition Process. This was in part an attempt to ensure that the community's mission would be relevant going forward.

Nora

“At the moment, we are following a road and we are not sure where we are going. Its a bit of an exploration. I would like to see the community being independent. Things would move more according to the needs and possibilities of the community. Ownership and vision. Common vision.”

For Gretta, it was not just a question of mission direction but also of structure. The CCoI entity was perceived as being too big and immobile to promote healthy community:

“For myself personally the big company is just impossible to oversee; I don't have the qualities to look at this in a productive way. If it was just (our community) I'd feel more able to be responsible. Its important to find good board people.....the structures of CCoI doesn't help. I don't have the energy to turn it upside-down.”

Quite tellingly, when asked what the response would be if the community is not allowed to devolve from CCoI, Gretta said:

“That'd be a question: would I stand behind a company that would do that. I might not then want to be here. Practically, I'm not sure I'd join a community with a manager in it. I might work there, but I wouldn't live.”

This points to one of the essential aspects of Camphill: as an intentional, mutual support, community, it can not be managed in the same way as a normal CVO. A good deal of the experience in other Camphill Regions is that the employment of managers has stifled communal life for LTCW's. It is not hard to see how this could be. However, given that the unique approach of Camphill as lifesharing communities for people with special needs is predicated on the active presence of LTCW's, there is a paradox here that has yet to be solved. This was a question for Gretta who speculated that:

“There must be different ways to share the responsibilities, so you are not there 24 hours. This full-time availability is not attractive to people.”

The Camphill Sandymount community was also involved in a re-evaluation of their mission. They were taking quite a strategic approach to this:

Stephen

“We are busy writing our own aims, objectives and ethos. We are doing this as part of our response for HIQA (health inspectorate). We looked at the CCoI mission but then we moved away; asked ourselves what is it for us? 'Whats the point of this community?' We all came back with our answers. We then tried to formulate these into our aims. We then had objectives: how are we going to do these things? These were then broken down into tasks.

It is probably within the CCoI mission; otherwise we will have a question. If it doesn't fit under that umbrella it tells me I am going to move out from underneath it.

We want our mission to be obvious. So that when people join us, they are clear what we are.”

Molly saw their local efforts as a response to the increasing pressures on CCoI to conform to certain organisational standards that are not in tune with the real purpose of Camphill:

“At the moment I feel the main emphasis is on trying to adapt how the organisation is run to the demands of the government. This can be something positive: to try to bring it into a language thats understandable. But, the input that it takes; the time and effort of those who are most able to carry it, is too much for a few years now. Its taking more time and effort than I feel is healthy. The more spiritual side is suffering under that. Thats a shortcoming of the time we are in.”

Camphill Sandymount had come about in recent years as an off-shoot of a larger, more traditional, community. This was seen to be a way to re-enliven the mission and to re-gain some of the relevance that was perceived to have been lost. However, it was also due to the perennial difficulties that are experienced in living together in community:

Molly

“For me the main struggle was to be able to have a base of honesty. To relate in such a way that you can together move on. Not get stopped by bad relationships.”

Camphill Westland is one of the few communities that has seemingly managed to avoid the worst effects of damaging personal conflict. The key to this, according to Leo, is that they continue to work actively with the ideals of Camphill. So, for example, in relation to the pressures to become more professionally managed:

“The key is that the LTCW continue to do work, not to just be in the office. We have to be active with the people. You then have to make the connections. You'll then hear if there are issues. We want to get away now from the hierarchical thing. But one is always looking for someone to guide you. No one in (our community) wants that position of 'leader'. Maybe this has been a problem in other places. Because we have the number and circle of people that we have, there is a broad core. There are supports here. We still talk informally, bounce things off each other. But we could do it more.”

Part of the success of Westland is attributed to the democratic nature of the decision making. They pride themselves in having open access to most of their meetings. They also undertake an annual process of strategic planning called a 'future meeting'. For Henry this was a more relevant process than the development of static mission statements.

“The recognition of need has changed. You get a glimpse of a new aspect of the future. Want to then re-align the mission. The process of individualisation. This would need to be included in a revised mission statement. Lifesharing becomes a different prospect in this light.

Its very broad what Camphill is trying to do: the environment, building, food production, crafts, making products, working with new economic ideals, social care: a huge diversity. Its very easy for organisations that have a single purpose. You can then apply mission-based management. I often wonder if Camphill should identify each of these areas clearly, have separate companies for them.”

4.4 The challenge of change: external legitimacy and internal integrity

The individual LTCW's were each being challenged to some extent to find a sustainable way of living and working, where they felt that their personal values and the communal expression of these values in CCoI could be aligned.

Some of the challenges have been discussed in the previous sections, to do with personal sense making and re-evaluating the role of their communities as mediating institutions. This section will examine some of the other challenges that LTCW's face and the kinds of changes that are proposed to address these challenges.

Stephen felt that the ideals of Camphill were still entirely relevant, even essential on a social level, in the current times but questioned whether the organisation had the strength to continue. The greatest challenge, he felt, was to overcome the lack of

legitimacy:

“As a social impulse in the country, I would like to have been more met; for Camphill to have worked harder 20 years ago. I think its a massive burden. That we still don't fit: into the housing schemes, the tax system, etc. After being active for 40 years and still not be recognised in all these places, its a huge frustration. We should have tackled that.”

Camphill having a legitimate place in the world was seen by all as an essential challenge that needed to be faced. Leo described how Westland was designed not to become too insular:

“There was a plan for it to remain small and start other places. People who started it had seen the growth of huge villages (elsewhere). Low walls. The founders understood about integration. To be part of the society. It worked really well. We have always had a very active friends committee. We have so many things going on that connect with the outside world.”

The basis for Camphill's claims to legitimacy seem to rest on the value of it being an ideals-based social endeavour rather than a paragon of service provision. In terms of what this means for future direction, the overriding view was that Camphill should become more networked and integrated:

Molly

“I'd like it to become more part of the surrounding. To be more part of the wider community. Also to join with other streams; to really bring help to what can be really human. Humanity not based on materialism. To make connections, despite beliefs, difference, etc. I see it as Camphillers going elsewhere and doing other things.

When we set out here, it was not to be just for people with disabilities. Not to be dependent on the fees. This is neither good for us or for the 'people in care'. The fact that there is money coming in with the person does effect us. If the economic life could become productive; and the culture supported through that, that would be an ideal.”

Henry saw the way forward as being through a process of reverse integration. He described a model developed in Canada where there was a “neighbourhood with high social capital created.” Henry saw the possibility for Westland to do the same in a physical sense, literally taking down the walls, but also in a social sense, building community based on healthy relationships rather than dependent service provision.

This reference to resource dependency was repeated elsewhere, but mostly indirectly. The outright dependence on funding for the provision of care services, although clearly a factor in the institutional legitimacy of CCoI (see section 2.1), was perceived by the co-workers as a minor factor. This may be due to a lack of awareness. In relation to the economic brotherhood at the heart of the financial ideals of Camphill, Stephen questioned how active this now was:

“Understanding the economics is very important. Its still very uncomfortable. This lack of wish for a link. We will need to address this. Otherwise, it'll be another rock in our bag as we move forward. We need to move away from guilt. We don't understand it, we just decide we'll stay away from it.”

The perceived lack of external legitimacy was matched by internal challenges within CCoI in terms of integral mission: the congruence between what an organisation says it does and what it actually does. Stephen highlighted a number of areas where he felt Camphill lacked integrity. Lack of leadership or even the proper context for leadership to come about was particularly highlighted:

“The other side we need to work on is to understand the threefold relationship between management, governance and leadership. CCoI believe that Council is the seat of the leadership not the governance. It might have been but only because the leaders were also in governance. It needs to be made clear. Leadership is something that goes out and comes back in. We all have something to offer.”

This perceived lack of internal integrity was at the heart of attempts in Sandymount to redefine the purpose of the community. This would perhaps seek to take it out of CCoI because Stephen felt that the large organisation was no longer holding the same values:

“When I look around at other communities I feel I disagree with more people, with their response. I find it difficult to keep quiet, especially when I see this stuff about lifesharing, about money. There are fewer communities where I feel aligned.”

As discussed in section 4.4 above, all the other interviewees also mentioned this feeling of dis-joint in relation to the mission of their particular community and that of CCoI. For most, being part of a larger organisation was only relevant in so far as it provides a group with which they could share their community endeavours. Nora expressed a common view:

“To have something overarching is needed. I don't know if this should be a decision making body. For some it works. But the freedom should be there.”

Nora was also clear on the need for organisational change, certainly in terms of ownership and vision, and of the consequences of this change not taking place:

“There is a lot of fear and insecurity. There is always a risk. But if you don't, you stay in the same spot. It'll rot eventually.”

Significantly, the legitimacy of lifesharing as vocational volunteers was in doubt for many. Stephen questioned whether this was any longer a viable option. Referring to a case in another Camphill Region where a LTCW family was suspended and removed from the community at short notice, Stephen voiced a concern that the traditional vocational model produces insecurity for the co-workers and does not lend itself to the rigors of professional service provision:

“The living and the sharing is a worry. The potential that I might be asked to move out of my home, with half an hours notice. It leaves me insecure. There is very little that can take that away. This begs to ask the question: how right is the big house picture? How else might I maintain this social support? How can I support someone if doing so puts me at risk. Now, as a service provider, where is the proof that you have become morally stronger?”

Nora makes it clear that vocational lifesharing is no longer a viable option, not just because of the professional requirements but also because of the pressures it puts on people. This is particularly significant for her because her original reason for coming to Camphill was to avoid a life:work separation, yet this was now seen to be an inevitability:

“The demands now are very different. The way we live with people needs to be so professional. I cant be a professional 24 hours.”

For Nora, as for others, this realisation was part of a complete re-evaluation of the basis for co-working:

“What do we mean by a healthy lifesharing community? We are still searching. References to Steiner and the (Inner) Community Members is gone now. Rightly so! There are essential spiritual values. If you strive personally, you don't go too wrong. You cant have a Konig (the founder) telling you what to do. You can still do it but it has to be in a different context. You cant combine anthroposophy with social care any more. Its a different realm.”

Stephen also felt that the spiritual basis for Camphill life had changed irrevocably. In relation to the Inner Community referred to in chapter one, he admitted that:

“The Community Member side has lost itself on me. I have a picture that collectively we create a kind of spiritual vessel; that's what's supporting Camphill. We are now holding on, not letting it dissolve. We'll need to re-find people to connect to. To re-create a vessel.”

With this kind of internal confusion, it is not surprising that succession has become a major issue in Camphill. Not only is there a general fall-off in the attraction of living and working in intentional communities but those who do come as NGCW's are often from non-European backgrounds and rather than being absorbed into a stable existing culture they often find communities in flux and a Camphill culture that has lost many of its traditional reference points. Nora had been involved with an induction programme for NGCW's for a number of years and saw this problem first hand:

“By the time we meet with them in November, people are curious. Trying to figure out what is expected of them. They find more expectations than they thought was connected to living with people. A lot of initial difficulties. Some very practical. We meet again in February-March and then in May. If they can't take it up and blossom, then they shut down. What they know to do is secure their family. They build resentment. They look for material reassurance. They look to compensate for all they feel they can't get and that they are not appreciated. At this point they should move off.”

The current Camphill 'model' is clearly viewed as being no longer appropriate for the wishes of a large number of NGCW's and is therefore in need of radical and urgent transformation if lifesharing communities are to have a future.

4.5 Conclusion

There is a cultural change taking place in Camphill, as evidenced in the organisation CCoI and in the views of individual co-workers. There are many strands to this and it is as yet unclear what future, if any, CCoI will have. The evidence here is that there is a great deal of personal interest in the values of Camphill but there is a sense that the organisation's mission is getting lost through lack of external legitimacy and internal integrity. Chapter Five will seek to tie the many strands together, in order to offer some

insight to Camphill, the people and the organisation, on whether it is possible to 're-create the vessel' of the values.

Chapter 5 Conclusions

5.0 Introduction

This main body of the conclusions will focus on two interlinked issues. The first has to do with the ability of a CVO like Camphill to remain 'ideals-based' as it develops. Following from the discussion in section 2.1.4, I am going to call this section 'from grassroots to business suits'. The second issue has to do with the role that LTCW's play in the development of Camphill, and I will borrow Hudson's phrase (see section 2.1.1) and call this section 'prophets not profits'. The discussion will draw out particular recommendations for CCoI to help the organisation and its members meet the challenge of change.

5.1 From grassroots to business suits

It does seem inevitable that a whole range of factors in an organisation's environment and a natural propulsion to grow mean that a CVO, if it survives the pangs of youth, will 'harden' somewhat and then settle into a comfortable, if rather staid, adult life. This analogy of a persons life-cycle is quite apt, because it does appear that organisations have similar natural tendencies. We in CCoI have watched our brothers and sisters in other parts of the World struggle through their own growth pangs and have tried to learn from their experience, but this has not to date made our own transition any easier.

The literature on CVO's, FBO's and intentional communities seems to suggest that the common successful traits are a combination of pragmatic engagement with the institutional environment and maintaining a strong sense of purpose: external legitimacy and internal integrity.

Within CCoI, although many communities are struggling, there are places where there is optimism and enough strength to do something with the optimism. The key ingredient in these places is a wish to take control of the direction of the community. It is not quite wrestling power back from the business suits, because it has not gone that far yet, but it

is a wish to re-gain an integrity of purpose and re-frame the relationship with the environment. And this, I think, is where the dividing line will be: designating those aspects and activities of the organisation that assert their legitimacy on the basis of being an intentional community and those of being a service provider. The aspirational difference between mutual support and service delivery organisations was highlighted in section 2.1.1 and chapter 4 has illustrated how this difference impacts on daily life in Camphill.

For the former, it surely means a renewal of commitment and a re-kindling of values. For the later, the most urgent need will be for a concerted process of strategic planning that will include a realistic assessment of mission. Attempting to transition in this way will clearly require compromise, as the balance between the art of the possible and the art of the ideal is sought. An understanding for phases of organisational development and the evolution of CVO's will be crucial. Thus, transition can progress from 'grassroots' to 'business suits' and then continue to 'integral pursuits'.

5.2 Prophets not profits

This phrase captures the essence of the CVO: it is not the money, but the cause that counts. But, it also gets to the core of what it means to be 'ideals-based', because the vision and the values have ultimately got to be personal. Individual agency is one of the distinguishing features of CVO's. An individual in an organisation has hopefully got strongly held values and these are hopefully congruent with an equally strong organisational mission. The mission can be no more than the communal expression of the personal values. Or, to put it another way, the organisation is a mediating institution to help people enact what they believe in.

The values system in Camphill and the mission of CCoI has emphasised the mutuality in the role of the LTCW. In many ways, Camphill is an organisation ahead of its time in bringing to the fore the aspect of workplace spirituality, the dignity and inherent capacities in us all and the importance of contributing to a more just and sustainable society. However, my findings demonstrate that the aspect of vocational volunteering as lifesharers in community has become a burden for the individuals and to some extent for the organisation. This aspect of a LTCW's identity needs to be re-evaluated. This

will require a re-negotiation of the basis for external legitimacy, not least with the funding authorities and closest supporters, and a re-evaluation of co-worker identity. Nevertheless, we should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. LTCW's have also provided the essential basis for leadership in Camphill and this is more needed now than ever.

As discussed in chapter two, leadership is often equated to a management skill and only rarely shown to be the deeply personal quality that it has the capacity to be. It was shown how the development of an organisation from being ideals-based to being professionally-driven was described as being accompanied by a transition in leadership from values to systems. That is, from an inspirational quality to an institutional one. It appears that for an organisation to deal with an ephemeral, even spiritual, quality it has a tendency to 'harden' it and thereby make it accessible to being managed. But, this is surely the downfall of leadership! Because hardened leadership has no value; quite literally, does not have a basis in personally held values.

Referring back to the discussion in chapter two and in light of the findings presented in chapter four, I can suggest three ways to avoid organisational values becoming institutionally bureaucratic and lifeless:

- ⤴ Through a process whereby these are designed to be in step with personal values.
- ⤴ By inculcating them into the individual.
- ⤴ By creating an environment where the values are nurtured through personal leadership.

In light of the discussion on the life-cycle of an organisation, I'd say that the original Camphill Movement was the product of a group belief system. But, these people are no longer with us. So, this pioneering and establishing phase gave way to a period of institutionalising the values, transferring them from the people to the organisation, through mission statements, policies, training courses, etc and trying to emulate the example of the remaining inspired leaders. This is the phase we seem to now be struggling in. We have not yet fully realised the transition we are in and therefore have not been prepared for the kinds of changes that are happening. Whichever way and in whatever form it is going to go into the future, it seems clear to me that it will be carried

by a group of people who have re-joined the communal endeavour with a different type of energy. An energy derived from personal leadership.

A prophet is a spiritual guide of sorts. Someone with drive and vision, inspiring others with this zeal. These qualities are surely only achievable through a personal process of reflection and growth. It is these qualities that will provide leadership to the ideals-based organisations of the future: derived from the personal and given in service to the collective. And, it is these qualities that will surely build communities in the future. LTCW's have an essential role in the organisational and the communal endeavour.

The founding ideals of Camphill include the idea that our communities are precursors for a renewal of liberty, equality and brotherhood in society. Our current challenged circumstances belie the fact that this continues to be a worthwhile mission and one that is clearly held by the LTCW's who took part in this research. However, we have to cross a certain threshold to arrive at the next stage in our development. The analogy of a butterfly helps illustrate this from two respects. A butterfly is a symbol for metamorphosis; transforming itself from one form to another in a natural life-cycle of growth, change and re-birth. What is more, the 'butterfly effect' describes a phenomenon whereby a small action has untold repercussions in time and space.

I hope also that this dissertation contributes, in however small a way, to creating positive change in Camphill.

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Appendix A Outline for research interviews

The main aim of the interviews is to examine personally held and socially expressed values but to do this in light of Camphill's mission and form. Each interview will be approx 1 hour.

I will aim to look at 3 different Camphill communities and interview 2 senior, long-term, not related, co-workers in each. I will seek to have a gender balance. Interviews will be taped and selectively transcribed.

The interviews will essentially be qualitative and will endeavour to give the participant enough breath to fully express themselves. However, there will need to be some element of structure because the themes can be quite emotive and there is a risk of being side-tracked or not allowing sufficient coverage of the issues. There will therefore be a list of questions that I will try to address, while being sensitive to the personal narrative of the interviewee.

The following are the key themes that will be explored:

Are Camphill's values still legitimate in the World today?

What is the likely evolution of Camphill / Camphill Communities of Ireland?

What role are long-term, vocational, co-workers likely to have in the organisation as it evolves?

In what other forms might the values of Camphill be enacted? Individually. For the organisation.

More particularly, the interviews will be based around the following questions:

Why did you come to Camphill?

What are your motivations for being in Camphill now?

With reference to the mission of CCoI, how do you think we are doing?

If generally positive to the above, details. If generally negative to the above, details.

Are you in a good place now?

How would you like Camphill to look in the future?

What is the single thing you would change in Camphill, if you could?

Finally, and more generally, how can we best help create a 'good' society?

Appendix B Consent form for interviewees

My name is Noel Bruder. I am currently undertaking a Master degree in Management of Community and Voluntary Organisations in All Hallows College, Dublin. As a requirement in partial fulfillment of my MA degree, I am conducting research related to my area of discipline. My research topic is '*Valuing Camphill*' and will explore a number of key themes related to the role of long-term co-workers in the future development of Camphill. More particularly, the following are the key themes that will be explored:

What is the likely evolution of Camphill Communities of Ireland?

Are Camphill's values still legitimate in the World today?

What role are long-term, vocational, co-workers likely to have in the organisation as it evolves?

In what other forms might the values of Camphill be enacted? For you individually. For Camphill as an organisation.

The interview will last about 1 hour and will be recorded. I shall transcribe selected passages into notes. All information will be handled with the strictest confidentiality. You will remain anonymous throughout the content of the report. The transcript will be stored securely and accessible only to myself and my examiners. The result of this interview will be in my thesis which will be submitted to All Hallows College. You are free to end the interview at any time and you are not obliged to answer questions which discomfort you.

You can contact my supervisor on the email address below if you have any queries or concerns about this research:

Email: Andrew O'Regan <aoregan@tcd.ie>

Or inquire from All Hallows College postgraduate office: postgrad@allhallows.ie or Tel. 01 852 0756

Declaration

I have read and understood the above information and freely consent to my participation in this research project.

Signature.....

Official position.....Date.....

Name in Block Letters.....