

Organisational Resilience in Three Camphill Communities in Scotland

An Appreciative Inquiry (2013)

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Introduction

In this introduction I will briefly explain the organisational context to the study and summarise its content.

Camphill is a worldwide movement with over ninety centres (communities) in twenty countries supporting people with learning disabilities and other support needs. The philosophical basis of Camphill lie in Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy and its organisational roots can be found in Aberdeen in 1940. There are now twelve Camphill communities in Scotland. They are all independent charities.

Camphill Scotland is a membership organisation to which all the Camphill communities in Scotland belong. It represents communities' collective interests in national policy debates and consultations, helps them work together on matters of common interest and keeps them informed of relevant developments in the wider environment.

This research was conducted by Neil Henery, one of two Facilitators of Camphill Scotland. The Facilitators attend to the daily running of the organisation and carry out the organisational tasks listed above. The benefits of the work have in part already been realised through the discussions between communities and Camphill Scotland documented here. This report attempts to consolidate this learning in a way that can be used in the most focussed and positive way by communities and Camphill Scotland into the future. The research also makes some claims to a wider relevance on the questions of organisational change and development faced by Camphill communities under current economic, social and regulatory conditions.

The report begins with a brief outline of the aims of the research and the methods used. The findings and analysis are presented in two sections. The first section is headed 'The Three Communities' and looks closely at what can be learned from each community in turn. The second section is entitled 'Organisational Resilience and Current Challenges for Camphill in Scotland' and looks at the broader relevance of the findings. The report finishes with some thoughts on how these findings might inform the future work of Camphill Scotland.

Aim of the Study

This research aims to appreciate more fully the *organisational resilience* possessed by three Camphill communities in Scotland and apply this learning to all Camphill communities in Scotland.

Methodology

This study is an example of Appreciative inquiry (AI). AI emerged from the tradition of action research. Both action research and AI blend organisational development with the research process. That is, they simultaneously mobilise organisational change and allow the nature of change and attendant processes to be studied. A rigorous action research project will show how the researcher 'challenged and tested their own assumptions and interpretations of what was happening continuously through the project by means of public reflection, so that their familiarity and closeness to the issues are exposed to critique.' {Coghlan 2001: 57} It is a participatory process where both researcher and research subjects are involved in the interpretation of data and assigning of meaning.

Where AI differs from action research is its positive orientation. As Bushe and Kassam (2005) note, AI is explicitly contrasted with 'problem solving' which is seen 'as a deficit-based approach to

change' {Bushe & Kassam 2005: 165}. AI, on the other hand, is '...based on the simple assumption that every organisation has something that works well and these strengths can be the starting point for creating positive change.' {Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 3} As Egan and Lancaster write, 'Instead of viewing an organization as having problems, AI views an organization as doing things right, and using those right things to build the organization's future.' {Egan & Lancaster 2005: 33, referring to Hammond & Royal (2001)}. This research is therefore a positive attempt to understand the communities *through appreciating their strengths*.

Each phase of the analysis asks – 'What strengths and capabilities are present in the communities?' There were two phases to the research: phase one was a documentary analysis. Here, I studied three documents donated to Camphill Scotland by three communities. A coding system was developed for this analysis (see Appendix One). Phase two involved a reflective discussion with the community based on the documentary analysis. This took the form of a semi-structured interview (see Appendix Two). Participants for the reflective discussion were selected by the community.

All of the communities involved in this study requested Camphill Scotland to look at the various documents relating to them. They felt they had something important to share that Camphill Scotland and the other communities might learn from. The contribution made by the researcher is to provide a framework and a process to draw out that learning most effectively and help the communities themselves reflect more fully on their own learning.

As will be seen, certain comparisons are made between communities and suggestions made about how the significance of certain findings for other communities. These comparisons are intended to be suggestive rather than conclusive.

The analysis is presented in the following way. Firstly, each community is considered in turn. The original documentary analysis is reproduced as it was received by the communities themselves. There follows an account of the reflective discussion held with the community based upon this original analysis.

The Three Communities

Camphill School Aberdeen

o Documentary Analysis

We will look at this community through the presentation given by the Camphill School Aberdeen's Business Plan 2011-16. This document explains that Camphill School Aberdeen (CSA) was the first Camphill community, founded in 1940 and led by Karl König. It is therefore different from other communities because of its special place in Camphill history and its longevity. It has a particular interest in research and education (including the B.A. in Social Pedagogy) and is also one of the largest communities both in terms of the land it occupies and the scale of its service provision. To give an indication of the size of CSA, there were 62 Pupils at the School in 2011. Of these, 38 were Boarders and 24 Day Pupils. There were also 9 Cairnlee Students and 11 Amber only (incl. 1 with learning disabilities) {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 15}. In 2011, 92% of CSA's income came from school care accommodation fees. These are paid by placing authorities and sometimes private individuals who send pupils to CSA either for day placements or for flexible boarding placements. The Plan makes clear that CSA now also provides a range of services focussing on flexibility, sharing of expertise and supporting people in their own homes. CSA refer to these services collectively as

'extended services' and believe that the percentage of income generated by extended services will grow to 11% in 2011-12 (it was 8% in 2010-11) {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011b: 15}.

As stated, CSA will be approached through a reading of its Business Plan of 2011. The plan differs from the other documents presented here because it is written primarily for an external audience. Tiphereth's Ways to Quality report and the Milltown Social Audit are designed to be read primarily by the communities themselves and allow them to reflect upon and improve the way they work. By contrast, CSA's Business Plan attempts to demonstrate the value of the School as a potential business partner.

Analysis

From a business perspective, the most important partner for CSA is the local authority. A very important reference point for the Plan is therefore the perspective of the local authority. This is set out in the Section 'Needs/The Market'. This is the key part of the document as it contains a clear and succinct analysis of the external environment where CSA has to operate. The themes contained in this section also permeate the document as a whole with, for example, a consistent emphasis on value for money, flexibility of the service and preventative focus. Given its importance it is worth dwelling on this section at some length. This is important not just to appreciate the situation of CSA but the analysis contained here is important for all Camphill communities.

This section contains a broad overview of some key factors affecting the provision of care and education for children and young people with learning disabilities. The point is made that services have been squeezed between two powerful trends. On one side, the demand for services has increased 'as reliance on hospital care and medical models has reduced, family and public expectations have grown, and new medical techniques have led to the survival of more children with learning disabilities. Other factors, such as family breakdown, have also contributed.' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 13} At the same time, the amount of resources available has decreased as 'Rising expectations and the more demanding regulatory environment have...produced substantial inflationary effects on costs.' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 13}

One important implication is that local authorities will use residential education 'more sparingly and that providers of such services need to offer shorter placements with a stronger focus on reintegration.' Furthermore, rather than look to residential education at all, local authorities 'will require a range of services that can support good quality assessment of complex needs and enable bespoke packages of education and care to be provided in the community' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 13}. This will include 'Crisis accommodation and support...for whole families, to avoid children becoming looked after' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 13}

The Plan therefore emphasises the pressures on local authorities to 'do more with less' – that is to meet rising demand for services with fewer resources. Local authorities need services that build capacity within communities and across service providers. The Plan emphasises the way in which CSA's services fit the bill. The Plan also, however, refers to the way in which CSA has been wrongly perceived as out of step with this agenda. We will deal with each of these issues in turn.

Meeting Local Authorities Needs

Overall, the School is consistently presented in a way that closely matches the analysis of local authorities needs set out above. This is evident on the very front page of the document where the School is described as a:

Forward-looking provider of individualised programmes of residential and non-residential education and care, therapeutic intervention services, emergency care for children and their families, of ongoing support and guidance to families within their homes and specialist training for parents, foster carers and professionals {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a}

Broadly, CSA aims to match the local authority agenda by making changes to residential provision and by creating new services. For example, the Plan states that 'The focus of residential education will be to support re-integration to family, local school and community, with shorter placements than historically.' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 2} It states that all children and young people who enter the School will receive an assessment that includes a 'smart action plan of desired outcomes which will enable the child/young person to achieve the level of resilience necessary to return to mainstream, local community or home environment.' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 7} Similarly, with respect to extended provision, the St. Andrew's Project is designed to '...help families develop the strategies they need to manage effective and long-term change for themselves. These services can help put the management of family crisis and difficulty back in the hands of the family themselves...' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 8}

Tackling Misperceptions

The Plan states that this description of CSA's services makes it 'clear that widely-held impressions that Camphill School Aberdeen (CSA) is solely about traditional models of service delivery are completely inaccurate.: (1) Later, it states that 'It is recognised that many myths and stereotypes about CSA are widespread, in particular a widespread belief that CSA is all about long-term residential educational provision that ill-prepares children for life in the wider community. {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 17} Furthermore, 'Misperceptions about CSA by some professionals and by the public will be challenged by more systematic use of a range of media...' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 3} The Plan itself is an important part of this broader attempt to make CSA more accurately understood.

In summary, CSA's Business Plan allows the School to take a close look at the current policy and political environment. It shows how they have adapted their services and added new ones in order to better meet the needs of the local authority. As stated above, the Plan attempts to show that the services on offer at CSA do not serve to separate children from the wider environment. The focus is always on showing that they are 'focused on reintegration' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 17}. Overall, 'traditional residential and day school provision will decline in scale as constructive alternatives for more children are devised and resourced.' What remains of more traditional provision is described as meeting 'a residual need for very specialist provision to meet the needs of children with low-incidence, complex learning disabilities.' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 16}

Discussion

As stated above, CSA presents its services as outwardly focussed in that they work in partnership with families and other agencies to enable children and young people to maintain links with their communities. This is a considerable distance from the traditional approach of a Camphill community expressed by König as follows: 'We realised the need of these children to be accepted into a closed social surrounding which, on the one hand, would provide a sheltered environment for them and on the other hand offer the possibility to unfold their individual qualities.' {König 1993: 16}

The CSA example shows a Camphill community aiming still to provide safety, shelter and enable individual potential to be realised but without the recourse to a 'closed social surrounding'. This is probably a key point for all communities – how to maintain the aspects of the environment that shelter and nurture community members without falling foul of the two dangers clearly expressed by CSA's Business Plan: 1) That the community serves to separate its members unhelpfully from wider society. 2) That the community is *perceived* to do so by wider society.

The Plan identifies three essentials that 'underlie our work in CSA'. The first of these is 'the recognition that each of us is a spiritual being'. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the 'personal development of each co-worker'. This includes 'continuous professional development as it is clear that those with additional support needs that we live and work with will only fulfil their potential if we work on fulfilling ours, both inwardly and externally.' Thirdly there is 'the creation of a safe environment where those with additional support needs are nurtured and nourished so that they can take their place in the world. This last essential seems closely allied to the other references in the document to the idea of community itself. For example, 'Creating a community where children, young adults and co-workers feel a sense of belonging, support and growth is very important to us and we endeavour to live and work together in ways which promote this aspiration.' The creation of community is seen to be supported by 'the social pedagogical ethos that underpins the work of CSA' {Camphill School Aberdeen 2011a: 18}

Together these seem to provide a way to restate the essential mission of CSA in a way that König would recognise. They suggest that all the services provided by CSA are informed by an holistic understanding of the human being that includes the spiritual dimension, knowledgeable and highly trained co-workers with expertise in the creation of safe and nurturing social environments. These features can also inform the new, outward facing emphasis of the services provided by CSA.

It is possible that the three essentials are somewhat underplayed in the document. They appear in an appendix when they might be more prominent. They could help create confidence in potential partners by showing that CSA knows its central strengths and uses them in all its services. There could perhaps be a more focussed and sustained emphasis on this as well as emphasising the diversity of services and their focus on reintegration and flexibility.

CSA's Business Plan illustrates a key dilemma for all organisations in a period of rapid change – to be able to change often and quickly yet stay close to core values and purpose. At the same time, if well chosen, the same core values and purpose can appeal to an external audience and can serve to create internal cohesion. Indeed, if these can complement each other this is a powerful

combination. Part of this involves finding the most suitable aspects of the Camphill community to focus on and the best way to describe them.

Conclusion

Camphill School Aberdeen's Business Plan is an excellent example of a community adapting to external changes. It also squarely faces the way that misleading perceptions of the community can be damaging to it. In these ways it will have resonance for all Camphill communities.

This analysis highlights the importance of the way the School is understood by the external world. It also underlines the importance of doing so in a way that remembers what is essential and enduring about the contribution of the School and unites its various services. All Camphill communities face similar challenges. This analysis should serve as a way of assisting others to learn from the way CSA is attempting to do so.

○ **Reflective Discussion**

I met with 6 co-workers from Camphill School Aberdeen on the 28th November 2012 to discuss the above analysis. The co-workers were all long standing members of the School's management team. The discussion was structured according to three themes: 'identifying distinctive achievements', 'identifying key strengths' and 'building a preferred future' (for the complete interview schedule see Appendix Two). The co-workers, however, also took the opportunity to tell the story of how the Business Plan came about and to compare the School's position now with the way it was at the time the Plan was written. I will use their story to structure this account of the interview and refer to the three themes as they emerge within this story.

The Background to the Business Plan

The documentary analysis reminded co-workers of what was sometimes a painful and difficult process. In explaining this, the co-workers sketched in some of the background to how the Business Plan was written and the processes the School went through in producing the document.

The Business Plan was originally requested of the School by Aberdeen City Council. There had been repeated difficulties with Aberdeen City Council and fears had grown about the future of the School. The School felt they had a choice between seeing this demand as a further sign of a negative relationship with ACC or see it positively as a genuine attempt by ACC to work more constructively with the School. As one co-worker stated: '*the first thing was seizing on the opportunity*'. They chose to take the request as an opportunity to be completely open about what the School had to offer and to explain their new ideas.

To enable them to do this, the School enlisted the help of an external consultant to coordinate the process of writing the report. When the plan was completed they made requests to all local authorities that they worked with to come to them and make a presentation. Only one responded to the invite, however. This was Aberdeenshire and they gave the School a generous amount of time to make their presentation.

Interestingly, the co-workers stated that the Business Plan had not succeeded in changing Aberdeen City Council or improving their working relationship with them. In fact, they reported that the relationship may even have worsened. Importantly, however, the thinking summarised in the report has served the School very well. They had now seen the effects of the decisions they had made and the difference was clear. The School was not free of difficulties but *'we are now in a much better position than we were'*. Ideas that had seemed tentative and risky at the time had proved successful. Nature/Nurture, the St. Andrews Project and the Amber Kindergarten had blossomed. Respite care *'has really taken off'* as had the individual therapeutic programmes. There are now fewer residential placements but the placements now offered have been extended to 52 weeks. In fact, there is now a waiting list for these opportunities. As the co-workers say, *'We were originally very resistant to the idea of day residents but now we are very welcoming.'*

These projects have been successful in their own right. They have also served as a way of communicating the value of the School as a whole to a wider audience, helping them make a wide range of links with the wider community.

Before the Business Plan

The co-workers stressed that the new ideas reflected in the Business Plan were arrived at only after some difficult discussions and some low points. One co-worker stated that the process of change reflected in the document can be traced to one particular moment. This was when they noticed that *'the sign outside the school was disintegrating, was falling apart'*. As one co-worker stated, *'in 2010 the School was in crisis'*. This was experienced differently by different people but for most it was a time of fear and worry. I was told that the School was in a state of desperation in which they *'would dig a hole in the middle of Murtle Estate if that would help'*.

I asked what had made the difference in helping the School emerge from this situation so positively. One key factor was a change in the character of the 'Camphill meetings'. This began to *'put its backing behind individuals who were willing to try something new and had a passion for these projects'*. The meeting began to be used to *'give permission to do something different and taking action rather than being the passive victims of circumstances'*. Individual leadership also made a difference when some were prepared *'to face realities'* and then help others do so as well.

One co-worker summarised the distinctive achievements of the School as *'managing paradoxes and complexity and developing a political awareness'*. This political awareness included making more consistent links with other agencies and attending more explicitly to the School's external image. For example the School replaced the old disintegrating sign with a new one with a new logo. This may have been an important symbolic moment for the School. This new logo was also used in the Business Plan.

Other achievements stemming from this new political awareness include capitalising on the new status of the school as an eco-school, raising the profile of the Pupil Council and making links with the Scottish Government. This included developing the School's relationship with the local MSP who subsequently arranged a parliamentary debate and reception in December 2012 congratulating the Camphill movement in Scotland.

The co-workers state that they have become more aware of political developments and changes to policy. For example, they are keeping a close eye on changes to the funding of residents from their 18th birthday when *'there will be a different pot of money for 'transitions'*.

A strong theme in the Business Plan is the need to change the perception of CSA by the local authorities and other external agencies. In the reflective discussion, the co-workers noted that they also had to work to change the perceptions of others within Camphill. For example, Camphill Estates saw the School as very successful and financially secure and the School had to help them understand that they were in difficulty and that they could not continue in the same way as before.

Looking to the Future

Many of the comments about the future related to a theme reflected in the documentary analysis – 'to be able to change often and quickly yet stay close to core values and purpose' (see page 7). These included:

'(I hope) we can have a sense of togetherness and community while still carrying out such diverse activities.' *'CSA will be blossoming with a range of diverse activities without a loss of identity and purpose.'* *'We will be managing tensions between: security and cohesiveness with diversity of activities and constant change, professionalism with community life. These things will be balanced.'*

Co-workers' hopes for the future tended to emphasise the themes of external linkage and internal cohesion. Examples of the former include: *'... continuing linkage with the wider community, recognised as being distinctive, coming from a particular place but still collaborative and involved'*, *'BASP will be secure and developing a broader social pedagogy network'* *'Better embedded in local scene including local politics.'* Examples of the latter include: *'A sustainable and liveable model that is nurturing'* and *'new associative ways of working inside the School.'*

Signs of a new confidence at CSA are perhaps indicated by the following comment:

'The new peripheral road is coming and that will be a challenge. Now we have good links with the Scottish Government and a motion in parliament this will add strength to their opposition to this and our view that, if the road goes ahead, provision will be made for vulnerable children and young people.'

There were also three new ideas that emerged from the reflective discussion, demonstrating CSA's continuing openness to change and willingness to innovate:

- *What about a post graduate teacher training programme with Aberdeen University?*
- *What about changing our name? Is 'School' the right word to describe what we are? We have looked at this before and it has proved controversial*
- *What about merging with the Aberdeen Waldorf School?*

Finally, when looking to the future it was firmly stated that succession was an issue. One stated *'I'll be retired as a coordinator and succession planning will be well underway'* and there was a lot of agreement around the table.

Tiphereth

○ **Documentary Analysis**

We will look at this community through the Ways to Quality audit report conducted by Bob Ballard and Eva Heathcock in October 2011. Ways to Quality is a quality assurance framework inspired by anthroposophy and is conducted by external auditors. Unlike the CSA Plan the Tiphereth audit is primarily designed to be read and used by the community themselves rather than an external audience. A key idea in Ways to Quality is the 'twelve fields' which understand the community in terms of a relationship between 'the top 7 fields (which can be described variously as the "doing," exoteric, day-time, or operational fields.)' and 'the bottom 5 fields (which can be described variously as "thinking/feeling", esoteric, night-time or spiritual fields) in their relationship to, and influence on, the top 7 fields.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 9} The audit offers an insight into the place of the individual in the community, the relationship between various groups and how the community strives to create internal cohesion while managing change and relating to the external environment. In this way it touches on themes very relevant to this study.

The Tiphereth community itself is located on the outskirts of Edinburgh in more of an urban context than most other Camphill communities in Scotland. The audit states that in 'comparison with other Camphill Communities in the UK Tiphereth has a large proportion of day attendees and salaried staff compared to the residential part of the community.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5} At the time of the audit, the community provided long-term Residential Care for 9 residents, and a range of Day Services for 42 people with learning disabilities. The Residential part of Tiphereth was comprised of 3 houses, 9 residents, 5 non-salaried co-workers, 7 Foundation students who are normally on a one-year contract, and one salaried co-worker. The Day Services part of Tiphereth includes the Pentland Garden Group plus several activities and workshops. Since the audit was conducted a purpose-built workshop providing craft/workshop and kitchen activities has been completed (The May) as has a new residential care home (Bluebell Cottage). Tiphereth is also currently developing its trading activities including composting. It is a rapidly growing community engaged in a variety of activities including an emphasis on social enterprise.

Analysis

The auditors remark that 'for such a small organisation (Tiphereth) encompasses a complex set of activities' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5} It would seem that it manages this complexity successfully by a combination of 'well-established procedures' alongside a 'subtle but clear ethos of openness, courtesy and respect' {Ways to Quality 2011: 25} The auditors witnessed 'several examples of varying and contrary opinions being expressed and heard with courtesy and respect, and solutions being found that indicated that people had been through a process of not only hearing, but taking into account, the views of others. Equally it was observed that maintaining this ethos entailed self-discipline on the part of each person. The Auditors recognise that such an atmosphere does not just happen, but has been consciously and conscientiously built. {Ways to Quality 2011: 26}

These strengths seem to underlie a number of community achievements noted in the report. These include a successful adaptation to the increased regulation of care. Co-workers 'did not feel overburdened by the many regulatory requirements. Rather they brought their creativity into finding ways to do what they felt appropriate and in line with the community's Vision and Ethos in a way that also conformed to... the regulations.' Further, the community had 'learned to adapt the language it uses to describe itself to the language that is currently used in the social-care sector.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 25} The auditors note that 'The external inspections of both the Residential and Day Services are a credit to both the Directors and the community.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 8}

The auditors also noted the way in which Tiphereth had 'successfully integrated the traditional Camphill system of handling remuneration with the system of wages and salaries' and go on to note that 'Tiphereth can offer considerable practical experience for other communities that are looking for appropriate ways to integrate increased numbers of salaried staff.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5} More generally, the financial performance of Tiphereth has been 'well managed and the financial well-being for the near future looks to be in good hands with sound process in place throughout the community. {Ways to Quality 2011: 8} Importantly, Tiphereth also make good use of trading activities to make links with the local community and further afield. This is something they hope to expand in the near future.

Finally, the audit also manages to capture something of what is perhaps special in the Camphill way of working as here:

It was evident that the Co-workers know the Members well: their biographies, their preferences, their quirks, etc. They worked as a team, with each other, and also with the Members... Situations that enable inclusion and that build trust are systematically part of the rhythms of the day (for example, the morning and afternoon gatherings.) Ideas and initiatives arising in the group are given scope for development and often become part of the weekly programme. {Ways to Quality 2011: 16}

A major theme in the audit is the relationship between two parts of Tiphereth: residential and day services. The auditors state on various occasions that the co-workers themselves report a 'tension' between residential and day services (see, for example pages 15 and 20). This tension was seen as likely to ease when day service workers moved into new office space at The May. The auditors point to a number of differences between the two groups. These include the following:

1) Difference in working status. This is expressed as the 'differences between living and working in the community and only working in the community and having a separate home-life.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 15}

2) Difference in approach. Related to the first point the auditors see the day service as 'very task-orientated' and see the residential group as more familiar with the 'philosophical underpinning'. They go on to suggest that 'A real challenge for the whole community is, whilst retaining this focused orientation on task, to extend this focus into an awareness of the underlying forces that both nurture and nourish the daily life.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5}

3) Difference in relationship to anthroposophy. The audit states that 'all houseparents' have a 'strong connection to anthroposophy and the more traditional aspects of Camphill'. {Ways to Quality

2011: 11} while 'a significant portion of the Day Services staff – whilst 100% committed to the work of Tiphereth - are not particularly committed to, or interested in, its philosophical underpinning.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5}

Cohesive Factors

As the CSA example shows, a key concern for Camphill communities is to adapt to change while retaining community cohesion. Tiphereth is another good example of a Camphill community responding vigorously and successfully to change. As noted above, however, the audit suggests that adaptation to the external environment can be accompanied by internal tensions. The Tiphereth example is also very interesting because it contains some suggestions from the auditors about what could be done to help develop community cohesion while retaining its successful outward focus and 'business-like' {Ways to Quality 2011: 21} approach. These suggestions can be expressed as three propositions: 1) anthroposophy can integrate the inner meaning of community life with its outward manifestation in the form of 'task'. 2) 'dynamic delegation' allows for a distributed form of leadership within communities which enhances resilience and adaptability. 3) The Ways to Quality framework offers a way to address both community cohesion and leadership. We will now consider each in turn.

Anthroposophy

The audit refers to the challenge facing Tiphereth to 'create types and forms of communication that allow the community to connect the spiritual with its day-to-day operational nature.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 28}. It suggests that anthroposophy gives the community the means to do this and points to the understanding of anthroposophy already possessed by the residential co-workers, as here:

'All the Houseparents, with their strong connection to anthroposophy and the more traditional aspects of Camphill, have an important and essential role to play in facilitating this awareness in a "digestible" form for all other members of the community.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 11}

In this context, the auditors emphasise the 'understanding of the human being based on Social Therapy and the ideas of Rudolf Steiner, and the place that the celebration of Festivals has in creating a social-therapeutic environment.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 12}

Dynamic Delegation

As mentioned at the beginning Tiphereth is commended for its standards of individual conduct supported by a culture of 'subtle but clear ethos of openness, courtesy and respect' {Ways to Quality 2011: 25} Nevertheless, the auditors suggest there could be greater clarity over 'the process by which... decisions had been made', 'whether there was a systematic process for review, and if so by whom' and 'whether or not there was a systematic way by which the effects and consequences for the do-er of carrying out a project or decision would be shared with the community.' They suggest that, in order to facilitate a transition toward 'developing group leadership, these aspects become of increasing significance.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 23} The practice of dynamic delegation is put forward as a means for achieving this. Dynamic delegation is not defined in the document but has been presented elsewhere as a model of leadership suitable for 'improvisational work settings in

which skilled individuals...join together as a team to perform complex, interdependent, and time-limited tasks.' {Klein, et al. 2006: 618}

Ways to Quality

Tiphereth's engagement with Ways to Quality is seen as evidence of 'a desire to widen and deepen the connection with the underlying impulse of the community whilst still retaining its operational focus.' Here Ways to Quality is presented as a tool to enable Tiphereth to promote community cohesion while retaining its considerable operational strengths. As stated earlier, Ways to Quality promises to do this by exploring community in a holistic way through 'the 12 fields that serve to relate the "'doing," exoteric, day-time, or operational fields' with the "thinking/feeling", esoteric, night-time or spiritual fields.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 9} It also does this by examining the way leadership operates in the community, particularly through the concept of dynamic delegation.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Tiphereth example identifies some important themes which resonate with the earlier discussion of Camphill School Aberdeen. Most obviously this includes managing a rapidly changing and demanding external environment. The Tiphereth report, however, usefully explores the internal impact of external changes. In this way, it gives a perspective absent from the CSA Plan which was necessarily externally focussed. As a community thriving in the current testing environment Tiphereth offers an instructive example for other communities. The report identifies the role of good organisation, clear leadership, a business-like approach and respectful community relationships have had in Tiphereth's success. But it also asks the question – how do communities adapt and change yet retain and renew their collective sense of meaning and purpose?

The report usefully points to the role of leadership and culture in providing an answer to this question. In promoting the notion of dynamic delegation the auditors favour a form of distributed or group leadership. The value of this tends to be assumed rather than explicitly argued for in the report. The report also identifies the role of culture in the form of shared values, beliefs and understanding and underlines the importance of anthroposophy in this.

Finally, the Tiphereth example may be useful for other communities because it shows how one community embarked upon a systematic process of reflection on some very important questions that affect all communities. In Tiphereth's individual case only they know how useful this was in practice. In any event, the report illustrates the way in which Ways to Quality can provide a systematic and supported method of engaging with some important questions.

○ **Reflective Discussion**

I met with three co-workers from Camphill Tiphereth on the 19th April 2013 to discuss the above analysis. They were all established members of the community's management team. I suggested to them that Tiphereth can point to three areas of distinctive achievement: 1) the 'ethos of openness, courtesy and respect' present in the community 2) their successful integration of increased numbers of salaried staff. 3) the inclusiveness of their community.

Each of these was strongly recognised as real achievements of the community. The ensuing discussion initially focussed on how Tiphereth College serves to foster a culture of respect and

inclusion. The co-workers then went on to describe other features of life in Tiphereth that helped to create that same culture. Finally, they indicated a distinctive achievement of their community in building policy and structure. The discussion ended with the co-workers' vision of a preferred future for Tiphereth including, like CSA, some concerns about succession.

Culture and the Role of Tiphereth College

As stated, the WTQ report refers to the 'subtle but clear ethos of openness, courtesy and respect' that has been 'consciously and conscientiously built' at Tiphereth (p. 26) All three co-workers ascribed a strong role to College in creating this culture. They referred to an internal document describing the College as 'a decision making forum on behalf of the community with a focus on organisational and community issues which require a dedicated effort to understand and to resolve.' {Tiphereth 2012: 2}. College membership comes from both residential and day service, voluntary and salaried co-workers and considers individuals for membership after completion of their probationary year.

One co-worker remembered writing a letter to College about an issue that meant a lot to her personally. She recalls being '*impressed at the genuine discussion*' that took the issues '*beyond the personal*'. At College '*there is a real sense of the whole community being present with a collective sense of what is fair*'. I was told that '*College is particularly useful for issues that affect more than one group in Tiphereth. The issue is looked at from different perspectives and as it unfolds you see the issue differently. It acts as a protection for people and it doesn't personalise issues.*'

The co-workers also agreed that the '*successful integration of increased numbers of salaried staff*' was a key achievement of Tiphereth. Again they put this down to the way Tiphereth College '*fosters a mutual understanding and appreciation of each other...The various task forces address issues across the community and everyone is on a task force. This means people from different parts of the community (residential and day service) work together and look together at the whole community.*'

Inclusion of Members

Finally, I suggested that another key strength of Tiphereth in the WTQ report was the way that 'Situations that enable inclusion and that build trust are systematically part of the rhythms of the day' (p. 16). The co-workers agreed and noted that service users (referred to as 'members') were involved in recruiting staff and are represented on Council. The co-workers stated that '*Tiphereth provides genuine choices for members*', '*We care about individuals and find individual ways to communicate*' and '*it is about living with people not for them*'. A key vehicle for this genuine inclusiveness was work. It was said that '*The community is work-oriented*' and '*the rhythms of the day reflect the work patterns*'.

One co-worker noted that this inclusiveness was often commented upon by visitors. '*External people see how inclusive we are and they respond positively to this, they go the extra mile for us because they see that this is what we do. They want to help us meet our goals because they see how much ownership and belonging is created by the community.*'

The co-workers also suggested that the culture of sharing and inclusiveness helps to release individual creativity because *'everybody is allowed to take a lead'*. For example, *'Angelo designed the landscaping but everyone has played a part and gets involved in it'*.

Building Policies and Structure

The co-workers said that a major achievement not mentioned in my analysis was the way the community had built up *'a set of policies'*. Their description of how they did shows two assets held by Tiphereth combining productively together. The first of these is the *'strong management team'* which is *'integrated and supportive'*. Secondly, there is the community's *'guiding vision'* which was in turn created by the Ways to Quality process. The guiding vision *'helped create a joint sense of mandate and legitimacy from the whole community in building our structure and policies'*. The co-workers stated that *'All the policy is created by the community', 'We haven't taken anything off the shelf, it all means something to us', 'the whole structure is ours'*. This was a far cry from this situation before the present management team. In those days *'it was proudly stated that 'our policy is to have no policies''*.

The co-workers pointed to the tree diagram created by the community to show how everything the community does emerges from the guiding vision. They also noted, however, that this diagram was created by the community itself and is not part of the Ways to Quality framework.

Ways to Quality

As stated above, the co-workers pointed to the considerable value of the Ways to Quality process. There were some reservations, however, about the attention given in the WTQ report to *'tensions'* between residential and day services and the auditors' apparent mild concerns over the place of anthroposophy in community life. As one co-worker stated: *'There is a lot of 'study' in Tiphereth, some understand it better than others but there is a living sense of community'*.

Looking to the Future

It is perhaps a sign of Tiphereth's confidence in the future that one co-worker anticipated *'continued growth'* ahead – *'maybe 80 staff, a lot more activity'*. It was recognised that as a result of being much bigger there will be *'more human struggles'*. However, they have *'good tools to help people, time for people, holding on to the things that are important'*.

The co-workers spoke about again about their distinctive achievement in building policies and structure but also issued a note of caution about the future. In a reference to Plant's work on the phases of community development {Plant 2011: 277-278} one co-worker stated that the community had moved on from the initial *'pioneer phase'* and now had better and clearer structures. But the question now was: who will take it on to the next phase? One co-worker stated that he wishes to end his time with Tiphereth clear about *'who is carrying on to the next stage and taking Tiphereth in a new direction'*.

Milltown Day Workshop

o Documentary Analysis

We will approach this community through the social accounts prepared in 2009. The accounts relate directly only to the day workshop at Milltown. Nevertheless, they place the workshop in the context of the community as a whole and explicitly address the relationship between the workshop and the rest of the community and between the workshop and its external environment. It therefore addresses themes similar to those contained in the CSA and Tiphereth reports. The purpose of the social audit is to provide a 'a fair and balanced view of the performance and impact of Milltown Day Workshop (MDW) as measured against its stated values and social objectives, and the views of the stakeholders who were consulted.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 2} It is a systematic process of gaining feedback from the workers (or service users), the workshop co-ordinators, parents and carers, Care Managers and even the taxi drivers who bring workers to Milltown. In 2009 it was conducted by an independent assessor, Linda Babbs, and then presented to a panel independent of Milltown comprising of John Pearce (Community Enterprise Consultancy & Research) (Chair), Steve Lyons (Camphill Scotland) and Mike Comerford, (Independent Consultant).

Milltown Community was established in 1975 and the Day Workshops began in 1996. At the time of the social accounts the community provided a residential family based home life for seven adults with learning disabilities. The Day Workshop had one building with a workshop for restoring hand tools, a craft-room, a metalwork area, a dining room and an office. There was also a small wood workshop, a large glasshouse, a sales outlet and an area of display gardens. The maximum number of workers on any one day was twelve, and in the course of the week twenty-three people came to work there. There were eight workshop co-ordinators.

Analysis

Meaningful Work

MDW's social accounts succeed in gathering helpful feedback from an external perspective on the value created by the Workshop. It is therefore a broader evaluation than Tiphereth's Ways to Quality report. On the other hand Ways to Quality perhaps provides more depth of analysis.

An important contribution of MDW's social accounts is the vivid illustration they provide of what is meant by 'meaningful work' and an indication of its therapeutic value. The work and its value are described from a variety of perspectives including workers, co-ordinators, Care Managers and parents and carers. In this way it underlines the value of meaningful work as one of the distinctive features of a Camphill community in a very immediate and understandable way. The work includes growing plants, making items for sale and as gifts, maintaining the smallholding, gardens and buildings and cleaning and repairing tools. The audit collects both written and visual records of the work and the value it creates. It concludes that co-ordinators' work satisfaction was 'found in the nature of the work and seeing the workers themselves progress and enjoying the work they were doing.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 26} One co-ordinator is quoted as saying '(it's) not just making stuff but these are things that people want, items are valued and appreciated' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 26} The sales outlet now 'provides the opportunity for workers to see the direct link between the items they make and the people buying them.' One coordinator spoke of the

difference this made to one of the workers who 'Wants everyone to see what they are doing. Someone wants to buy their products.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 27} A carer commented that 'It is a chance to do something they don't do at the house. (He) comes home with a smile on his face' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 28} Another stated: 'I am most impressed by the variety of work available for the service users...I cannot praise highly enough the calming, patient attitude of the staff who develop confidence in the service users' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 32}

The work also seems to provide Care Managers with a clear sense of the value of MDW. The accounts state that 'Care Managers were aware of the activities that their clients were involved in at Milltown Day Workshop' and 'all felt that their clients enjoyed going to work there and got a lot of satisfaction from the work.' This is illustrated by the following quotes: 'Encouraged to do things within their abilities but also stretches them. Desperate for a third day', 'He sees it as a job – sense of achieving something.' 'I think it has a big impact and that the service users feel part of a positive and supportive community' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 33}

These messages may be useful ones when we remember the misperception identified in the CSA Plan that the community does not promote independence. The message from the Care Managers here is the opposite. One stresses that the work at MDW 'Gives him his independence'. When asked whether the workshop produced 'a clear and significant end product' the accounts revealed that 'all of the Care Managers felt that they were very aware of this.' One commented that '...this is a consistent message and one that comes over in Reviews in a very positive way. It is not just about filling time.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 33}

The accounts state that 'workers' particular skills appear to be recognised, for example one person enjoys and is good at intricate work and works a lot in the workshop on the tools; another enjoys the grass cutting. Similarly some enjoyed working outside more than others and this seemed to be reflected in the work they were assigned to.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 31} This quote illustrates the value of the accounts process not only in providing an evaluation of the community but in generating awareness of its strengths and ways of describing them. Another contribution of the accounts is the way that it records workers own statements about their activities and illustrates their relationship to the work by means of photographs.

The notion of 'meaningful work' comes out much more strongly from the MDW report than the CSA or Tiphereth reports which were different in focus and purpose. The MDW report provides a strong example of how to describe and evaluate 'meaningful work' in a way that conveys its value in an immediate way to a variety of audiences. The remainder of this analysis will turn from the distinctive features of the MDW social accounts to identify some similarities between the themes identified at Milltown Day Workshop, Tiphereth and Camphill School Aberdeen.

Spirituality and Practicality

There was some indication that MDW faces a similar challenge to that identified in the Tiphereth report in balancing the spiritual with the practical side of work. The values of Milltown include the idea that 'Work gives to each one of us the opportunity to express the responsibility we have towards the earth, the world of nature and our fellow human beings' and 'Work should enable us to enhance our physical, psychological and spiritual wellbeing'. {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 23}

The social accounts process sought feedback from the various stakeholders on whether the workshop succeeded in giving ‘individuals who need to work in a supported setting the opportunity to grow in dignity, self-respect and practical and social skills by involvement with others in work activities’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 20}

The accounts state that the ‘co-ordinators generally scored this highly most people thinking that ‘we do pretty well’ and that it is the ‘whole point of the Workshop’. There were a couple of comments saying that the social and practical skills were very good but there was less emphasis on the dignity, self-respect aspect and spiritual side. {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 20} One coordinator referred to the ‘Balance between supporting workers and serving customers and making money’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 51}

The account also mention ‘a common point’ made by Milltown House co-workers that ‘the work ethos could be too predominant and did not make allowances for aging workers whose skills and energy may be declining. It was felt that older workers needs were not always recognised and that they may require additional support.’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 21}

Community Cohesion

The mention of Milltown House brings us to another common theme across the Milltown and Tiphereth reports. This is the importance of relationships between the residential and day care or workshop services. Milltown House was asked to comment on MDW’s aim of ‘Fostering communication and collaboration with Milltown house(s) so as to strengthen a mutually supportive community that benefits all who live and work at Milltown.’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 56} In reply, the co-workers at Milltown House conveyed a ‘positive appreciation about the Workshop, which was felt to have a lively atmosphere, with a sense of purpose and achievement’. On the other hand the accounts collected a number of comments highlighting communication as an area for improvement – for example, ‘Communication from both sides can break down probably because we don’t know each other’s situations well enough’ ‘There is no forum at present where Day Workshop and House meets apart from Council of Management’ and ‘Can feel like two autonomous entities doing anything. Need to develop mutual working and understanding’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 56}

The accounts recommend that Milltown pays attention to ‘Fostering communication and collaboration with Milltown house(s) so as to strengthen a mutually supportive community that benefits all who live and work at Milltown’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 11}

Responding to Change

The social accounts mention the importance of ‘Retaining flexibility to allow constructive responses to changing circumstances in the future’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 11} and point to the importance of leadership in ‘Maintaining a vision for the future of the Day Workshop in on-going partnership with major stakeholders’ {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 11} In this way the accounts emphasise the importance of leadership as a balance between community cohesion and adapting to change. This is a theme that can be seen in all the case examples considered so far. The MDW report makes some recommendations, as we have seen about how to promote community cohesion. It also captures something of what MDW is already doing to make links with the external environment.

Care Managers, taxi drivers and parents and carers are included in the accounts process. In addition MDW gives talks to local group such as the Laurencekirk Rotary and Gourdon Women's Guild, has created a new website, featured the Workshop in various newspaper articles in the local press, hands out business cards at the sales outlet, has developed links with Aberdeenshire Council Community Service team and has taken a work experience student from Mackie Academy.

The social accounts suggest that MDW could go further 'To raise the profile of the Day Workshop and develop it as an integral part of local service provision by publicising events in the media holding Open Days and stalls at local events developing closer links with other organisations and professionals providing services in the area including Community Service and Work Experience placements Increasing engagement in the local community through sales {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 10 - 11}

- **Reflective Discussion**

I met with two co-workers from Milltown on the 6th Dec 2012 to discuss the above analysis. Both were established and long standing members of the community. They agreed with my analysis that integration with the local community was a key strength of Milltown Day Workshop. They also strongly endorsed the view that the social accounts process helped to build this strength. They emphasised the positive work-oriented culture of MDW as a key feature of what made MDW special. Some reservations were expressed about the loss of the esoteric community in the rise of the community as 'care provider'. Finally, the co-workers looked to the future and explored in more detail the issue of succession.

Integration with the Local Community and the Role of the Social Accounts

The co-workers felt that integration with the local community is '*part of what makes Milltown distinctive... We are very much connected to the local community and part of it.*' They stated that originally Milltown was not a Camphill community but became one later '*when some Camphill people arrived*'. They go on: '*We are told that Lord Arbuthnott personally went round all the houses in the village of Arbuthnott asking them to support this community before it started*'.

Given that integration with the local community is a key feature of life at Milltown, the social accounts process is considered the '*right tool for the job*'. The accounts process systematically includes the voices of those beyond the boundaries of the community. It '*gives us the opportunity to go to the Care manager and have a conversation that is difficult to have in the course of ordinary conversation which is based around individual clients. It shows our openness to feedback, we are not hiding from it*'. The social accounts therefore serve to support and demonstrate the value MDW places in its relationship with the local community. The co-workers point to the '*really amazing relationship*' they have with Care Managers: '*Care managers say, 'we never knew it could be like this'. They have never seen people creating their own environment and everyone out doing things. (People) are not just staring at the tv or the wall in a room.*'

The social account process was also very valuable as an internal discipline, '*Just defining the values and objectives was very valuable, the process of defining and refining the objectives.*' The co-workers had looked at the Tiphereth documentary analysis and commented that the social accounts were '*not as in depth as Ways to Quality but very helpful in getting an external perspective and including*

the voices of workers. We feel it has helped very much to reassure care managers that we are doing a good job, we are safe to work with, open and welcoming to the wider community.'

Positive Work-Oriented Culture

The discussion about work began in a perhaps unexpected way with attention given to the impact of MDW on the young volunteers. The volunteers were seen to be inspired by the example of the workers (service users): *'We have seen time and again the amazing effect working here has on young volunteers who have picked up the (broader) cultural attitude to work as 'do as little as possible', 'work is boring' etc. They see the workers really working with purpose despite their struggles. They are absolutely inspiring.'* As for the co-workers (coordinators): *'volunteers and workers see us engaged in purposeful work, they see and experience that work as purposeful. There is a result to the work – for example, a fence that they can see. It's also our attitude to the work... it's about a group of people wanting to get involved in doing something purposeful together. This creates a buzz about the place'. It is the workers, however, who 'provide the magic'. This 'magic' is described by the co-workers as the 'transformative effect of working with people with disabilities, you can see people struggling but managing. You see very fine human beings and wise people.'*

The co-workers went on to provide an account of how one worker had responded to the death of another community member. *'One of our residents recently died. We had a group meeting and a new resident stood up and spoke for 2 minutes, saying he never knew the person who died but he could tell that he was very important to everyone, spoke about how glad he was to be here, that he had found a place he could be himself and be accepted.'*

The co-workers then spoke about 'The Same as You', the Scottish Government strategy document on people with learning disabilities. This document stresses the value of work opportunities for learning disabled people. The co-workers highlighted that way it seemed to particularly emphasise *'the value of being paid for your work'*. For the co-workers, however, what is important is the intrinsic value of work – which is all the more apparent when the work is carried out on a voluntary basis. As the co-workers state: *'there is value in being funded to work'*.

Culture and Succession

The thread began with some more general observations on the culture at Milltown and how it succeeded or otherwise in attracting and retaining co-workers. Milltown was described as *'a very informal setting'*, something that the co-workers wished to maintain. They went on to say that *'to maintain this informality there has to be a limit of size as the bigger you are the more organised and more bureaucratic you have to be.'* The co-workers described a culture where *'everyone takes responsibility for their own initiatives.'* The question for new people is *'do you fit in? Can you find a niche in our culture? There is no formal induction so expectations are not spelled out'*. Rather, it seems that the question of one's specific role in the community is *'in the air'*.

The co-workers reflected upon the experiences of people who came new to the community and report that *'some find the informality difficult at first, some leave but the one's that stay see the place as somewhere they can express themselves and find a distinctive role. We tend to fit around the person but the person needs to find a place for themselves.'*

They revealed that when the workshop began *'it was an experiment and we expected it to make a loss that would be covered by the income for the house. Now it is the other way round! It was really striking to see the similarities in our situation and Tiphereth where day services are really taking off and the tension between day and residential.'* The expansion of day services and the relative decline of traditional community raised the question for some of the present co-worker group about whether they wanted to be part of these developments. As one said: *'I'm really interested in the intentional community part of being in Milltown. We are a care provider and happy to be so, glad to be. But that's not where my heart is and I'm not sure how well that is shared now and I need to take stock of that. Even in the houses there is now less 'Camphill/anthroposophy' than there used to be. I see and accept the way it is going but we need to ask the question – what is there left of the esoteric part of community and what do we want there to be?'*

The co-workers told me about *'a Vision meeting'* held in the community concerning the long term sustainability of both the workshop and the house. They used the meeting to confront the questions: *'who will run (these) in the future?' and 'where will we be in 5 years' time?'*

In five years' time they wished to see Milltown *'quietly shining out and keeping going'*. For this to happen, *'we need younger people to keep it going take it forward with new ideas'*. They felt that the present coordinators group *'has the potential to do that'*. What is really precious is *'the transformative effect of the place'*. They went on, *'we could make more money, be a social enterprise but we'd lose something really precious. It's about conserving what we've got but breathing new life into it... In five years' time we want to be here, to still have possibilities, for people still to be attracted to us and want to get involved. (In Milltown) anybody can come if they can find their corner.'*

Organisational Resilience and Current Challenges for Camphill in Scotland

This section looks to the current literature to seek a broader relevance for these findings in relation firstly to the concept of organisational resilience and then some key challenges facing Camphill communities as identified in the current literature.

Organisational Resilience

In his review of the term 'organisational resilience' Cressey sounds a note of caution, telling us that it is a *'...multifaceted concept. Resilience in this area lacks a definitional core, stable set of agreed characteristics'* {Cressey 2009: 3} Nevertheless, he writes that *'For an organisational approach, resilience would have to refer to the capacity of a social-ecological system to withstand shocks from the market or economy and to rebuild and renew itself afterwards.'* {Cressey 2009 : 3} This kind of interaction has emerged clearly from the case studies as a key source of strength for all three communities. Following Gunderson (2000) and Cumming et al. (2005) Burnard & Bhamra write, *'Fundamentally, the concept of resilience is closely related with the ability of an element or system to return to a stable state after a disruption.'* {Burnard & Bhamra 2011: 5583} and go on to suggest that *'...organisational level resilience is based on the organisational processes and resources focused on developing the competence and growth of an organisation. Organisational level resilience is thereby based on the capability to restore efficacy, the ability to effectively process environmental feedback and flexibly rearrange and transfer knowledge and resources to overcome a given disruptive event.'* {Burnard & Bhamra 2011: 5588}

We can look to the tradition of appreciative enquiry for a way to operationalize this definition of organisational resilience. In his work with organisations Cooperrider and colleagues explicitly seek to foster organisational resilience by systematically attending to three 'generative factors' in the appreciative inquiry process. These factors are: continuity, novelty and transition. In their work with organisations, Cooperrider and his colleagues look first for continuity in its most positive sense:

'AI begins with a focus on organizational continuity, the understanding and appreciation of the system's connective threads of identity, purpose, pride, wisdom, and tradition that perpetuate and connect day-to-day life in the organization. It is paramount to recognize that continuity is a necessary part of change or transformation.' {Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 23}

It is only once continuity is explicitly identified and valued that capacity for novelty can be explored, suggesting the disruptive quality of novelty: 'In attending to novelty, the AI dialogue and process provides the opportunity for unexpected newness to be offered up. A space for true valuing of novel thinking and acting is created. Hierarchy is suspended; harmony is postponed in favour (sic) of curious questioning. Symphonies of logical rationales are replaced with cacophonies of wild, half-baked notions; and typical incentives to conform are supplanted with celebration of those who constructively challenge the status quo.' {Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 24}

Only once the basis of continuity has been established, however, can novelty be appreciated as an opportunity rather than a threat. Successful transition then is about the successful management of novelty. 'In attending to transition...new ideals (novelty) are transformed into visible changes that are experienced by everyone as positive movement toward a change target with minimal disruption (threat to continuity)' {Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 24}

Applying the Model

In this section I will explore this model of organisational resilience by relating it to the three communities studied here. Cooperrider et al suggests that resilient organisations can take external disruption as a prompt for generating novelty. This seems to be the case for Camphill School Aberdeen. It changed the focus of the Camphill meetings so that it '*put its backing behind individuals who were willing to try something new and had a passion for these projects*'. The meeting began to be used to '*give permission to do something different and taking action rather than being the passive victims of circumstances*'. The meetings seemed to have something of what Cooperrider et al call 'creative chaos'. Cooperrider's description of the phase of novelty might have been written for the new style of Camphill meetings where 'typical incentives to conform are supplanted with celebration of those who constructively challenge the status quo.' This last point recalls the importance of individual leadership at the time of crisis, when some were prepared '*to face realities*' and then help others do so as well.

In creating a space for the development of novelty CSA had to challenge deep rooted ideas about their own identity and the ideas held about them by others – both negative (in the case of the local authority) and positive (Camphill Estates seeing the School as successful and financially secure). The Business Plan helped by serving as 'common script', enabling co-workers and others to recognise 'the positive reason to change, the desired state to be achieved, and the next few steps to be taken'. It was a key transitional vehicle allowing 'new ideals' to be 'transformed into visible changes that are

experienced by everyone as positive movement toward a change target with minimal disruption' One of these 'visible changes' was the new logo and sign outside the School.

This process conforms to what Cooperrider et al see as the 'healthy management of transition' through:

- A common vision, from which priorities are determined.
- Helpful feedback/measurement mechanisms on key success factors.
- Support for purposeful experimentation.
- Involvement strategies to promote a common script. {Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 24}

Tiphereth and Milltown Day Workshop can also be seen to follow a similar process in their journeys through Ways to Quality and the Social Account process respectively. This makes the obvious but very important point that each of these communities had invested in a systematic and joint process of analysis, reflection and action planning. In doing so, each community was building up its organisational resilience. Milltown Day Workshop began with celebrating core values (continuity) and then set out to test whether these values were being realised in practice. The feedback they received was a prompt for novelty as well as confirmation of what was going well. Clearly, the accounts process was very inclusive as it involved co-workers, workers, families and carers, care managers etc. Tiphereth's WTQ process was similarly concerned with themes of continuity, novelty and transition. Through participating in Ways to Quality, Tiphereth showed itself willing to be gauged against an explicitly anthroposophical framework.

In comparing the social accounts process with Ways to Quality it might be suggested that WTQ emphasises continuity over transition or novelty. It was seen as a 'real challenge' for the community to reconcile its concern with task with 'an awareness of the underlying forces that both nurture and nourish the daily life.' {Ways to Quality 2011: 5}. That said, WTQ also clearly noted the value of novelty in Tiphereth's successful incorporation of increasing numbers of salaried staff and its development of trading activities. The reflective discussion with Tiphereth showed how the WTQ process and Tiphereth College particularly allows the community to manage transition. It enables the community as a whole to take ownership of issues that begin with individuals and groups but become, through the workings of the College, an opportunity for the whole community to reconcile continuity with novelty.

The MDW social accounts process does not use particular 'ideal type' to evaluate the community but rather asks the community to be explicit about its values and aims and then seeks to discover whether it is meeting these. It also looks beyond the community to include others in this evaluation. There are clearly pros and cons for communities to consider in choosing which framework to use in promoting their own organisational resilience. Ways to Quality could be a particularly valuable framework for Camphill communities because of its appreciation of what makes Camphill and its' mission so unique and special. Tiphereth's experience is interesting here. The community valued the process very much but also asserted their independence from it. For example the 'Tiphereth tree' is seen as the most significant symbol of community integrity and independence but this was not part of the WTQ process. MDW'S social accounts also 'hold up a mirror' to the community but, as stated above, uses their own statements to do so. It could be suggested that the social accounts process is more likely to favour novelty over transition because it exposes the community to comments and perspectives of others who do not necessarily share the community's perspectives and assumptions.

It may be more likely to encourage the community to review these in a way that promotes a better fit with the external environment.

As stated above, we can see the three generative factors of continuity, novelty and transition at work in communities' accounts of how they used contrasting processes to manage change. Each of these processes was viewed positively by the three communities and seems to have served them well in developing their organisational resilience.

Current Challenges Facing Camphill in Scotland

How do these findings inform current debates on the challenges facing Camphill communities in Scotland? To answer this question I have drawn extensively from Robin Jackson's recent collection 'Discovering Camphill' (2011). A strong sense emerging from this book is that Camphill could be collectively characterised as a movement that pays 'too much attention to continuity'. As stated earlier, organisational resilience can be seen as a combination of continuity, novelty and transition where these three generative capacities exist in a healthy tension with each other. As Cooperrider et al state 'too much attention to novelty can result in ivory-tower leadership that loses credibility with those doing the core work' and 'too much emphasis on transition can create a sense of directionless change-for-the-sake-of-change.' Too much emphasis on continuity, on the other hand, 'may create myopic, rule-bound systems that constrain' (Cooperrider, et al. 2008: 25-26). This phrase seems to fit quite comfortably with a number of the comments about Camphill contained in Jackson's book.

For example, although Brennan-Krohn recognises the visionary and innovative dimensions of Camphill, she emphasises (referring to CSA in the 1950's) that 'the community stood by certain outdated ideas longer than the mainstream, ideas that, in hindsight, seem clearly mistaken.' (Brennan-Krohn 2011: 28). Costa, currently a co-worker at CSA, suggests that the reason Camphill has 'survived for seventy years' was 'the total commitment to the prevailing ideology and where high walls (were) placed between the community and the outside world.' (Costa 2011: 53, referring to McKanan, 2007) Now, this strength may have become a weakness as '...rigidity and preservation of lifeless forms will only lead to organisational death.' (Costa 2011: 52). Costa and Brennan-Krohn come to similar conclusions about what Camphill should do now:

'If Camphill wishes to survive, it will need to embrace living with instability. Rather than measuring success in terms of organisational longevity, it should judge effectiveness in terms of attentiveness to, and realisation of, its larger goals.' (Costa 2011: 53)

'A romanticisation of its history can be appealing, especially at a time when Camphill's work seems threatened. Yet the great successes in Camphill's history were the moments of flexibility and open-minded interaction.' (Brennan-Krohn 2011: 35)

Plant seems more optimistic in that he suggests that Camphill communities have managed to adapt and change successfully from a pioneer phase to a more settled and organised phase. Plant's pioneer phase has strong echoes with the picture of Camphill presented above. In the pioneer phase the community is '...very intense, idealistic, cohesive and rather fundamentalist in outlook. It demands conformity from its members and expects its members to serve it even above their own interests...it turns its back on society, enjoys a strong sense of identity and maintains high and defining boundaries that are physical, psychological and ideological.' (Plant 2011: 277-278)

These accounts suggest that 'continuity' is a strong feature of Camphill culture and one that is perhaps serving communities less well in modern times.

Nevertheless, the case studies presented here show that Camphill communities in Scotland are demonstrating organisational resilience and drawing on sources of novelty and transition as well as continuity. They offer practical examples to other communities about what can be done to reconcile these three generative factors in a modern, rapidly changing environment.

It should be noted, however, that all three communities underlined a key feature about organisational resilience not mentioned explicitly here. For an organisation to be resilient it must attract new people and enable new people to take on the leadership of communities. All three communities saw this as a key challenge for the future.

I will conclude this section by commenting on the ways in which communities generated novelty in part as a contrast to the emphasis on 'continuity' emphasised above. There seems to be two types of novelty demonstrated in the three communities considered here. The first involves applying a traditional Camphill strength in a new setting or context and the second involves presenting a traditional Camphill strength in a new way. The most obvious example of the former is the expansion of day services where the unique, nourishing Camphill environment is translated into an experience that blends an experience of community with the routines of a working day. CSA's prolific creation of new services also shows that knowledge and skill grown in Camphill can be exported to other contexts and settings – such as training programmes for professionals and carers, specialist assessments, the provision of respite care and outreach services where Camphill co-workers assist parents and carers with building a safe and nourishing home life.

The second type of novelty is to reframe traditional Camphill strengths in modern discourse – including the language of 'personalisation', 'self-directed support' and 'distributed leadership'. For example, the way Milltown Day Workshop tailors activities to the interests and desires of the workers (service users) seems an excellent example of 'personalisation'. As here, where the auditor concludes that 'workers' particular skills appear to be recognised, for example one person enjoys and is good at intricate work and works a lot in the workshop on the tools; another enjoys the grass cutting. Similarly some enjoyed working outside more than others and this seemed to be reflected in the work they were assigned to.' {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 31} The value of work is seen by MDW co-workers in traditional terms as 'Work gives to each one of us the opportunity to express the responsibility we have towards the earth, the world of nature and our fellow human beings'. Meantime the care manager puts this in way that fits current policy emphasis on work as a route to freedom and citizenship: '(the work) gives (the service user) his independence'. {Milltown Day Workshop 2009: 23}

Tiphereth College has also recently come to the attention of the Scottish Social Services Council as an example of an effective way to promote 'practitioner leadership'. Here again, is a traditional feature of non-hierarchical Camphill life which is recognised by others as a valuable 'novelty' once the community are able to articulate what they do in a language others can relate to.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This research has aimed to appreciate more fully the *organisational resilience* possessed by three Camphill communities in Scotland and apply this learning to all Camphill communities in Scotland. This has been done through a close reading of three documents relating to each of the communities. An analysis of the three documents was completed that identified key strengths and capabilities held by the communities. This analysis was shared with communities who were given the opportunity to comment upon this analysis in the form of a reflective discussion with the researcher. Together, the documents and the discussions fleshed out the process behind the documents. It was clear that, for each of the communities, the documents were part of a meaningful process of organisational development. The reflective discussions helped the communities to appreciate more fully the achievements summarised and represented by the documents. This report attempts to give a rich description of the communities' individual challenges and processes in order to help other Camphill communities learn from them.

The study then brings together the various experiences of the three communities under the heading of 'organisational resilience'. The model of organisational resilience developed by Cooperrider et al is used to explore communities' experience under the headings of continuity, novelty and transition. These three generative factors are seen to be in creative tension with each other in successful organisations. This creative tension was illustrated by examples from each community.

The study shows the importance of community commitment to a particular process of organisational resilience. Each of the communities studied here were helped greatly by embarking on the journey of reflection and evaluation summarised here. Some of the respective advantages and disadvantages of the various approaches used by the communities are indicated. In each of the communities a concern about succession was shared.

With regard to the lessons for Camphill Scotland these may be summarised in the form of a few recommendations:

1. Encourage communities to learn from others experiences in managing change and developing organisational resilience. This could begin by disseminating the research contained here more widely including workshops facilitated by the communities involved in this study.
2. Encourage communities to embark on a similar process of organisational audit and reflection to the ones carried out by the three communities considered here.
3. Assist communities to develop novelty by extending traditional strengths into new formats and representing traditional strengths in new language.
4. Assist communities to establish strong links with the external environment and effective means of promoting community cohesion.
5. In particular enable communities to work together on sharing ideas and developing solutions to their concern with succession.

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Appendix One: Codings Used for the Documentary Analysis

To assist in the analysis a coding system was applied to the data and the following headings used to provisionally organise the data:

1. Purpose and philosophy of the community
2. Linkage with the external environment
3. Internal linkage and cohesiveness.
4. Participation of service users and families
5. Tensions between inner and outer
6. The purpose of the respective audit or reporting framework
7. Managing change
8. Culture and leadership

The coding system allowed certain differences and similarities between the documents to be appreciated more clearly. An analysis of each of these documents was completed and each community was sent the analysis relating to their own community and the analyses of the other two.

Appendix Two: Interview Schedule CSA

9.30 Introduction. This includes explaining the purpose of the case study project and how the findings will be used.

Two Purposes of the meeting:

- (1) To use the documentary analysis of the CSA Business Plan to better understand a) CSA at its best. This is about defining clearly and vividly the distinctive achievements of CSA. b) How CSA does this. This is about exploring in details what strengths and capabilities lie behind these achievements. This can include narrative accounts of how CSA met particular challenges and analyses of what enabled CSA to do this (for example, what resources, processes, values did it call upon) c) How CSA might build upon these strengths for the future. This includes imagining a preferred future for CSA with some specific ideas of how this might be achieved.
- (2) To explore where CSA might learn from the distinctive achievements of the other two case study communities (Tiphereth and Milltown Day Workshop).

9.40 Powerpoint presentation of the CSA documentary analysis, followed by a dialogue with Group. The dialogue can take place with one large group, in small groups or a combination of these. It should be recorded on flipchart. It has three parts: identifying distinctive achievements, identifying key strengths, building a preferred future.

9.50 Identifying Distinctive Achievements

1. How well do you feel the report captures the distinctive achievements of CSA?
2. The analysis suggests that a distinctive achievement of CSA is the way you have adapted your services to the needs of the changing market. Do you agree with this or would you identify different achievements as most distinctive of CSA?

(write these achievements on flip chart)

10.10 Identifying key strengths

3. Can you tell me more about how you did this? (prompts as follows)

Can you think of a time when you were really cracking this challenge...what was going on for you at that time?

What particular strengths and resources did you call upon to achieve what you did?

Can you identify a key turning point in the story of how you met this challenge?

What for you represents CSA at its best?

10.30 Building a preferred future

4. How can CSA build on these achievement and strengths for the future? (prompts as follows)

Imagine you woke up 5 years from now and everything at CSA was exactly as you'd want it to be. What would you see, what would you be doing, how would you feel? (Individuals could have a few minutes to think about this before sharing with the large group)

10.50 Break

11.00 Presentation on Achievements and Strengths of Other Two Communities. This is followed by a dialogue structured as follows.

What strikes you as distinctive about the achievements and strengths of the other communities.?

Did reading their examples help you to look differently at your own community?

If so, in what way?

How might you build on this?

(make sure this discussion includes comments on both of the other communities)

11.30 Finish