Value tensions and dynamics in the co-ordination of a self-transformational group



Dermot O'Reilly and Mark Westcombe June 2018



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This practitioner-focussed report is based on research on Greenfields¹ Cohousing group in the UK. The report has been shared with the group and developed with them. Many thanks are owed to individual members of the group that took part in the research, and to the group collectively for allowing access to their documents and meetings and being involved in the production of the research. The research was funded by an Early Career Grant from Lancaster University Management School. Responsibility for the report, of course, lies with the authors. All photographs are the property of Greenfields Cohousing.

This work is licensed under a <u>Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License</u>.

¹ Greenfields is a pseudonym

CONTENTS

Contents
Summary and key suggestions23
1. Introduction and background10
The role of values in intentional social transformation10
Cohousing11
Greenfields Cohousing – a brief history11
2. Methodology
Theories, concepts and assumptions informing the research questions
Specification of research questions
Selection of issues relevant to the research questions
Modes of data collection to investigate the issues17
Modes of data analysis and representation
Strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods employed19
3. Selected key social methods and their effects in relation to the five researched issues $\dots 20$
The financial resources issue
The human capacities issue
The build organization in contrast to group relationships24
The common meals issue
The conduct of group relationships issue
Diagnosis of the role of values in the co-ordination of intentional self-transformation
4. Conclusion - general implications for groups interested in intentional self-transformation 36
Implications for navigating and negotiating tensions in types of intentionally self-transformational
action
Instrumental implications
Conclusion45
5. References
Appendices
APPENDIX A: an overview of cohousing
APPENDIX B: initial project outline
APPENDIX C: the research project's assessment framework for Greenfields Cohousing
APPENDIX D: timeline of Greenfields Cohousing Group and its main subgroups55

SUMMARY AND KEY SUGGESTIONS

There are two primary purposes to this practitionerfocussed report.

Firstly, the report focuses on reporting the key findings from a research project focussed on exploring and understanding the inter-relation and conflict between action that is based on ends, and action that is based on calculated means² (Weber 1978) during the development of Greenfields Cohousing. In other words, the research looked at what Greenfields Cohousing did in the light of what its aspirations were/are. The data were collected from September 2011 to October 2013.

Secondly, in order to support and help the development of other cohousing and social action groups, the report focuses on drawing out the implications of these findings. The implications point out fundamental issues to be aware of, to minimise, or to avoid, and can be adapted for different needs. The report's implications are not intended to tell activists or practitioners precisely what to do, nor are they meant to dampen their creativity – there are multiple ways of achieving shared goals, transforming social practices, pursuing social action, or of developing community or solidarity.

Neither does the report attempt to provide comprehensive guidance on the development of cohousing groups (some relevant publications are listed in the references); rather it gives general guidance on how groups involved in intentional selftransformation might negotiate the tensions between making their values real, between different values, and living by those values.

Background:

A group slowly formed from 2004 around some aspirations for collective and ecologically sustainable living, and with a shared disenchantment with atomised and ecologically unsustainable living. The group had a range of experiences of collective living and ecological knowledge and came together with a range of social, cultural, human, and economic resources. The group managed to organize themselves and take advantage of external opportunities, as well as deal with a number of external requirements and constraints. They managed to bring about an evolved idea of a co-located community, with 41 residential units that were almost all sold by October 2013, as well as a range of communal facilities and a neighbouring commercial unit.

The group experienced successive periods that were aimed at successive necessary tasks, and throughout there were inflows and outflows of members. Inflows were generally due to the value aspirations of joiners, previous experiences of cohousing, positive interactional experience with the group, and a valuing of the pragmatic organization and progress of the group. Outflows were generally owing to either external causes (e.g., job relocations), or to levels of disaffection with the group. Approximately 30 households left over the eight years without signing a contract to lease/buy; and approximately five households did not complete on their agreement to lease/buy.

The key findings in relation to Greenfields Cohousing were:

Findings on means - finance:

- Generating the financial capacity of the group for the property development was significantly achieved via an external loan from a financial institution that paid for the development and which was then repaid via sales of the residential units to the members.
- Managing the financial budget entailed a finance director role and processes to make financial decisions in the light of the espoused values of the group (values that are explicitly expressed and chosen as principles).
- While broadly effective, these methods also led to some negative effects: some consciously accepted as the result of practical compromises, some unintended or unforeseen (see the main report).

of the conditions or means to attain an actor's ends. (Weber 1978: 24-5)

² Value-rational action is determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some form of behaviour. Instrumentally-rational action is determined by expectations

Findings on means – human capacities:

- The group managed at least three human capacities of the group to varying degrees and in different ways – the project executive capacity; the group executive and governance capacity; and the relationship maintenance capacity (these are the authors' terms, not terms used by the group).
- A range of co-ordinating methods were used in relation to each of these human capacities.
 Together, they involved the recruitment of members to the group, the induction of members into the executive capacities of the group, developing the coordination within and between the executive groups, and between the executive groups and the wider group.
- While the group was successful in rotating roles and in increasing the number and range of members actively involved in these human capacities, there were also instances of member burnout and exit, personal stress and interpersonal conflict that were at least partly related to the amount, co-ordination and distribution of work effort.

Findings on the tension between the building of the group's physical infrastructure (the land and property development) and organizing the group as a neighbourly community:

- A significant tension recognised by the group was between the interim goal of the building of the group infrastructure and the end-goal of a neighbourly community. A number of members felt that the interim goal of the building of the property development overshadowed the end-goal of the community.
- The group conceived of this tension in different ways, and three overlapping methods were used to help address this tension:
 - a) Member involvement in an iterative design process, with account taken of the group's espoused values;
 - b) The attempt to structure inclusive and constructive dialogue within and across the group; and

- c) The generation and development of a process group to help with this tension.
- The impacts of these methods included both positive impacts and also negative impacts sometimes owing to the method, or sometimes owing to the method not addressing the issue fully (often owing to the limited capacity to implement the method, or the multiple dimensions of the issue).

Findings on the conduct of group relationships:

- There were at least three organizing principles at work in the group:
 - a) An executive group to achieve the construction of the physical infrastructure and execute the group governance;
 - b) Ultimate formal authority was accorded to full group meetings (general meetings) that were run according to consensus decision-making principles; and
 - c) The group encouraged autonomous action by sub-groups.
- These principles were overlain with external legal structures of
 - A limited liability company status, which resulted in the formal role of Directors; and
 - 2) A residents' association status, imposed as a condition of the group's planning permission.
- The group had documents of different governance status, and different values were variously explicit or implicit in these different documents, resulting in a degree of ambiguity around the governance of the group.
- These organizing principles, the externally overlain legal structures, and the different governance documents resulted indifferent forms of intra-group and group-member relationships, e.g., executive member as opposed to ordinary member, director as opposed to ordinary member, or the company as supplier of property versus the members as buyers of property.

- These different organizing principles and different intra-group and group-member relationships contributed to a number of governance and group relationship tensions and conflicts.
- The most significant methods in relation to the conduct of group relationships were probably:
 - The set of methods by which the members came to decisions through discussion;
 - The evolution of the governance relations and relationships of the group; and
 - 3) An underlying feature across these methods was a disposition to reflect on the aims, means, progress and capacity of the group, and this appeared to mediate and co-ordinate between the interpersonal and value tensions.
- The set of meeting methods was observed and generally considered broadly effective. While they did not fully preclude personalised conflict, they made it less likely, and enabled some such conflicts to be addressed constructively.
- The evolution of the governance structures was not a top-down process. It involved variable direction and input from different component sub-groups within the broad group. In terms of overall impact of the evolutions in governance, it appeared as if the group largely assented to the legitimacy of the evolved governance structure.

Figure 3.2 summarizes the key potential sources of internal tensions in intentionally self-transformational groups (developed in the report).

Figure 3.2: The dynamics of internal tensions in intentionally self-transformational groups



The key sources of tensions that appear to occur in selftransformation groups are within and between:

- The different modes of action whether they are motivated by instrumental rationality, endvalues, valued modes of conduct or emotion or habit
- The interactions between these modes of action, the object being manipulated, the intermediate goals and the outcomes of action
- The internal relations and capacities of the group
- The external relations and capacities in the environment of the group

The key implications of these findings are summarised below and are developed in more detail in the Conclusions section of the report

	F							
Issue	Potential tension between espoused end-values, intermediate aims, means, implicit values, and governance structure and practices							
Why it matters	Intermediate aims are necessary in order to move towards realising the espoused end-values, but can end up being substituted for the end-values, or they can come into tension with implicit values							
Potential ways of address	ing							
Have an engaging, holistic	c and robust statement of end-values (a 'purpose' or 'vision')							
Consider end-values, practicality and affect in making instrumental decisions								
Discuss, agree and articulate intermediate aims and plans for achieving them, with a set future-point for evaluating whether they help realise the end-values								

Implications for navigating and negotiating tensions between differing motivations for action

Have informal and formal discussion methods to help identify and articulate tensions

Ensure that governance structure aligns with both the espoused end-values and the valued modes of conduct, as well as enabling action

Issue	Potential tensions between roles, different informal and formal status of members, and between the group and members						
Why it matters	Perceived and actual differences in status can easily lead to interpersonal conflict and to division or exit						

Potential ways of addressing

Circulate and rotate roles between people

Minimise the number and extent of formal status differences between members

Minimise the number and extent of informal status differences between members

Manage the relations between the group and members, and integrate new members

Instrumental implications

Instrumental aim	Develop the foresight of the group
Why it matters	Developing the foresight of the group – particularly in relation to necessary upcoming decisions, potential issues, or potential resources and constraints, may help groups with time-specific constraints (especially financial ones) to prepare for these decisions in advance and thereby forestall or minimise tension.
Potential means	
Iterative group discussion	reflection and investigation

Iterative group discussion, reflection and investigation

Communicating with other similar and established groups

Investigating the external environment with regards to resources and external decision processes

Instrumental aim	Develop human capacities: executive capacities; governance and group executive capacities; and relationship development and maintenance capacities							
Why it matters	tters The human capacities of any group are what enables sustained action							
Potential means								
Self-division and allocatior parts of the group	n of reciprocal roles and responsibilities in dialogue with other							
Circulate and rotate roles								
Develop agreed practical a	and robust methods of concerted action							
Develop methods for trans	sparently sharing progress and difficulties							
Require a minimum of effort as a condition of membership, but accommodate differences in forms of effort and capacity								
Hire - or avail of - external expertise								

Instrumental aim	nstrumental aim Develop and manage financial capacities								
Why it matters	While human capacities are required for concerted action, financial resources are necessary for many enabling and required activities and resources to enable that concerted action.								
Potential means									
Self-generate a pool of fi	nancial resources								
Fund-raising									
Enable human capacities	to substitute for financial resources								
Use some financial resou	rces to pay for human capacities								
Raise loan finance									
Develop an agreed financial management system									

Why the XXXX are we doing this? what's in the cohouss?? - mail pigeon holes. - guest bedrooms - washing machines (laundry) - Eating space - archen , gas Cooker - hanging out space big Enough for Entire community. - photocopier / community office - run scheme - home working space - gardin shed - hot tub / sauna - Freezer - garden / picnic areas / 66 Q area - Vegan + Meat - play area - outdoor big though for football - construction - UEranda - car parking space / disabled space - notice board - Studio / MESting room / yoga - TU room Projection Facilities - play room / area - Furniture from f. motters - reused furniture - food co-go / store - boat + canoe - chickens - allotments - washing lines - NO SMOLIDS on site

'Why the xxxx are we doing this?'

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The role of values in intentional social transformation

An abiding interest of humans is how best to live together and what the good life might actually be like. Images and ideas of what the good life might be are used by social action groups, such as cohousing groups, to try to change the way that they (and/or others) live. That is, social action groups do not simply contemplate what the good or right way to live might be, they also try to change the way that they live in order to match up to their images, ideas or ideals.

Intentional social change, of course, is not limited to groups that seek to establish a new way of life. In any society or group, people, to various degrees, seek to modify or change their (or others') behaviour in order to live the way that they think is desirable or right. 'Social engineering' of different sorts and to different degrees is a feature of all groups and societies (even 'traditional' communities that try to preserve their 'traditions').

What makes the previous social action groups different to this ubiquitous process of intentional social change is that social action groups do not merely seek to change or amend society, they seek to bring a new type of society, community or group into being through transforming themselves. Two common features appear to differentiate what we can characterise as 'intentional self-transformation' from the ubiquitous dynamics of intentional 'social change or reform'. Intentional self-transformation tends to involve: (1) The use of ideas, values, ideals or beliefs as an overarching formula for their vision of, or guide to, the good life³; and (2) The pursuance of these ideas or beliefs entails the establishment of a degree (at least) of self-control and self-determination, separate to, or shielded from, other social forces.

Given the importance of intended social transformation in human history, we decided to look at the role of values in co-ordinating social action in a developing cohousing group. Cohousing is a relatively new form of living that tries to change social relationships, based on a view of how people can live together more enjoyably and meaningfully. It also involves resident management. As such, it afforded us an opportunity to look at a particular instance of a group that had a formal 'vision document' that encapsulated some ideals and values that it was seeking to use to inform their living practices, and was also attempting to do so by using an egalitarian form of decision-making in exercising its self-determination. That is, the cohousing group was a case that had both of the key elements of intentional self-transformation - the use of a set of values to inform the bringing about of an alternative new way of living, and a self-conscious attempt to exercise self-determination by the group.

thought, it is conceivable that intentional communities may persist over time with weakly shared beliefs or, alternatively, with only a shared toleration of different beliefs and practices as a communal glue. It is outside of the purpose of this report, however, to attempt to deliberate between these perspectives.

³ Kanter (1972) argues from her research that intentional communities *require* a relatively strong and stable ideological basis if they are to survive over time. Sargisson and Sargent (2004) and Coates (2006), however, argue that this is potentially a myth, and that there is no reason to presume that intentional communities *require* a strongly shared set of beliefs or values. Following this line of

'when we went and had that conference ... we made a deliberate attempt to talk to groups that had failed to get off the ground, been going for years and never got off the ground, and they essentially said "if you don't do something about the endless discussion about what the community is going to be like, that gets in the way of you finding your site and doing the project", ... we tried to contain that by basically saying once a policy is decided you can't revisit it."

The aim of this report, in short, is to give more detail about:

- The inter-relation and conflict between value rationality (a focus on ends) and instrumental rationality (a focus on means) (Weber 1978) in the evolving coordination and organization of a mutual cohousing initiative;
- 2) This is achieved through a focus on the role of the operationalisation and expression of values in their activities (i.e., what the organisation did in the light of what its aspirations were/are).

In the next section we give a brief overview of cohousing as a broader phenomenon in the organization of housing and communities, which we follow with a brief history of the formation of Greenfields Cohousing Ltd.

Cohousing

Cohousing has been summarily described as an alternative means for organizing domestic living arrangements (Sargisson, 2010) involving forms of both private and shared property. Characteristically, cohousing communities generally involve private control (often via ownership, or leasehold status) of individual or family properties clustered around common and shared spaces and facilities that are collectively owned, maintained and organized⁴⁵. Cohousing is often represented as having the following features:

1. A participatory process – members organize, and participate in, the planning and design process and realisation of the physical neighbourhood;

- Intentional neighbourhood design the physical design encourages a sense of community;
- Extensive common facilities common spaces and amenities are designed for daily use, to supplement private living areas;
- Complete resident management residents manage the development, making decisions of common concern at community meetings (McCamant et al., 1994);
- A non-hierarchical structure and decisionmaking - while there are leadership roles or positions, responsibility for decisions is shared by the adult members;
- 6. Separate income structures. There is no shared community economy (see McCamant and Durrett, 2009; The Cohousing Association of the United States, 2011). A more detailed overview of cohousing is given in Appendix A.

Greenfields Cohousing – a brief history

What became Greenfields Cohousing originally started in spring, 2004, when four households attempted to purchase a disused school and convert it to a multiplyowned shared apartment space. A builder that they consulted with commented to them that they seemed interested in setting up a cohousing project. After the failure of the attempted purchase, a few members of this group, together with other friends, began to research the concept of cohousing, and the builder then joined them in forming a network of eventually

⁴ See Vestbro (2000) for a discussion of different definitions of collective housing, and of cohousing – what he refers to as the 'self-work' model. The group discussed in this report is similar to the self-work model.

⁵ The collectives, however, generally exercise private ownership over the shared spaces, with the private spaces leased to individuals on a leasehold basis (see Sargisson (2010) for a discussion of these property arrangements).

five households that explicitly decided to set up a cohousing group.

As part of this exploratory work, the network was involved in hosting a national cohousing conference in early 2005. Subsequently, this initial group worked for six months in the setting up of 'Greenfields Cohousing Ltd.', a private company established to set up a cohousing community that was incorporated in early 2006, together with various project management structures, before publicly advertising the idea and business plan. This initial public meeting led to the recruitment of five further members, with the group growing between mid-2006 and 2009 to a fluctuating group size of 15-20 households at any one time.

During this period the group reviewed many sites within a short distance of the local area and invested considerable energy into acquiring four sites in particular, none of which were successful. In November 2009, partly due to the financial recession's effect on property prices, the group purchased a 2.5-hectare site on the edge of a river near a village close to the city of Greenfields. During this stage, members were consulted as to whether they wished to opt out of the project as the physical location was quite different from the city-centre location initially envisaged (two active members became less active, and one 'waiting pool' member withdrew at this stage). The group developed a 'Design' team and engaged with architects (with whom they had had a relationship since 2007) and a building contractor. The group then held a number of participatory workshops to develop a site layout and detailed plans for different house types and the common house. The group were granted planning permission in 2010, and the development of the site started in late summer, 2011, following delays in sorting out legal issues involving a development loan from a bank, and planning-related issues.

Once these initial legal, financial and planning aspects were organised, the major ongoing issues were the completion of the build of the physical infrastructure (the property development) and the enrolling and retention of enough members to ensure that the financial commitments to the lending bank were met on schedule. By the time the first members moved into the development in August 2012, almost all of the individual properties had been bought. The development was completed in stages, and by September 2013 almost all building work had been finished and members had completed their mortgages (or payments to Greenfields Cohousing) and the handover of their contracts.



An early planning meeting

The organizational vision, self-organizing groups and consensus decision-making processes

The original group drafted a vision statement with the strapline of 'a community built on ecological values', which was reported as a synthesis of the two driving goals of the group – community and ecological living.

The development of self-organizing groups and consensus decision-making practice within the group also went through a number of changes over time. The adoption of a consensus decision-making process was included from the outset of the group. The original members all had previous experience of consensus decision-making processes from direct action and/or anarchist groups. A number of rationales were reported for their choice of consensus decision-making processes. They were considered as inclusive and egalitarian in comparison to hierarchical decisionmaking processes. The original members thought that by adopting consensus decision-making, the key needs and wants of each of the original members would be secured, thus stimulating their continued active involvement, which was an early-identified risk. Their consensus decision-making processes were informed by a training co-operative for grassroots activists.

The report is organised as follows:

The following chapter outlines the methodology for the research and analysis, including the key research questions, research methods, selection of topics to investigate and the data collection, analysis and synthesis. The next chapter outlines the key findings from the research. The concluding chapter discusses the findings and describes the implications from the research for other social action groups.

2. METHODOLOGY

Given the importance of intentional selftransformation, as discussed in the introduction section, some apparent issues include the relevance of the role of values and goals in co-ordinating social action, the potential difficulties in achieving values and goals, and the potential for disaffection with the values, goals, or modes of action over time.

In order to study the role of values in the cohousing group, the process outlined in Figure 2.1 was utilized for organizing the research, which will be outlined in this chapter.

Figure 2.1: Research process

Theories, concepts and	Specification of research	Selection of issues relevant	Modes of data collection to	Modes of data analysis and
assumptions	questions	to the research	investigate the	representation
informing the research		questions	issues	
questions				

Theories, concepts and assumptions informing the research questions

The basic analytical concepts used in relation to values are the different types of social action as delineated by Weber:

Social action, like all action, may be oriented in four ways. It may be:

- Instrumentally rational (zweckrational), that is, determined by expectations as to the behaviour of objects in the environment and of other human beings; these expectations are used as 'conditions' or 'means' for the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends;
- (2) Value-rational (wertrational), that is, determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behaviour, independently of its prospects of success;
- (3) Affectual (especially emotional), that is, determined by the actor's specific affects [emotions] and feeling states;
- (4) [*Habitual*]⁶, that is, determined by ingrained habituation (Weber, 1978: 24-25).

Whereas this might imply that values remain the same over time, it is also important to account for how they are influenced by context. One way of doing this is through the theoretical framework of culturalhistorical activity systems.

To explain this theoretical framework it is important to first get a sense of the basic components of the theory. An activity system involves more than social actions: any social action is embedded in a wider social context (or system), from which it derives its meaning and to which it contributes as a factor in its reproduction or change. Within the activity system an action is seen as a process involving a subject (S), an object (O), and artefacts (A) through which an action is mediated (see Vygotsky's model of mediated action below). In this process, the subject is the individual, or individuals, who are engaged in the action, and the artefacts include the socially constructed tools (including language and signs) that lend meaning to the action. The object of action has at least three components. Firstly, it is the thing, or project, that the subjects are working to transform. Secondly, it is the sense or meaning of the action that is the social meaning of the

evaluative distinction between modern and traditional society.

⁶ Weber used the term 'traditional', but habitual is used here, since it avoids an unnecessary temporalization and

action, as subscribed to by the subject's reproduction of the action but not dependent upon the subject's volition. Thirdly, it is also the particular objectives of the action, that is, the intended outcomes of the action, as aimed for by the active subject (Engeström and Blackler, 2005; Blackler and Regan, 2009). Through involvement in action, individuals deepen their relationship with their environment through navigating, negotiating and developing both meaning and their practice in their given cultural/social context.



Subject(s) (individual, dyad, group)

Object/Motive -> Outcome(s)

Figure 2.2: Vygotsky's model of mediated action(as adapted by Edwards, 2005: 52)

This basic model of mediated action has been developed into a more developed framework that helps outline further features of the activity system – the social rules and norms related to the activity system, the wider group⁷ in which the subjects operate, and the division of labour between members of the group, which each mediate the activity and each other.

⁷ Engeström uses the term community, but we use the term group, since it avoids a communitarian inference.

Mediating artefacts: Tools and Signs





Of particular relevance for the study of values in coordination is that different values may be inherent in the different aspects of the object of action and of the activity system, and the object of action and the activity system themselves change as subjects engage in different types of action over time. Values have varying locations and strengths in that they are sometimes a constituent part of some of the mediating artefacts, while at other times they are a part of the motivation of the subject. Sometimes they are part of the object of action or part of the objective of the action, as well as sometimes being ingrained in the rules or norms of the group, in the group identity, or in the division of labour.

The import and effect of values, therefore, are dependent to a large extent on how the object of action changes over time (both what is being focussed

Specification of research questions

In order to increase our understanding of the role of values in intentional self-transformation, the research project focussed on the following research questions:

Primary Research Question: How are competing values navigated and/or co-ordinated in a cohousing group?

The component research questions were:

Component Research Question 1: What social methods of co-ordination and conflict management (or avoidance) are used, and what are their effects?

upon and the intended objective). The object of action is always:

a project under construction, moving from potential raw material to a meaningful shape and to a result or outcome. In this sense the object determines the horizon of possible goals and actions. But it is truly a horizon: as soon as an intermediate goal is reached, the object escapes and must be reconstructed by means of new intermediate goals and actions (Engeström, 1999: 65).

These analytical distinctions between types of social action and a framework for understanding the dynamic components of activity systems allow us to begin to account for, and trace, the roles of values in social coordination.

In order to answer this research question, the methods or processes that the group utilised to try to foster continued social action and to mitigate tensions and conflicts, as well as their effects over time in relation to specific topics, were traced.

Component Research Question 2: What tensions or conflicts (implicit or explicit) are evident in the project?

In order to answer this research question, five selected issues were studied over time.

Component Research Question 3: What values underlie these tensions?

In order to answer this research question, the interactions between the issues, the methods and processes related to them, and the values expressed in them, were traced over time.

Component Research Question 4: What happens/happened in relation to these issues?

Selection of issues relevant to the research questions

Owing to the complexity of cohousing groups and the constraints on research time, it was decided to focus on a small number of particular issues or tensions that were or had been 'live' topics in the group and that also represented different aspects of value orientation and self-determination. Five issues were followed in detail to trace both how they evolved over time, and the variety of competing values and modes of coordination that were implicated in them.

Two particular building/project issues were selected to supplement a more general issue. The particular building/project issues were: (a) the human capacities of the group; and (b) the financial resources of the group. These issues were selected as they represent two core strategically instrumental concerns in organizations – the human capacities of the organization that are necessary for the organization to be able to act and to attempt to achieve its aims, and the economic resources available that enable the group to act (both topics were also identified as major risks in the group's business plan). Of prime interest, therefore, was the degree to which these capacities were co-ordinated, enabled, or were at odds with the espoused ends of the group (realising a shared physical In order to answer this research question, the explicit values that informed the formation, operation and continuance of the group, and the implicit values that were expressed or inferred in the group's practices, activities, language and other artefacts in relation to these issues were traced

community practicing forms of communal and ecologically sustainable living).

These particular building/project issues were part of a broader and more general issue of (c) the core tension between the instrumental focus on building the physical infrastructure (the property development) of the group and on the development of a shared community. This issue was selected as being fundamental to the primary research question (the tension between means and ends).

A further particular issue of (d) the common meals was selected as a topic, since it was not about the building of the site, but the ongoing living practices of the group. Common meals are an important common feature in cohousing communities, reflecting communitarian aspirations.

This particular issue was also part of a broader and more general issue of (e) right conduct – how people behave, evaluate and engage with their and others behaviour. This was selected since it is a core issue in social collaboration and coordination. The selfdetermining context of this group in developing its conduct is part of what makes the group an instructive case for research.

Modes of data collection to investigate the issues

In order to study the evolving coordination practices and discourses of the group, the following methods were employed. 10 non-participant observations of a number of types of group meeting were undertaken – covering the group's general meetings and at least one observation of each of the executive groups (the Directors, the Build and Resources (BaR) Group and the Process Group). 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine different adult members (these were selected for a mix of memberships of different sub-groups, original geographical location and gender), alongside informal conversations with other members before, after, or during breaks of, meetings during the period 2011-2013. These were complemented by, firstly, an analysis of the group's minutes and key documents from 2006 to 2013 to access aspects of the group's representations over time, and, secondly, an analysis of selected self-recordings by the group of its meetings over the period 2008 to 2011 in order to access previous interactions and processes. Minutes of the research team meetings were also utilised as a type of data.

The research process

The researchers approached the cohousing group to negotiate access in 2011. Access was gained by formally applying to the group, stating the research aims and outlining the methods of data collection, the initial project outline (Appendix B), the confidential use of the data, publication plans, and completing a research framework document that the group uses to evaluate participation in research (see Appendix C). Since a member of the research team was also a member of the group (the second author), this was

Modes of data analysis and representation

Analyses of the different data types were operationalised via combining process analysis (Langley, 1999), thematic interview analysis, as well as selected corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis techniques (Mautner, 2009).

In order to focus the analysis we concentrated on the five issues outlined above. The analysis was undertaken in the following ways. We reconstructed a temporal description of the group's main activities, tasks, events, forms of group agency, and formal decision-making groups from the interviews and documentary analyses as a first form of interactional process analysis (Langley, 1999). This resulted in two initial temporal sequences of the group that were inter-related.

Firstly, we developed a descriptive account of broad sequential 'periods' of the group. The end-points of each period are based on documented dates by which the group completed a particular important activity. While this is useful in representing some activities that were sequential in completion, other important activities spanned across these identified periods.

Secondly, we developed a temporal representation of the different forms of group agency and formal decision-making, based on the minutes available of these different sub-groups. Combining this with the 'period' description resulted in a broad representation of 'what' the group was doing, and 'who' (in terms of made explicit before and at the end of all interviews, giving research informants the option of limiting access to the data to the first author only. It was agreed that the group would have the opportunity to discuss and comment upon preliminary findings with the research team prior to submission for publication and that they (either individual members or the group) would be provided with a 'right of reply' to any publications arising from the research.

sub-groups) was involved in doing that during the different periods (see Appendix D).

Thirdly, and of particular relevance to this report, the five selected issues were traced in terms of:

- What coordination methods were employed in relation to each issue;
- What values were implicit or explicit in these issues and the methods used in relation to them;
- What were the believed and interpreted enablers and constraints of these methods; and
- What were the believed and interpreted effects of these methods upon these issues.

We then inductively developed the different aspects and dimensions of the issues from the data.

An initial version of this report was developed and shared with the group, with comments and suggestions invited. We also held a co-development workshop with the group in December 2017, where the report's main findings and recommendations were presented and discussed. This discussion was recorded and transcribed and subjected to further data analysis. The main findings were corroborated and a series of minor amendments were made in the light of these comments.

Strengths and limitations of the methodology and methods employed

The particular strength of the methodology is that having multiple types of data enables cross-checking between the data types to develop multi-valent and multi-perspectival accounts of the group's actions over time. This provides a synthetic and multi-layered overview of, and insight into, the group.

The primary limitation of the methodology is that the data, of course, is not fully representative, even of the five issues traced, and so there are undoubtedly further aspects and dimensions of these issues, and of

the group, that are not adequately accounted for in this analysis.

There is also the danger that having the input of an initial group member into the research design and selection of issues to research has influenced the direction of analysis. In order to mitigate this danger, the authors had to treat their own interpretations and assumptions as themselves a type of data to be critically scrutinised and reflected upon. We hope that we have been sufficiently transparent in accounting for our assumptions.

3. SELECTED KEY SOCIAL METHODS AND THEIR EFFECTS IN RELATION TO THE FIVE RESEARCHED ISSUES

In order to keep the length of the report manageable, the sub-sections below outline only a summary of the key co-ordination methods and aspects of the selected issues, as well as their observed and perceived effects.

The financial resources issue

Two key aspects of the financial resources of the group were:

• The financial budget for the group, which included the budget for group functioning, for

purchasing the land, and for building the property development

Managing the financial budget for the group

Aspects	Coordination methods	Values	Believed and interpreted enablers/constraints	Believed and interpreted effects
Generating the financial resources for the land purchase	Loan requirement from members	Instrumental rationality	Enabler – individual financial resources	Positive: made the group look 'serious' to institutions, helped fund the land purchase when it was available Negative: created a financial barrier to membership
Generating the financial resources for the property development	Loan from the bank	Instrumental rationality	Enabler – preparation work Constraints: dealing with the bank	Positive: working capital Negative: entailed further work and requirements
Managing the budget	Finance Director role	Instrumental rationality	Enabler (and constraint) - time, skills, knowledge and effort from members	Positive: budget control and met external requirements Negative: internal tension; administrative bottleneck

Table 3.1: Key methods and their effects relating to the financial resources issue

Design team	Instrumental rationality and value- rational	Enabler (and constraint) - time, skills, knowledge, information and effort from members	Positive: budget control Negative: internal tension			
Value Engineering	Instrumental rationality and value- rational	Enabler (and constraint) - time, skills, knowledge, information and effort from members	Positive: budget control Negative: internal conflict			

The methods employed in each of these aspects were largely instrumentally-focussed in that they were aimed at either raising money for the group or managing and reducing potential costs. Some of the methods for managing the financial budget also involved forms of value rationality, i.e., the design team and the value engineering process, which both involved the use of objectified values as criteria in making financial allocation decisions.

These methods were largely successful in that the projected financial cost of the infrastructure development of $\pm 2-3M$ at the inception of the group (in 2006) rose to approximately $\pm 8M$ by the end of the research project (2013), and the infrastructure was completed with a small leftover budget. A variety of

The human capacities issue

Early in the project, the human capacities to enable and make real the aim of a co-located community were identified as constituting a main risk. Human capacities are less tangible and more fluid than financial resources and are also much more open to being influenced by cultural, organizational and coordination practices and structures. The following overlapping aspects were some of those apparent from the data: these methods also entailed a variety of negative effects:

- Some instrumental, such as unanticipated costs or additional administrative or organizational work;
- Some value-rational in impact, such as the recognition that the mode of financing the project created a financial barrier to entry for those without capital or on a low income;
- Some may have led to group tension or conflict: for example, the use of a finance director role was reported to have led to interpersonal tension over the management of the budget. It was also reported that one item addressed in the value engineering process did lead to significant conflict.
- Generating a group project and affective motivation
- The executive capacity of the group and the dynamic tension between project executive tasks and member issues
- The group executive and governance capacity of the group and governance tensions
- The relationship maintenance capacity of the group

Aspects	Coordination methods	Values	Believed and interpreted enablers/ constraints	Believed and interpreted effects
Underlying rationale of involvement	Recruitment /induction to group and executive groups; development of coordination by executive groups	Instrumental rationality and value rationality (ethic of involvement)	Enabler/constraint: availability and motivation of members; time and energy to informally induct;	Impact: other members joined and active in executive groups Negative: some minor tension/conflict between older and newer members of the executive groups

Table 3.2: Key methods and their effects relating to the human capacities issue

Altogether, the various methods used in order to develop these different capacities, or to minimise the work being placed upon them, operated according to an underlying rationale. This underlying rationale involved trying to recruit members to the group, informally inducting members into the executive capacities of the group, and developing the coordination within and between the executive groups, and between the executive groups and the wider group. This involved instrumental rationality as well as the value of an ethic of involvement, and the value of positive group relationships. There were a number of dynamic tensions related to each of these capacities.

The simultaneous enabler and constraint to the internal induction and development of members was the availability and motivation of members, the time and skills to induct them into the work of the group and the development of the governance and coordination methods within the group. The impact of this was that a number of members did join and became active in the executive groups, increasing or rotating the capacity of the group. There were also some medium and minor tensions between members of the executive groups, as well as relationship and governance tensions within the group as different assumptions and principles added to and diversified the capacity of the group, and there were instances of executive member burnout and/or exit, as well as the exit and/or disaffection of general members.



Drawing a big map of the site

		_				_	_	_	_	_	_	2	011			_	_	_		_	_	_	_	_		
	Mo	onth	A	g	9	epte	emb	er		0	ctob	er		N	ove	mb	er	D	ece	mb	er		Ja	nua	ry	
Description	W	/c	22	29	5	12	19	26	3	10	17		31	7	14		28			19				16		
	wk	no	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Groundworks:																										
Relocate Demolition Material																										
Profile Terraces			A					СН	8	5								(1		3			
Profile/Rock Face to D																										
Concrete to																							Γ			
Foundations						A			CH		8	в		0	;		P	F		D1		D1		D	2	
Brickwork to						ĥ																D1			D2	
Foundations										СН		8				c		1	F							
Backfill																										
Below Slab Services																										
Concrete to Slab									A			СН			8			С				F			D1	
(Superstructures)																										

Excerpt from the project programme

The build organization in contrast to group relationships

One of the key tensions highlighted in the project formulation by the co-researcher from the group was 'the build versus the community'. Some people in the group, at least, perceived that a key tension appeared to be between the emphasis on the design, project management, construction and completion of the physical infrastructure (the property development) of the cohousing group, and the emphasis on a shared way of living. Two key aspects of this tension — the issues around the financial resources of the group and the issues around the human capacities of the group are outlined above. There were also a number of other component aspects and dimensions of the tension between the organization of the build and the group relationships:

- The conceptions of the build versus community tension
- Individual versus community
- Company versus buyer
- Executive expertise
- Intra-group distinctions

The over-riding constraint that appeared to help to cause this tension, and limit the capacity of the various co-ordination methods to address the tension, was the instrumental imperative to make timely decisions in order that the financial budget was not over-run.

The co-ordination methods used in relation to the aspects and dimensions of this tension involved a strong focus on instrumental rationality, as well as a range of different explicit values. Some of these core values related to the initial values incorporated into the group's vision – ecological sustainability and community living, as well as individual autonomy, a democratic ethos, and transparency. Three of the significant and overlapping methods utilised in this respect were:

a) Member involvement in an iterative design process, with account taken of the group's espoused values;

b) The attempt to structure inclusive and constructive discussions within and across the group; and

c) The generation and development of a process group to help with this tension.

Table 3.	3: Key methods and t	heir effects relatin	g to the build vers	us the community iss	ue

Aspects	Coordination methods	Values	Believed and interpreted enablers/ constraints	Believed and interpreted effects
Variables of budget, ecological sustainability, community, individual desires/needs	Iterative design process, including value engineering	Instrumental rationality and value- rationality (primarily ecological sustainability and community living)	Enabler/ constraint: experience; time, effort, knowledge and skills Constraint: complexity, abstract nature, deadlines	Positive: general agreement on design Negative: some resentment over some decisions/aspects of process

	1 -		1 /	· · ·
Making timely decisions contra being heard	Attempt to structure inclusive and constructive discussions	Instrumental rationality and value- rationality (primarily democratic ethos)	Enabler/ constraint: time, effort, knowledge and skills of facilitation, discussion and deliberation	Impact: generally constructive discussions; some fractious and divisive discussions
Task versus process	Process group	Instrumental rationality and value- rationality (primarily community living)	Enabler: conception of group process; time, effort, knowledge and skills Constraint: shared time, effort, knowledge and skills, different perspectives on and values for the group process	Positive: reported as a key positive feature of the group; shared conception of group processes for decision- making; internal articulation of issues Negative: tendency to protect project executive; tendency to try to resolve conflict rather than facilitate conflict resolution; sometimes seen as an imposition

The impacts of these methods included both positive impacts and also negative impacts – sometimes owing to the co-ordination method, or sometimes owing to the method not addressing the issue fully (often owing to the limited capacity to implement the method, or the multiple dimensions of the issue).The positive impacts included an observed general agreement on the design, despite some individual misgivings; the development of shared experience and conception of group processes for decision-making and the articulation of issues from within the group; and generally constructive discussions. While these methods were observed to enable a level of informed discussion and deliberation, they did not foreclose all disagreement or ensuing interpersonal conflict.



A communal meal after a planning workshop

The Common Meals issue

The most significant aspect related to this issue was an issue around the vegan basis of the common meals policy:

Aspects	Coordination methods	Values	Believed and interpreted enablers/ constraints	Believed and interpreted effects
Divisiveness over vegan aspect of policy for common house meals - including in meals group and wider membership	Process group facilitation of meals group and of discussion at GMs Attempt to agree common value-rational way forward	Value rationality conflict - individual freedom contra collective agreement on shared foodstuffs; inclusivity disputed; ecological sustainability disputed	Enabler/ constraint: time, energy, skills and knowledge of facilitation; constructive involvement of members	Impact: a policy was eventually agreed, but some reported dissatisfaction with the practice of some members in flouting the letter and spirit of the policy; policy did not work for all and would require some revision; vegans reported feeling demonised; omnivores were reported as feeling judged Negative: significant strain on process group members and wider membership

Table 3.4: Key methods and their effects relating to the common meals issue

The vegan issue in relation to the common meals was a result of divergent and conflicting assent to, and interpretation of, different value-rationalities (veganism, vegetarianism, omnivorism, ecological sustainability, autonomy, and inclusivity). The initial coordination method of a common meals policy was seen as insufficient in forestalling significant later conflict around the policy and its practice. This conflict was then addressed via the process group and the meals group being involved in a series of facilitated discussions on the policy and its practice. While reported as an excruciating process, this process did result in an agreed policy that informed practice, although there remained some division over this issue.



From a social standards workshop

The conduct of group relationships issue

There were a number of interconnected aspects and issues around the conduct of group relationships. These included:

- Perceptions of 'bad behaviour'
- The relationship between the individual and the group
- The conduct of meetings
- Governance relations and relationships, including the evolution of governance structures and procedures

Aspects	Coordination methods	Values	Believed and interpreted enablers/ constraints	Believed and interpreted effects
Perceptions of bad behaviour	General strategy to engender constructive conversations where people felt heard, and to avoid differences becoming an interpersonal conflict	Value- rational (moral respect and community)	Enabler/constraint: energy, time, skills and knowledge for constructive discussion	Impact: Broadly effective, although some interpersonal tensions and conflicts

Table 3.5: Key methods and their effects relating to the conduct of group relationships issue

Initial group relation to vision, 'no revisiting policies' policy, and five ringfenced policies	The 'no revisiting policies' policy was revisited and a stronger version was agreed by the wider group	Instrumental rationality and value rationality (democratic and egalitarian ethos)	Enabler/constraint: energy, time, skills and knowledge to revisit policy	Impact: policy appeared to be accepted
	Plan to revisit vision	Instrumental rationality and value rationality		Occurred after end of period studied
	Rotation of initial and long-term executive members in executive groups over time	Value rationality (democratic and egalitarian ethos)		Impact: appeared to lessen perception of special status of long-term executive members
The conduct of meetings	Set of methods around policy and practice, developed over time	Value- rationality (inclusive and democratic ethos) and instrumental rationality (ability to make decisions)	Enabler/ constraint: time, energy, skills and knowledge and resources to practice, articulate, review, reflect upon and adapt consensus decision- making process	Impact: observed/ reported to help facilitate following of process; did not prevent all issues from occurring
Evolution of governance structures and procedures	Set of methods around policy, structures and practice, developed over time	Value- rational (inclusive and democratic ethos, autonomous workgroups) and instrumental rationality	Enabler/ constraint: time, energy, skills and knowledge to make explicit delegation and activities	Impact: structures broadly effective; Negative: a series of issues and tensions potentially contributed to the exhaustion of some key members

The general strategy to address the varied perceptions of 'bad behaviour' was to try to engender constructive conversations, where people felt heard, and to avoid differences becoming interpersonal conflict. The implicit value-rational aim of moral respect from the espoused value of neighbourly community supplemented that of the instrumental aim to avoid interpersonal conflict.

The group used a number of methods in relation to the different dimensions of the relationship between the individual and the group. In particular, in relation to some of the perceived differences between the initial group and the general membership, the 'no revisiting policies' policy was revisited; it was agreed to revisit the vision, and there was some rotation of members from the executive positions over time. These methods reflected the tension between the instrumental rationality that led to an executive group and the democratic and egalitarian ethos of the group. These methods appeared to help mitigate and lessen some of the perceptions of unequal power and status.

The two most significant methods in relation to the conduct of group relationships were probably the set of methods related to the conduct of meetings, and the evolution of the governance relations and relationships. Both sets of methods involved instances of different ways to marry instrumental rationality with the democratic and egalitarian ethos of the group. The vision, as a particular element of the governance relations, also involved the explicit values of ecological sustainability and a neighbourly community.

The set of meeting conduct methods was observed to be, and generally considered, broadly effective. While they did not fully preclude personalised conflict, they made it less likely, and enabled some such conflicts to be addressed constructively. The evolution of the governance structures was not a top-down process, and it involved variable direction and input from different component sub-groups within the broad group. In terms of the overall impact of the evolutions in governance, it appeared as if the group largely assented to the legitimacy of the governance structure.

Diagnosis of the role of values in the co-ordination of intentional self-transformation

At least two general lessons can be generated from the above analyses – firstly, the role of values in the action of groups attempting intentional self-transformation, and secondly, an overview of the different potential sources of tension that groups attempting intentional self-transformation can experience.

End-values appear to be necessary conditions for intentional self-transformation – they provide the 'pull' factor that motivates self-transformational action and give it a target at which to aim. In this group's case, the explicit end-values were ecological sustainability and neighbourly community. Their location in the formal governance document of the group's vision entailed:

- Giving them a symbolic power;
- Them becoming part of the formal context of the group in that the vision became a tool for evaluating potential blocks⁸;
- The vision becoming an artefact created by the initial group, which had a differing social relation to later members, which then resulted in the vision becoming an object for reflection

and potential manipulation later on in the group's history.

In other words, through end-values becoming articulated and institutionalised (in varying ways), they become parts of mundane tools and symbols for channelling action. This can result in a number of different potential tensions. Firstly, an end-value (for example, of neighbourly community) may not result in an experience of neighbourly living that matches with the end-value that the agent imagined. Alternatively, the end-value of 'neighbourly community' may result in a discourse of community, which may become a tool - a normative language of community, for example that is negatively experienced by some members. Alternatively, the end-value of community may not be rendered in a project management tool that can measure and objectify features of communal living when making decisions on the design of the physical infrastructure (the land and property development), whereas the end-values of ecological sustainability may be more easily measured via proxies and therefore factored into design decisions. Alternatively, the end-

⁸ In consensus decision-making, a 'block' is when a member objects to a proposal. A proposal cannot be passed if it is blocked, although in different versions of consensus

decision-making there are different criteria or processes to validate a block.

value of community may come into tension with emotional or habitual attachments to particular types of social practice (e.g., practices predicated on individual autonomy).

A further type of value-rationality evident in the analyses is that related to implicitly valued modes of conduct. This type of implicit valuing was evident in the issues around right conduct that showed the large number of different implicit values ascribed to by members of the group. These implicit values interrelate with end-values in that they are the source from which explicit values may become articulated and given symbolic precedence; for example, the explicit value of 'community' was a combination of implicit belonging, identity, values of mutuality, or camaraderie, amongst others. In many instances, however, these implicit values were felt as lacking - for example in the instances recounted as 'bad behaviour' by members.

In the group, it was striking that end-values were regularly linked to instrumental rationality, in that there was significant evidence of regular consideration of means. Indeed, many members noted that the instrumental competence of the group was valued by many members, which is an instance where a form of implicit valuing shades into a form of explicit endvalue. Importantly, in many instances, instrumental rationality was channelled via recourse to end-values, in that end-values were explicitly considered and used to decide between alternative means. On the other hand, the 'build versus community' tension also indicates that some members experienced the instrumental goal of the group's physical infrastructure (the property development) as having negatively affected their feeling of community.

This identification of the key roles of end-values, of the implicitly valued modes of conduct, and of instrumental rationality leads to the identification of the potential sources and dynamics of tension in intentionally self-transformational groups, illustrated in Figure 3.1 and represented in abstract form in Figure 3.2.








Some of the particular dynamics highlighted in Figure 3.2 include:

- The need for concrete action in order to try and achieve the desired end-value that motivates self-transformational action generally involves the identification of some intermediate goals (in this case, the construction of the group's physical infrastructure (the purchase of land and the property development)). The instrumental focus on achieving this intermediate goal can potentially have negative effects on achieving the desired endvalue.
- End-values tend to be abstract, and tend to involve symbolic and imaginative power. As abstract concepts they refer to reality, but their nature (symbolic and abstract) is of a different form to the types of physical and sensual experience out of which they have been formulated. They also tend to be expressed in a universal format, whereas their applicability to different situations can be context-dependent. The meaning of the endvalues that motivate self-transformational action is often created in distinction from perceptions of the external environment.
- The means to achieve the intermediate goals involves instrumental rationality in calculating and evaluating different courses of action. These instrumental calculations may obscure value-rational considerations.
- The explicit end-values, valued modes of conduct, implicit values, emotions and habits of both members and the group develop over time, and are affected by the internal and external context.
- The mode of execution and the personnel accorded the instrumentally rational

responsibility for executing action (in this case, an executive group) creates both a real and a perceived difference in status between members – as do the financial and human capacities of different members and how they are co-ordinated.

- The principles and practice of co-ordination within the group (in this case, delegated authority and autonomous task-focussed groups interacting with dialogic coordination and the executive groups) are adapted and developed over time in response to a variety of internal and external factors.
- The principles, practice and artefacts of the governance of the group (in this case, principles of democratic and inclusive governance, practice of meetings, and governance artefacts, including the vision and articles and memorandum of association) are also adapted and developed over time in response to a variety of internal and external factors.
- The relations and relationships between the group and group members are variously affected by the developing governance principles, practice and artefacts, as well as by the co-ordinating principles and methods.
- External parties can be both an aid to or a drain on the capacities of the group (including financial and human capacities).
- The external legal, political and economic environment has significant impact on the relative capacity of the group.



Part of the 'project river highlights, lowlights and milestones' - part of a community building workshop

4. CONCLUSION - GENERAL IMPLICATIONS FOR GROUPS INTERESTED IN INTENTIONAL SELF-TRANSFORMATION

So far, we have outlined our findings about how coordination methods operated in relation to the five selected issues in Greenfields Cohousing, and inferred from them some key potential sources and dynamics of tensions that may be useful for other groups interested in intentional self-transformation.

In this concluding section, we further draw out some implications from these analyses for groups interested in intentional self-transformation. These implications are presented according to, firstly, concerns with negotiating tensions between differing motivations for action, and secondly, instrumental concerns.

In each case the issue or purpose of action is outlined, as is the issue of why it matters, and potential ways of addressing them are outlined, with an indication of the enablers and constraints for each option, as well as their potential advantages and disadvantages.

Implications for navigating and negotiating tensions in types of intentionally selftransformational action

	Potential tension between espoused end-values, intermediate aims, means, implicit values, and governance structure and practices.
Why it matters	Intermediate aims are necessary in order to move towards realising the espoused end-values, but can end up being substituted for the end-values, or they can come into tension with implicit values.
Potential ways of addre	ssing
Having an engaging, ho	listic and robust statement of end-values (or 'vision')
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to discuss and articulate values, how they relate to each other, and to craft an engaging distillation of them.
Advantages/disadvanta	ges Advantages – a stable referent for the group; can generate or channel affective motivation.
	Disadvantages – may not dispel ambiguity around purpose;

way that enables decisions t	to be made).
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to discuss and articulate whether and how values are consistent with decisions.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages – creates legitimacy for decisions.
	Disadvantages – values are not static.
	e intermediate aims and plans for achieving them, with a set whether they help to realise the end-values
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to discuss and articulate intermediate aims and plans, and to re-evaluate them.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: stability of a plan enables concerted action; setting a future time for evaluation potentially allows for a re-evaluation of whether the intermediate aims and plans help realise the end-values.
	Disadvantages: if there are serious side-effects of the intermediate aims and plan, then they will require adjustment, which could lead to demoralisation.
Have informal and formal di	scussion methods to help identify and articulate tensions
(e.g., a 'process group'; opp	ortunities for informal discussion).
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to discuss and articulate tensions; time, energy and resources to address tensions.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: may allow for some iterative alteration of intermediate aims, plans and processes, strengthening rather than destabilising them.
	Disadvantages: some tensions may be inevitable or may not be able to be addressed; danger that the necessary stability of the intermediate aims, plans and processes is undermined, leading to demoralisation.
_	
Ensure governance structure modes of conduct, as well a	e aligns with both the espoused end-values and the valued s enabling action
(e.g., forms of consensus de groups).	cision-making with the fall-back of a vote for egalitarian
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to discuss and articulate

	Constraints: the external environment may favour or impose elements of governance structures that are not consistent with the end-values or valued modes of conduct of the group.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: lends legitimacy to the group. Disadvantages: as the size, make-up, plans and processes of the group change, the governance structures need to be adapted in order that they can continue to enable action.

Espoused end-values are ideals, and a group can only ever achieve intermediate aims that are in pursuit of, but always fall short of, these ideals. There are also likely to be affective and implicit values that become apparent during action. These intermediate aims and the means used to achieve them need some solidity, but they, and the means used to achieve them, need to be open to re-interpretation and re-prioritisation, particularly when they are resulting in counterproductive effects.

The key tensions that occur (listed above) can be partially navigated or negotiated by having methods that help the group to recognise and address the drivers behind these tensions. A key method for this is dialogic processes that reflect upon the values, intermediate aims, means, progress and capacity of the group, and are linked to agreed-upon governance methods for instrumental action.

It is important for the espoused values to be used in making instrumental decisions, and to be seen to be used, in order for the group to remain legitimate in the eyes of its members.

A focus on achieving the explicit values that define the group is important in generating affective motivation, but the group also needs to address emergent concerns. The side-effect of some values, aims, or means becoming ossified or over-dominating implies that the group needs to periodically re-explore its motivations, experiences, structure, and modes of working.

Issue	Potential tensions between roles, different informal and formal status of members, and between the group and members.
Why it matters	Perceived and actual differences in status can easily lead to interpersonal conflict and to division or exit.
Potential ways of addressing Circulate and rotate roles be	
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to articulate roles, responsibilities and necessary capacities, and to develop the human capacity for rotation of roles.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: creates shared and distributed knowledge and capacities.

	Disadvantages: requires time, effort and distributed involvement; there are significant practical advantages to having continuity in some key roles.
Minimise the number and e	xtent of formal status differences between members
Enablers/constraints	Enablers: shared knowledge and capacities, distributed motivation.
	Constraints: efficiencies of specialisation. Time and effort required to share knowledge and capacities. Unevenly distributed motivation.
Advantages/disadvantages	
Minimise the number and e	xtent of informal status differences between members
Enablers/constraints	Enablers: recognition of different forms of contribution.
	Constraints: it is probably neither desirable nor possible to remove all status differences.
Advantages/disadvantages	
Manage the relations betwe	en the group and members
(e.g.,a 'weeds and knots' po them)	licy; enable members to leave without unduly penalising
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to anticipate potential tensions between the group and its members, and also to develop and implement policies and practices to address or resolve them.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: lessens the tension between the collective and the individual.
	Disadvantage: all groups can be experienced as exerting a form of normative pressure, even through group processes that are intended to resolve it (e.g., open discussion), so this tension cannot be completely removed.

There is a need to recognise and manage the multidimensional tension between the executive elements of the group, the formal decision-making body, the group and the individual members, in particular the perceived and actual power and status of members with executive roles contra the general membership. Actual and perceived differences in status need to be managed in order for them not to become divisions. The question of the governance of self-transformation groups is an ongoing issue. It may help relieve governance and relationship tensions to consider the principles underlying governance, and how it operates in practice (in particular, it could be useful to recognise when there is an incongruence between the legal status or structure of the group and the values and aims of the group in order to manage this tension).

Instrumental implications

Instrumental aim	Develop the foresight of the group.
Why it matters	Developing the foresight of the group – particularly in relation to necessary upcoming decisions, potential resources and constraints, may help groups with time- specific constraints (especially financial ones) to prepare for these decisions in advance and thereby deter or minimise tension.
Potential means	
Iterative group discussion, re	eflection and investigation
	ction research; collaborative inquiry; reading groups;
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to iteratively discuss, reflect and investigate issues and views.
	Constraint: Sometimes a group may be disinclined to learn from external sources, or be too influenced by external sources.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Can foster imagination and shared consciousness and generate insight, creativity and motivation.
	Disadvantages: Discussion and reflection need to be allied to action, but can sometimes be perceived to, or can actually, disable action.
Communicating with other s	imilar and established groups
	nvolved in networks, via visits, invited talks/workshops etc.).
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to engage with external parties. Previous or existing experience, contacts or networks.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Can develop aims, plans and awareness of potential issues.
	Disadvantages: May be misled by external sources. Members involved in communicating with external parties may find it difficult to translate information or issues to the group, or find that it may entail status differences with other members.

Investigating the external environment with regard to resources and external decision processes

(e.g., contacting funding bodies; liaising with local or national government; developing links with other local groups).

	<i>.</i> , <i>.</i> ,
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to engage with external parties. Previous or existing experience, contacts or networks.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Can develop awareness of potential issues. May access external resources to aid with group activities. Can help with gaining approval from external bodies.
	Disadvantages: May be misled by external sources. Members involved in communicating with external parties may find it difficult to translate information or issues to the group, or find that it may entail status differences with other members. External resources may come with conditions that add to group workload.

Developing the foresight of the group – particularly in relation to necessary upcoming decisions - may help groups with time-specific constraints (especially financial ones) to prepare for these decisions in advance and thereby forestall or minimise tension.

Developing communication networks with other similar and established groups can help to develop a sense of what is involved and the foresight of the group (in particular about practices or situations to copy or to avoid), as well as help with group relationships. Exploring and developing relationships with external parties can help gain resources from the external environment (e.g., applying for and being awarded grants) and also help in easing decisions required from external parties (e.g., gaining planning permission, gaining loan finance). The time and energy costs of these networks and relationships should also be recognised and managed in relation to their contribution to espoused values and intermediate goals, and how they affect implicit and affective values.

Instrumental aim	Develop human capacities – executive capacities; governance and group executive capacities; and relationship development and maintenance capacities.
Why it matters	The human capacities of any group are that entity which enables sustained action.
Potential means	
Self-division and alloca parts of the group	tion of reciprocal roles and responsibilities in dialogue with other
(e.g., a sub-group to di and agree with other s	scuss their remit and roles and then iteratively discuss, develop ub-groups).

Enablers/constraints	Enablers: Agreement on aims and plans. Foresight about means and processes for action. Foresight about capacities needed for action.
	Constraints: Potential for members or sub-groups to attach themselves to roles, responsibilities or plans.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: A degree of specialisation helps develop and enable individuals' and the group's capacities. Involvement in the generation of roles and responsibilities can aid motivation. Discussion of roles and responsibilities across the group can lead to shared consciousness and purpose. The effectiveness of specialisation can be augmented by the complementarity of skills and resources.
	Disadvantages: Specialisation can lead to conflict between different roles. Specialisation and the development of individual capacities can lead to status differences. As the focus for action changes, or the group changes, specific skills or abilities become less relevant, and others become more relevant. Involvement in the generation of roles and responsibilities may lead to (or be seen to lead to) self- serving roles, processes or policies. Specialisation may lead to the group surrendering responsibility to a sub-group for some issue (or a sub-group assuming responsibility for some issue), and create an authority-dependency psychodynamic.
Circulate and rotate roles	
Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to articulate roles,
	responsibilities and necessary capacities, and to develop the human capacity for the rotation of roles.
Advantages/disadvantages	
Advantages/disadvantages	human capacity for the rotation of roles. Advantages: Creates shared and distributed knowledge and capacities. Potentially expands the range and depth of resources available to the group. Helps alleviate the
Advantages/disadvantages	 human capacity for the rotation of roles. Advantages: Creates shared and distributed knowledge and capacities. Potentially expands the range and depth of resources available to the group. Helps alleviate the disadvantages of specialisation. Disadvantages: Requires time, effort and distributed involvement from both incumbent and incoming role-holders to convert knowledge, experience and responsibility. There are advantages to having continuity in some key roles (memory, perspective, context, contacts)
Advantages/disadvantages	human capacity for the rotation of roles. Advantages: Creates shared and distributed knowledge and capacities. Potentially expands the range and depth of resources available to the group. Helps alleviate the disadvantages of specialisation. Disadvantages: Requires time, effort and distributed involvement from both incumbent and incoming role- holders to convert knowledge, experience and responsibility. There are advantages to having continuity in some key roles (memory, perspective, context, contacts) that may be lost.

Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Enables co-ordination.
	Auvantages. Litables co-orumation.
	Disadvantages: Modes of co-ordination may become ossified or may create side-effects.
Develop methods for transp	parently sharing progress and difficulties
Enablers/constraints	Enablers: Agreement on aims and plans. Foresight about means and processes for action. Foresight about capacities needed for action.
	Constraints: Potential for members or sub-groups to attach themselves to roles, responsibilities or plans. Not all work, progress or difficulties can be made transparent.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Enables co-ordination between sub-groups. Enables financial and human capacities to be directed at priority issues.
	Disadvantages: Time, energy and resources required for communication. Reported progress or difficulties can be felt as normative pressure or as expressing incompetence. Potential competition or tension between sub-groups.
Require a minimum of effor in forms of effort and capac	t as a condition of membership, but accommodate difference ity
	<u>ity</u>
in forms of effort and capac	<u>ity</u>
in forms of effort and capac (e.g., a minimum workload o	ity contribution) Enablers: Agreement on aims and plans. Foresight about means and processes for action. Foresight about capacities needed for action. Contribution seen in aggregate form. A matching of human capacities and sensibilities with required actions. Recognition of legitimate reasons for lesser
in forms of effort and capac (e.g., a minimum workload o	ity contribution) Enablers: Agreement on aims and plans. Foresight about means and processes for action. Foresight about capacities needed for action. Contribution seen in aggregate form. A matching of human capacities and sensibilities with required actions. Recognition of legitimate reasons for lesser contribution. Constraints: Not all work, progress or difficulties can be

Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources (both financial and human) to investigate and liaise with external expertise.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Lessens the requirement for the group to have all expertise internalised.
	Disadvantage: Potential for dependency relationship with external expertise or for external expertise to have influence beyond their remit. Members involved in communicating with external parties (or the external parties themselves) may find it difficult to translate information or issues to the group, or the procedure may entail status differences with other members.

'We did sort of know we were naïve and didn't know what we were doing, because we employed a land agent at one point on the basis that maybe we're not getting anywhere because we're amateurs at this game. ... it was very useful. In fact, had we not employed the agent we might have given up before we found a site because he said "No way; don't give up in a recession; no, no, no. ... everything has just changed. You're a cash buyer in a falling market."'

Instrumental aim	Develop and manage financial capacities.
Why it matters	While human capacities are required for concerted action, financial resources are necessary for many enabling and required activities and resources in order to enable that concerted action.
Potential means	
Self-generate a pool of fir	nancial resources
Enablers/constraints	Enablers: Members with financial resources.
	Constraints: Some potential members may not have enough financial resources.
Advantages/ disadvantages	Advantages: May help generate motivation. May help generate shared consciousness.
	Disadvantages: May be seen as a disincentive to joining. May create a financial barrier to joining.
Fund-raising	
(e.g., charity fundraising,	etc.)

Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and resources to fundraise.				
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: May help generate motivation. May help generate shared consciousness. May generate external support and/ or awareness.				
	Disadvantages: May detract from purpose. May be seen as at odds with the aims or purpose of the group.				
	substitute for financial resources				
Enablers/constraints	Transparent prioritisation of forms of human capacities and associated activities. Time and effort to calculate and monitor effort and account for it.				
Advantages/	Advantages: widens potential membership of group.				
disadvantages	Disadvantages: May lead to differences (or perceived differences) in status. May result in external tax and/or administrative requirements.				
Use some financial resource	s to pay for human capacities				
	Financial resources. Time and effort to calculate and				
Enablers/constraints	monitor effort and pay for it. Transparent prioritisation of forms of human capacities and associated activities.				
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: May enable action through securing some human capacities.				
	Disadvantages: May result in actual or perceived status differences. May result in external tax and/or administrative requirements.				
Raise loan finance					
Enablers/constraints	Requires collateral/assets to raise loan.				
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: May enable action through securing some resources.				
	Disadvantages: May result in actual or perceived status differences. May result in external administrative requirements. Repayment of loan may affect members or the whole group.				
Develop an agreed financial	management system				
Develop an agreed financial (e.g., potentially have a pers budgets for set activities or	son or group keep accounts and records; potentially have				

Enablers/constraints	Time, energy and capacities for recording, monitoring and controlling income and expenditure.
Advantages/disadvantages	Advantages: Enables finances to be transparent. Disadvantages: Financial roles may be perceived by others as constraining or authoritarian. Accounting methods may artificially favour certain types of action or disfavour other types of action that are relevant for the group's purpose and/or aims.

Conclusion

In this report we have endeavoured to address the question of how groups intending to transform themselves can best address the tension between the means and the ends of action. In order to do so we have provided analyses of:

- How co-ordination methods operated in relation to the five selected issues in Greenfields Cohousing
- Key potential sources and dynamics of internal tensions, in groups intending to transform themselves

Furthermore, in this concluding section, we have drawn out some implications from these analyses for groups interested in intentional self-transformation, focusing on options for negotiating the tensions between differing motivations for action.

We hope that these analyses and the implications that we have drawn from them offer useful stimulations and provocations for the organization of other intentionally self-transforming groups.



Training session in consensus decision-making



'What are the non-negotiables?' - early discussion

5. REFERENCES

- Altus D. (1997) Cohousing: A Contemporary Approach to Housing Ourselves (Book Review). *Utopian Studies* 8: 203.
- Blackler F. and Regan S. (2009) Intentionality, Agency, Change: Practice Theory and Management. *Management Learning* 40: 161-176.
- Durante C. (2011) Active Citizenship in Italian Cohousing: A Preliminary Reflection. *Everyday Life in the Segmented City*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 307-333.
- Edwards A. (2005) Let's get beyond community and practice: the many meanings of learning by participating. *The Curriculum Journal* 16: 49-65.
- Engeström Y. (1987) Learning by expanding: an activity-theoretical approach to developmental research, Helsinki: Orienta-Konsultit.
- Engeström Y. (1999) Expansive Visibilization of Work: An Activity-Theoretical Perspective. Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW) 8: 63-93.
- Engeström Y. and Blackler F. (2005) On the Life of the Object. *Organization* 12: 307-330.
- Fromm D. (1991) Collaborative Communities: cohousing central living and other forms of housing with shared facilities. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Langley A. (1999) Strategies for theorizing from process data. *Academy of Management Review* 24: 691-710.
- Mautner G. (2009) Checks and balances: how corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA. In: Wodak R. and Meyer M. (eds) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis.* 2 ed. London: Sage, 122-143.
- McCamant and Durrett. (2009) Cohousing Communities. Available at:

http://www.mccamantdurrett.com/characteristics.cfm.

- McCamant K., Durrett C. and Hertzman E. (1994) Cohousing: a contemporary approach to housing ourselves.Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.
- Sargisson L. (2010) Co-housing: a utopian property alternative? *Political Studies Association Annual Conference*. Edinburgh.
- Sargisson L. (2011) Cohousing evolution in Scandinavia and the USA. In: Bunker S, Coates C, Field M, et al. (eds) Cohousing in Britain: a diggers and dreamers review. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 23-42.
- Sargisson L. (2012) Second-Wave Cohousing: A Modern Utopia? *Utopian Studies* 23: 28-56.
- Scott Hanson C. and Scott Hanson K. (2005) *The Cohousing Handbook: building a place for community*.Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
- The Cohousing Association of the United States. (2011) What are the 6 Defining Characteristics of Cohousing? Available at:

http://www.cohousing.org/six_characterist ics.

- Vestbro D. U. (2000) From collective housing to cohousing - A summary of research. *Journal of architectural and planning research* 17.
- Wann D. (2005) Reinventing Community: stories from the walkways of cohousing. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Weber M. (1978) *Economy and Society: an outline* of interpretive sociology.Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Williams J. (2005) Designing Neighbourhoods for Social Interaction: The Case of Cohousing. Journal of Urban Design 10: 195-227.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: an overview of cohousing

Cohousing has been summarily described as an alternative means for organizing domestic living arrangements (Sargisson, 2010) involving forms of both private and shared property. Characteristically, cohousing communities generally involve private control (often via ownership, or leasehold status) of individual or family properties clustered around common and shared spaces and facilities that are collectively owned, maintained and organized. To understand cohousing, it is useful to start with McCamant and Durrett (1994), who coined the phrase 'cohousing'. Based on their study of pre-existing Danish housing practices they developed a general descriptive model of cohousing as involving the following common characteristics:

- A participatory process members organize, and participate in, the planning and design process and realisation of the physical neighbourhood;
- Intentional neighbourhood design the physical design encourages a sense of community;
- Extensive common facilities common spaces and amenities are designed for daily use, to supplement private living areas;
- Complete resident management residents manage the development, making decisions of common concern at community meetings (McCamant et al., 1994);
- 5. A non-hierarchical structure and decisionmaking - while there are leadership roles or positions, responsibility for decisions is shared by the adult members;
- Separate income structures. There is no shared community economy (see McCamant and Durrett, 2009; The Cohousing Association of the United States, 2011).

This characterisation of cohousing is doubly symbolic. Firstly, it was an endeavour to represent the broad defining characteristics of an already existing practice (which McCamant and Durrett recognised had different inflections and forms). Secondly, this 'distilling' of the characteristics of cohousing was presented alongside a representation of how to go about developing a group that operated according to the social characteristics of cohousing and that developed a physical neighbourhood built along the physical characteristics of cohousing. Moreover, the combination of this abstraction of the characteristics of cohousing alongside the guides to practical action were highly influential in the establishment and spread of cohousing groups and communities in the US and Canada (alongside the facilitative and architectural work of McCamant and Durrett and others doing similar work on housing and community forms(e.g., Fromm, 1991; Scott Hanson and Scott Hanson, 2005; Wann, 2005). This characterisation, thus, is bound up in what has been termed the 'second wave' of cohousing (Williams, 2005; Durante, 2011), namely, cohousing in North America (and subsequently in the UK)⁹. Williams (2005: 202) indicates the influential role of the characterisation of cohousing in her observation that 'many new housing developments in the Netherlands are now built with reference to cohousing principles (Brenton 1998, Meltzer 2001). Thus, cohousing (originally a grass-roots phenomenon) has now been adopted into the mainstream and is delivered through top-down as well as bottom-up processes''' (p. 202).

Southern Europe. There are at least 12 different national cohousing associations or networks, almost all of which, however, are in 'developed' countries¹⁰¹¹.

cohousing The academic literature on has distinguished it from other property and communal arrangements by pointing to a number of features, while recognizing that cohousing itself is not a strictly defined set of practices, as well as that the practices of cohousing have both changed and evolved over time and differentially adapted in different been geographical locations. Dick Urban Vestbro has detailed some of the strands of Northern European housing practices, including the Danish form of bofaellesskab - which Vestbro (2000: 165) describes as a 'self-work' form of collective housing with typically low-rise housing that grew out of a movement to create a stronger sense of community. It was this Danish practice which was then studied and interpreted by McCamant and Durrett, who coined the phrase 'cohousing' as a term to encapsulate this particular housing practice.

Different authors have also interpreted the guiding values of these different waves as having similarities and dissimilarities. The first wave of cohousing is generally understood as having communitarian values in Denmark and the Netherlands, and as also having feminist values in Sweden. The communitarian strand is perceived to be based in the belief that 'cities created isolation and alienation and that urban housing played a causal role in this. They sought to restore "disintegrating" community values, better families, The 'first wave' of cohousing, however, originated separately, and with differences, in Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden a number of decades ago (although there have been experiments in housing design with collective elements in other countries). Cohousing has since been adopted, in various forms, across the world, and particularly in Northern Europe, the US and Canada (Vestbro, 2000; Altus, 1997; McCamant et al., 1994). Durante (2011) also identifies a 'third wave' of cohousing, with strands of the practice being explored and developed in Australasia and in

and to create "villages" in an urban context' (Sargisson 2010: 2). An example of how they tried to operationalise this idea is that many of these cohousing groups have regular common meals together. The feminist strand is perceived to be based on a motivation 'to reduce the burden of housework for women and improve the lives of working parents and their children' (Williams 2005: 201). This is operationalised by collectivising some aspects of domestic work (by reducing the size and facilities in the private dwellings) and making the work in the common areas collective by rotating it between groups and involving both genders in such work-groups.

The second wave of cohousing is generally perceived to continue the communitarian strand and to have lost much of the explicit feminist strand. Sargisson (2011; Sargisson, 2012) questions whether the second wave of cohousing has the socially progressive potential of feminist-inspired cohousing or egalitarian intentional communities, and whether such cohousing is experienced as more of a lifestyle choice or in terms of personal benefit, rather than a wider social movement. In contrast, Williams (2005: 202) interprets the third wave of cohousing as proliferating beyond just a communitarian orientation to variously include issues such as 'accessibility and affordability, green architecture and ecological habitation, [as well as] adaptability and responsiveness to suit regional and cultural differences.'

⁹Their book is commonly referenced. It is listed as a reference book, if not cited, by at least seven different national cohousing associations, and, as can be seen in the extract above, is very closely related to the definition of cohousing as represented by The Cohousing Association of the United States.

¹⁰The only country not generally understood under the old classification of the 'First World' that was found to have a

Cohousing Association was the Czech Republic, which is not, however, a country without development.

¹¹ Further evidence of the situated position of the McCamant and Durrett book in the different 'waves' of cohousing is that only one Northern European cohousing association (from the Netherlands) listed the book as a reference, and that was because it reproduced the recommended list of cohousing books from the UK Cohousing Network.

APPENDIX B: initial project outline

Interpreting values in dialogic processes of mutual coordination $1^{\rm st}$ Jan 2011 – $31^{\rm st}$ Dec 2013

The intellectual purpose of this proposed research is to explore the inter-relation and conflict between value rationality (a focus on ends) and instrumental rationality (a focus on means) (Weber 1978) in the evolving coordination and organization of a mutual cohousing initiative on the outskirts of ..., with a focus on the role of the operationalisation and expression of values in their activities (i.e., what the organisation does in the light of what its aspirations were/are). The practical purpose is to contribute to the practical reflection of mutual and cooperative housing groups, and the policy debates on mutualisation and the 'Big Society'.

Rationale:

While there are bodies of work that are interested in values as a factor in social life (e.g., Rokeach 1973, Hofstede 1998), and in the role of competing values in instrumental organizations (e.g., Quinn's competing values framework), there has been little substantive work that traces the practice of value rationality and instrumental rationality in social action and coordination from an interpretivist and social practice perspective (that is, which views values as being embedded within, and constructed as part of, action).

Cohousing, which involves an alternative means for organising domestic living arrangements, often involving forms of shared property (Sargisson 2010), can be interpreted as an example of a contemporary initiative to practice value rationality. In ... Cohousing, the values of ecological sustainability and communal living have been inscribed as the founding end-values of the initiative, and a commitment to the use of dialogue within the initiative is operationalised in monthly member general meetings, using consensual decision making and an online member space.

A co-housing initiative is chosen as an apposite site for exploratory analyses, since a number of the features of traditional organizations are relatively absent – a formal imposed hierarchy, or economic power inscribed in positions and roles (all members have an equal monetary investment and there are no disparities in recompense for different roles). Instead we expect to see a greater emphasis on other methods of co-ordination and conflict management (or avoidance). As such, the exploration of the interrelation and conflict between instrumental rationality and value rationality in this context is likely to provide new insights and evidence on the interplay and contestation of different value sets.

The mapping and theorization of these features in this case will enable the comparative exploration of them in other, more traditional, organizational forms in future research. The current UK government has proclaimed an interest in transferring public services to mutual or cooperative status, and they consider cohousing as an exemplar of mutuality and localism in their vision of a 'big society' (Conservative Party 2008). In this situation, the conflict between end-values and instrumental rationality in the context of dialogic processes of organizing takes on added policy relevance.

Methodology

This project entails a series of interdisciplinary perspectives and methods, particularly from critical organizational research and the management science field of problem-structuring methods. One of the applicants is also a founding and acting company director of both the Greenfields Cohousing organisation and the UK Cohousing Network, which will facilitate access to the community initiative, members and data, as well as national policy networks. Values are the core conceptual variable in this research. There are alternative theoretical positions on values in the literature. On the one hand, values are naturalistically referred to as 'values-as-things' that people hold (either explicitly or implicitly) and that shape (or don't shape) social action. On the other hand, what are referred to as values can be conceptualised as emergent orientations towards phenomena in particular circumstances – that is, 'values-in-action' are understood as particular emotional, affective, practical, ethical or moral dispositions that are formed and produced in action, as opposed to being a separable causal influence (e.g., West and Davis 2010). Nonetheless, a further layer of complexity is added in that explicitly articulated 'values-as-things' are themselves utilised in social practice to influence particular emotional, affective, practical, ethical or moral dispositions.

Values will thus be analysed along two continua – 'values-as-things' that are relatively explicitly referred to or utilized in social artefacts (text and talk) and 'values-in-action', which are interpreted as being implicitly evidenced in social action and social artefacts (the physical development, text and talk). These are analyzable either via critical discourse analysis (CDA) or via ethnographic observation and ideal-typical interpretation. Importantly, 'values in action' are understood to be evident both in the practice or performance of social activity, and in the discursive framing or representation of such activity.

There will also be an element of participatory research through interim reflective meetings with interested members in order to include their comments and perceptions as part of the ongoing research.

Data collection

The collection of data will be facilitated through the collection of a series of artefacts of the co-housing initiative (including website and newsletter material, minutes of monthly meetings), and the detailed ethnographic observation of meetings over a period of two years. Furthermore, there is access to filmed archives of past member meetings. Opportunistic discussions and/or semi-structured interviews with members of the project will also be conducted to explore alternative perceptions (these will be recorded and transcribed and/ or noted in fieldnotes).

In relation to the participatory element of the research, comments and suggestions of initiative members will

be sought in relation to the conceptualisation of the research, and as far as is practicable, used both as part of our research and to inform our findings. In the case of alternative interpretations by the initiative members, any forms of dissemination of the research will include acknowledgements of these differing interpretations, and such dissemination will be made available to initiative members before (for comment) and after publication (for reference).

Reason for seeking a grant

The grant would enable the proposed research to be carried out by funding the costs associated with the data collection and dissemination, and developing the baseline data for an external bid (see below).

Expected outcomes

We expect to write at least two research articles: on the role of values in social co-ordination from an organizational/governance perspective (Organization Studies (4*) or Governance (3*)) and from an operational research perspective (Journal of the Operational Research Society (3*) or Omega (3*)). We will also be producing a practitioner-focussed report (or other resource) for the UK Cohousing Network (made available via its website) and which we will present at a future international cohousing conference (e.g., Brussels 2012). The next stage of the research programme will utilise this research as a baseline study for a further comparative investigation with other organizational types, for which an external research grant to the ESRC will be developed.

Budget items	Cost		
Interview transcription: 20 interviews of 60 minutes duration at a rate of £1.50 per			
minute			
Venue and refreshments for participatory feedback meetings: 2 x £75 room hire			
2 x £25 refreshments			
Digital recorders: 2 x £96	£186		
Copy of digital recordings of initiative general meetings	£600		
1 International Practitioner Conference	£800		
1 International Academic Conference	£800		
1 National Policy meeting of Homes and Communities Agency: 2 x £100			
	£4586		

Dermot O'Reilly, Lecturer, Department of Management Learning and Leadership, LUMS. PhD 2005. Appointed 1st Sept 2009.

Mark Westcombe, Part-time Lecturer, Management Science, LUMS; Company Director, Greenfields Cohousing. BSc (Hons) 1998. Appointed 1st August 2010.

APPENDIX C: the research project's assessment framework for Greenfields Cohousing

Research Assessment Framework

Greenfields Cohousing

Research request from:

Mark Westcombe, Department of Management Science, Lancaster University; and Dermot O'Reilly, Department of Management Learning, Lancaster University.

What is the essence of the research proposal?

To understand how the difference in priorities between <u>ends</u> and <u>means</u> impacts on the ability of a social organisation to coordinate itself.

What are the key research activities?

- To observe general meetings of Greenfields Cohousing (probably quarterly), and some sub-group meetings;
- To access and observe filmed archives and other Greenfields Cohousing documents;
- To conduct interviews with willing members.

What outputs/deliverables does the research intend to deliver?

Two academic papers; a practitioner focussed report for the UK Cohousing network that will hopefully also be useful to general social action groups beyond cohousing.

Do you expect to publish and if so, where do you expect to publish any outputs (inc. conference, journals, web, press, etc)?

• A social co-ordination paper in an organisational studies academic journal, e.g., 'Organization Studies' or 'Governance';

- A management science paper in, e.g., Journal of Operational Research or European Journal of Operational Research;
- A conference paper at the Association of Communal Studies, Findhorn June 2013, which will be published on their website;
- Future training courses of the UK Cohousing Network and potentially a guidance piece on their website;
- Potentially a practitioner article in Communities, published by Intentional Communities.

What longer term outcomes/value might the research deliver?

- Make it easier for groups to coordinate and balance the different activities of delivering a project and community, and thereby improve cohesion and deliver better outcomes;
- Help community leaders by highlighting the issues and providing them with a think piece on balancing different project demands.

What impact/benefits might the research outcomes have? If appropriate, include any/all of: future cohousing groups, housing, well being, policy, society, etc.

Hopefully it will benefit developing cohousing groups, as well as community groups engaged with social action which similarly have to balance different objectives. It may also be possible to compare some of these issues with other organizational types (public sector organizations, co-operatives) in future research, which would contribute to broader society. What value could the research outputs/outcomes/impact have on Greenfields Cohousing and their members?

- Could inform future decision making that the community might engage with, as well as ongoing management of future tasks;
- May be of cathartic value to members that participate in interviewing;

What value might the research process have for our community?

- May increase the reflective capacity of the group as a whole and help mutual understanding amongst members;
- May inform the continuing need to balance different objectives in the project.

How will the research be conducted?

Attendance at quarterly general meetings (and potentially some sub-groups); observation of existing film footage; approx 18 interviews of willing members (e.g., six members every five months for three interviews each).

What is the schedule of your research activity, both data capture and publishing?

18 months of data capture followed by up to 21 months of writing.

What time demand will the research activities have on community members (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, observation and focus groups?

- A total of 18 x 60-90 minute interviews with six willing members;
- Voluntary engagement with feedback and sense-making meetings of preliminary findings.

What time demand will the research activities have on members engaged with project tasks?

What risks to the delivery of Greenfields Cohousing's build project might there be? And how would you mitigate the likelihood of such risks occurring and the impact of these risks if triggered?

The research project shouldn't interfere with the build or its management.

What risks to the well-being of Greenfields Cohousing and its members might there be, particularly if the research becomes public? And how would you mitigate the likelihood of such risks occurring and the impact of these risks if triggered?

- Surfaces currently latent conflict; highlights conflict; makes public privately shared beliefs.
- The research focus is on generic issues of coordination and processes and not on personal issues or belief systems. We would ensure that members who are interviewed are aware that the discussion content might be published; we would be sensitive to the use of data; store data and analyses on secure University computers; make use of existing director of Greenfields an Cohousing as one of the researchers and authors to hopefully spot any issue(s) early; use feedback sessions to discuss and resolve issues, as well as test for sensitivity of information.

What editorial guarantees will you provide of any release of the research work into the public domain?

Discussion of preliminary findings with members prior to submission and provision of a 'right of reply' to the published work for any individuals or the group.

Please attach any research funding proposal you've made in association with this research.

(attached)

No specific demand, unless willing.

Please attach any documentation you have presented or received from your institution's research ethics committee (or explain why this is not relevant).

Not yet required at this stage in the process, but will be needed to gain approval for the project at a later date.

Please provide up to three referees of previous research subjects (if relevant).

Can be provided.

2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Periods: To widening out	widening			To purchase		To plan ning	To build	To moving in	To living in
						1 1 1	BaR		
Initial group			PDT/	and Directors			Directors		
							Process Group		
									Consensus Group
			Management/ Committee	General Meetings					
				Subcommittees	Workteams		Task and Finish Teams		Service Teams

Notes: Not all PDT members were directors.

The membership of many of these subgroups overlapped, and changed over time.

The process group was a sort of 'workteam' and was later treated as a 'service team' but it has been separated out from other workteams/service teams in the diagram.

The consensus group was a sort of subgroup of the process group, which is also separated out in the diagram.

Periods:

'To widening out': From the initial group formation to the beginning of their 'widening out phase' (incl. the inaugural GM). 'To purchase': From the beginning of the group expansion to the exchange of contracts for the purchased site.

'To planning': From the exchange of contracts for the site to receiving planning permission.

'To build': From receiving planning permission to the beginning of the construction of the residential infrastructure.

'To moving in': From the beginning of the construction of the residential infrastructure to the first residents moving in to their residential units.

'To living-in': From the first residents moving in to their residential units to the majority of residents having moved in and the units sold.