

TOGETHER WE LEAD?



what
happens
when civil
society
comes
together to
solve social
problems

BD COLLECTIVE

The BD_Collective is a network of networks of social sector organisations, big and small, thematic or geographic, short or longer term, coming together to make the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham a better place to live.



The work of networks is diverse but is bound together by shared values. They link people ready to put the community ahead of their organisation. The fundamental basis of the Collective is that when networks are effective, they lead to civil society doing more.

This report brings together a series of reflections mirrored back to the Collective by our learning partner Ratio (a research organisation exploring how relationships shape health and well-being). This is how we learned from our mistakes and develop our ideas and practice.

Dame Julia Unwin, whose work with Civil Society Futures had a strong influence on how the Collective evolved, has provided a reflection on the work. As Convenor, I also offer my own thoughts. Finally, Michael Little from Ratio, steps away from his objective standpoint and gives his personal observations on the prospects for this collective way of working.

Many of you reading this report will have been trying similar innovations. Don't hesitate to let us know where we have been getting it wrong.

Or if you feel there is something in our work, details of which can be found at BD_Collective's website, that might be useful to you, we are ready to share.

None of this would have been possible without our funders, the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham Council and Lankelly Chase Foundation. They took a risk and give us the chance to explore a very different approach to social infrastructure support.

Avril McIntyre MBE, May 2023

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The Short Story

This is a story about the relationship between civil society

organisations in an outer London Borough. More precisely it is about the relationship between the leaders of those organisations, and narrower still between leaders of organisations that provide services for people described as disadvantaged. As will be seen, this is a small part of civil society as a whole.

The story describes an innovation, a new way of connecting civil society organisations, a network of networks. It is about self-

organising, informal co-operation intended to benefit residents and participating organisations alike.

The work arose out of a dissatisfaction with the traditional mechanism in England for connecting what is called the social sector (the sub-set of organisations funded to respond to disadvantage).

That dissatisfaction is often described in personal terms such as 'I/We don't agree with X about Y'. But the root is structural. Commissioning procedures to drive up efficiency and impact place organisations in competition against each other. In Barking and Dagenham, the leaders of 10 social sector organisations

decided it was time for change. The catalyst was the failure of the sector to respond to a Council's vision for the Borough that the 10 organisations found compelling. They sought a collective response from progressive social sector voices.

The Civil Society Futures report in 2019¹ was influential. It identified organisations supported by public systems as a contributory factor in the weakening of civil society in England. The 10 social sector leaders in Barking and Dagenham adopted the values of connection, trust, shared accountability, and power advocated by Civil Society Futures, and the

BD_Collective was born. It won the Council contract for co-ordinating the relationship between the sector and the Council.

The work initially lacked direction. The leaders were clear on the problem but not the solution. They used funds from an independent foundation to involve Ratio as a learning partner, and the Collective began to learn from its mistakes.

Then came the pandemic. The system of commissioning and competition that pitted organisations against each other was put on hold. Civil society organisations had to collaborate by necessity. Their combined response was not a service



The Collective has expanded, but it still occupies a tiny part of civil society. It needs to scale.

but a series of connections across community.

Self-governing networks began to emerge under the Collective's aegis. The Food Network, for example, is a WhatsApp group of initially 10 food banks. By working together they create a positive sum. The member organisations source more food, waste less food, and feed more people than when they worked independent of each other.

An algorithm measuring the Food Network's WhatsApp conversations showed that as connection, trust and belonging within the group increased, so did the positive sum of the network. As connection, trust and belonging waned, so did the positive sum.

Other networks began to form with different functions. Large networks met online to

re-imagine sectors such as early years or adult social care. Smaller groups of small organisations came together to increase their collective power.

Relationships, the ability to put a face to a name, was a benefit of all networks. The Collective began to serve the function of what Montesquieu called 'gentle commerce', informal connections that oil the wheels of innovation. The networks naturally encouraged conversations about ethics, and a context for participants to recover the values that brought them to the sector.

The Collective began to generate a sector wide positive sum.

Smaller organisations electing to join a network increased their income. The network of networks as a whole began to attract investment in collective activity from health systems, the Council and major foundations.

Progress brought more challenges.

Member organisations were attuned to the dangers of free riding, organisations that benefit thanks to the efforts of others.

This was addressed using Elinor Ostrom's evidence on self-governing communities and asking members of the Collective to establish shared rules and sanctions for those breaking the rules. The potential for division to maintain power was

The governance structure has to develop. The Collective has expanded, but it still occupies a tiny part of civil society. It needs to scale.

By one reckoning, the overarching challenge is fear, and what Rebecca Solnit calls 'elite panic'.² As much as civil

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addressed by replacing bureaucracy of agendas and minutes with conversations about ethics.

There remain significant challenges. By design the Collective is not an organisation. But it now manages significant investments.

society leaders complain about commissioning processes, they are processes that they understand and can manipulate. Moving to a new relational, potentially democratic process that shares power and accountability and invites collective endeavour is frightening for people answerable to board members with buildings to maintain and staff with bills to pay.

The other side of fear is opportunity. In the last 12 months, the Collective began organise around what it called the 'fourth quadrant' that brings civil society leaders together with residents to re-define social problems and find innovative, collective solutions. Experiments in the fourth quadrant are now underway. **■**



The Collective at the end of this phase of learning

Free-forming and self-governing networks of civil society organisations form with the aid of a starter kit that provides step by step instructions and £500 for collective activity.

The networks are bound only by the values of connection, trust, accountability and power sharing.

Their primary mode of governance is by WhatsApp. They receive regular feedback on patterns of connection, trust and belonging in their group, the positive sum

generated by their joint endeavour, and expenditure of funds.

The leader of each network has a right to participate in the Collective steering group and/ or the learning group, the two fora for setting strategy and making operational decisions.

The Collective is, therefore, a network of networks. It is not a constituted organisation.

The networks innovate and attract investment, and the Collective as a whole

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innovates and attracts investment, particularly in the space defined below as the 'fourth quadrant'.

When the model works, networks of civil society organisations generate a whole that is more than the sum of their parts, and the Collective, or network of networks, generate new patterns of connection and forge trusting relationships leading to shared accountability and a shifting of power from public systems to civil society as a whole. ■

When the model works, networks of civil society organisations generate a whole that is more than the sum of their parts

The Context

The boroughs of Barking and Dagenham came together into a single jurisdiction in 1965 to become one of London's 32 boroughs. There are 17 wards with 51 elected members all of whom are Labour Party members. The Borough boomed between the wars, growing between 50 and 75 per cent per decade thanks to immigrants from inner-City London attracted by new industry and good housing.

The Borough was hit by de-industrialisation and austerity, but population has continued to rise at more than 10 per cent per decade since 1990 and now stands at 218,000. The majority of residents are from minority ethnic

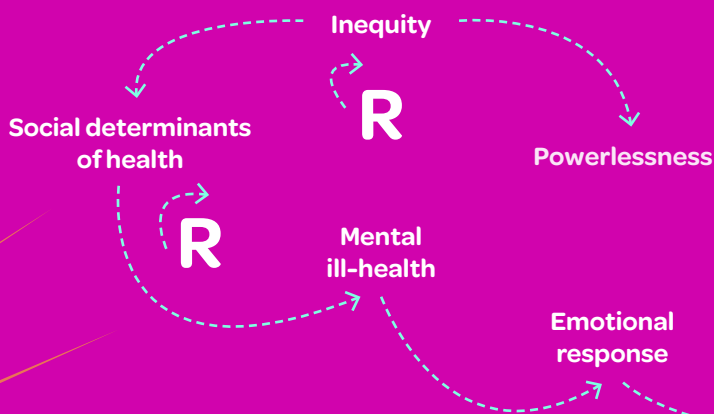
groups, with Black people of African origin (16%) making up the largest single group.

It is one of the most deprived boroughs in London, with nearly half of children living in poverty. A quarter of people live on low pay (twice as many as the richest borough). Infant mortality is also double the rate of the London borough with the lowest rate. The inequity and stress are reflected in health. On average, a woman in Barking and Dagenham will live just under five years less than a woman in Westminster. For men the gap is more than five years.

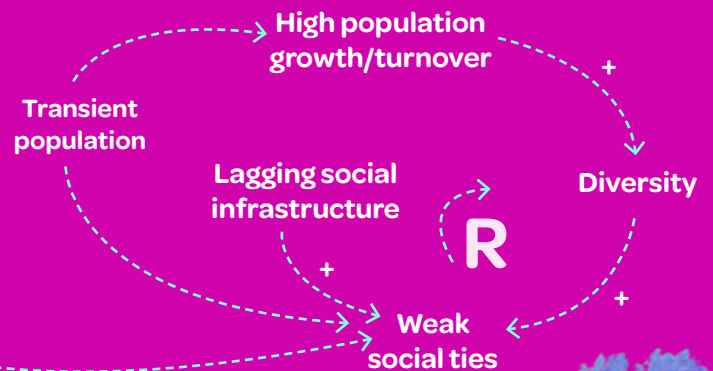
Recently, the Collective sponsored systems science mapping to understand health challenges in the Borough.

The following diagram is part of a larger systems map created by health professionals and civil society leaders. It is a work in progress and should be read as a hypothesis not a fact. But it suggests that inequity or injustice in the Borough creates a sense of powerlessness among residents that fuels the social determinants of health. The population rise, including a high transient population and expanding diversity, contributes to weaker social ties between residents. This is compounded by a fragile social infrastructure of parks, shops, transport and other connecting places in areas of new housing development. ■

Causal Loop



Barking and Dagenham Context Loop



Civil Society in Barking and Dagenham


There is evidence to suggest that the social sector in the Borough suffers from a lack of inward investment from external funders, increases competition for scarce resources. The social sector is smaller than elsewhere in London, with 225 charities and an annual turnover of £24.5 million. There have been concerted efforts to address this challenge including the creation of BD Giving, a new place-based funding model for building relationships, infrastructure and enhancing resident voice.

The social sector may be small but civil society is broader and more robust with an estimated 5,000 formal and informal organisations comprising about 46,000 members. This can be evidenced in three ways. First, the data are consistent with Konrad Elsdon's survey³ of local voluntary organisations in England. Only a small number of these organisations receive funds from the Council or elsewhere. Most are clubs and associations or WhatsApp groups.

Second, an innovation sponsored by the Collective in one part of the Borough asked residents two questions: one, where did they get a 'warm welcome in their community?'; and two, 'who and where did they turn to for help?'. As well as the expected answers of family, friends and neighbours, and faith groups, residents also identified local shops, cafes, laundrettes and hairdressers. They talked about going to parks and other social spaces to decompress from daily stress.

When the innovation rescued a derelict shop for locals to stop and chat, it was heavily used. Third, data on social participation shows that although Barking and Dagenham residents are under more pressure than elsewhere in London, they remain social and altruistic. One in four volunteers informally once a month and half once

a year. One in eight formally volunteer each month, and one in four once a year. These rates are lower than for London as a whole but consistent with neighbouring boroughs. Three quarters of residents give to charities, and just under a fifth are involved in social action.

The benefits of civil society for health and wellbeing are less in Barking and Dagenham. The proportion -64%- of Barking and Dagenham residents feeling a strong sense of belonging to their neighbourhood is less than elsewhere in London. The sense of powerlessness is also greater. Only a third of residents feel able to influence decisions in their local area. 



The problems the Collective is seeking to solve

Depending on the analyst, we are emerging from (Berwick⁴) or captured in the midst of (Lowe and Plimmer⁵) an era of competition that, among other things, has pitched civil society organisations against each other. The expressed objective is improved outcomes for residents, and there is evidence to suggest that, in some instances, the objective is achieved. A bureaucracy called 'commissioning' has been created to manage the competitive process. It rests on mountains of information about outputs.

In the era of competition, a small proportion of civil society organisations were drawn to government funding.

They became 'providers' by competing against similar organisations for contracts. The providers had to learn the rules of the bureaucracy, how to cost and pitch for tenders, and how to provide information on outputs to satisfy the commissioner. To make the bureaucracy work, both sides in the commissioner-provider contract had to learn how to game or manipulate the data so that both parties could claim success.

The competition and the gaming created significant mistrust between civil society organisations and suspicion, sometimes grounded in fact, that contractual processes were unfair. Sub-contracting between larger and smaller organisations created further divisions.

So, the first problem the Collective sought to solve was the loss of trust between civil society organisations that had become providers of services on behalf of the Council and other funders.

As the work progressed and encouraged by the break in routine practices created by the Covid-19 pandemic, the value of broader civil society to generate connection, trust and belonging between residents and a shared sense of destiny (or collective agency) was better appreciated. Using the language of Putnam and Romney Garrett⁶ this broader function of civil society was described as the recovery of 'we', in contrast to work to address the needs of residents one case at a time.

The recovery of 'we' became the second focus for the Collective. ■



Civil Society Futures

The independent inquiry Civil Society Futures ran from 2017 to 2018, just as the dissatisfaction within the social sector in Barking and Dagenham was coming to a head.

Among a wide range of findings, the Inquiry concluded⁷ that 'civil society organisations have too often lost their independence and willingness to stand up to government and business as boundaries blur between them (p.22).'

One of the 10 founders of the BD_Collective attended one of the launch events for Civil Society Futures in 2019. She went expecting to hear about things that might change to allow the social sector to flourish. Instead, she heard the leader of the Inquiry, Julia Unwin, tell the audience that social sector organisations were part of the problem.

This challenge was the catalyst for them to bring together 10 local leaders to create the BD_Collective. In 2019, it secured the Council

contract for co-ordinating the relationship between the sector and the Council. But, if Julia Unwin's analysis was correct, securing a contract was not the remedy to the problem.

To begin with, the 10 organisations leading the Collective were agreed on what they didn't want - the culture of competition and lack of trust- but they were not clear on what should be put in its place. The primary guide for finding a way forward were the four values promoted by Civil Society Futures under the acronym PACT:

Power

A great power shift

Accountability

We hold ourselves first and foremost to the people we serve

Connection

Building deeper and closer connections

Trust

We will build trust by staying true to our values and doing what's right – being honest about our failures and successes, defending rights and calling out injustice.

Learning from Mistakes

The 10 founding organisations formed a steering group to set the general strategy. They secured investment from the Lankelly Chase Foundation for a learning process. A design and a learning group were formed to make decisions intended to implement strategy.

Ratio mirrored back to the design and learning group the results of their decisions. The group learned from their failures, and corrected course.

The learning took many forms, from conversations with everybody involved in the process to reviews of the literature and

including machine learning data from WhatsApp groups. The results included in this paper should be read as no more than hypotheses intended to inform the decision-making body of the Collective. But all of the hypotheses are replicable. They can be tested in other places. ■

The Collective's work was supported by a learning partnership with Ratio, an independent research centre focused on relationships and health. Ratio's approach to learning from error is described in the short publication *How To Be Wrong*. Ratio acted as a mirror to the Collective, reflecting back the effect of decisions made by the Design and Learning group and asking if there was a need to correct course. Ratio also developed algorithms for measuring relationships within networks and generated the feedback loops shared with network members. Ratio's work was funded by the Lankelly Chase Foundation.



THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The start of the learning coincided with the first lockdown of the Covid-19 pandemic. It transformed the Collective in two respects.

First, the structure of work changed. Most social sector activity had to pivot to meet the needs of the most vulnerable residents. All non-essential work shifted from face to face to online. There was widespread reflection on the future of social support leading to the creation of two 're-imagining' networks.

The membership of these groups crossed social sector and Council and served the most basic purpose of a network, the ability of participants to put a face to a name. The social capital generated from these relationships underpinned most of the innovation generated under the auspices of the Collective.

Second, during the pandemic, essential face-to-face work transformed the relationship between civil society

organisations and public system commissioners. A partnership between and jointly designed by Council and social sector organisations became known as BD_CAN:

focused on people shielding and unable to get their food or medication and/or were socially isolated.

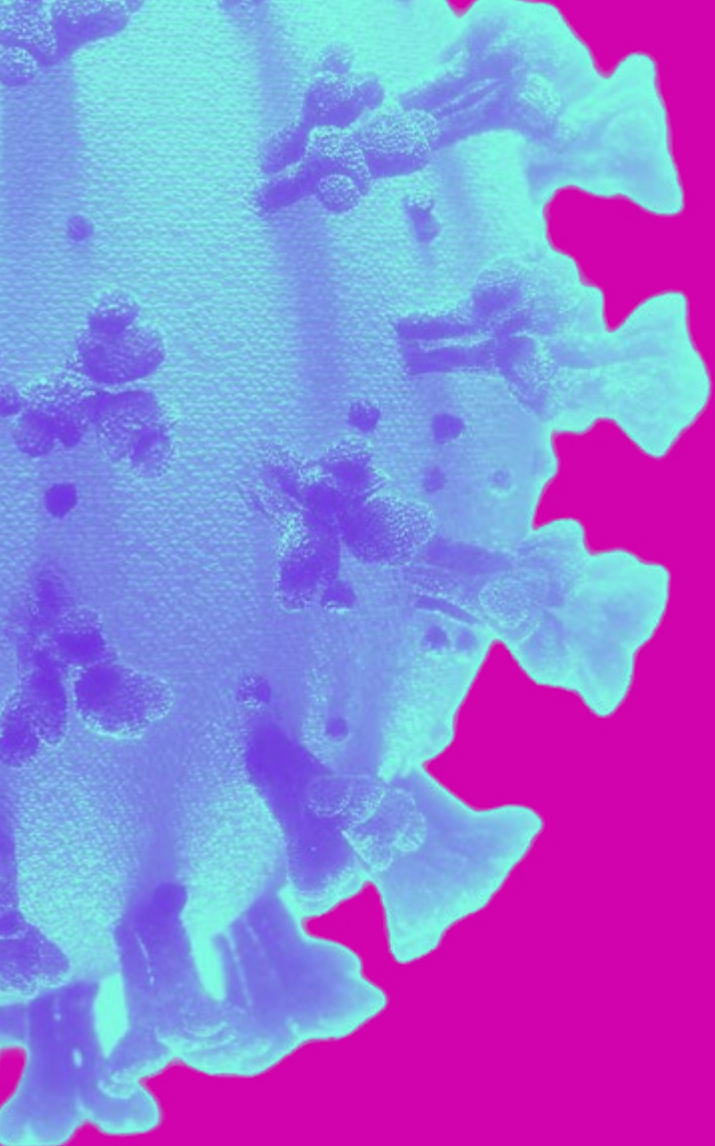
rested on the response of a broad range of civil society organisations, working in tandem, and supported by Council funds and, where necessary, specialist expertise

loosened traditional commissioner-provider accountabilities, and placed trust in people and organisations with local relationships that could respond rapidly to resident needs.

used shared learning about failure to improve the response, with partners more likely to pick up the phone to each other than process challenges through email and output reporting,

The pandemic created an ideal context for the values of the Collective. New connections were made across civil society organisations, and between them and Council officials. The collective response to shielded residents demanded trust between the partners.

Commissioner-purchaser contracts were replaced with what O'Neill⁸ calls 'intelligent accountability'. Power shifted from public systems to civil society, and from social sector organisations to a broader spectrum of civil society supports. ■



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People, systems and being wrong

The Collective is a network of network of civil society organisations. The networks comprise people, mostly leaders of the organisations. Like all people they are full of contradictions. Nighat leads the most successful network to date, mostly on her phone from her car as she drives around the Borough distributing food. Avril describes herself as the most controlling person on the planet but has created her role as convenor to have extremely limited powers. Natalia has been the most inventive in networking parents to support each other when their children are young but has no time to engage with the wider work of the Collective.

Sarah fights for equality of opportunity for the small organisations in her networks and is not afraid to question the validity of the Collective that has provided the small groups with opportunity to influence and shape practice.

As will be seen, the system or context around people shapes the strength of connection, trust and between them, and their sense of belonging to a common cause. In the absence of this system, a void is created. And the void is easily filled with bad feeling and anger. In the early days of the Collective, it was common for members of the social sector to talk about each other in unflattering ways. As people got to know each other, the assumptions they made about each other were called into doubt. The following quotation from the novelist Philip Roth⁹ was one of the feedback loops used to draw this process to the attention of Collective members. ■

You fight your superficiality, your shallowness, so as to try to come at people without unreal expectations, without overload or bias or hope or arrogance, as untanklike as you can be, sans cannon and machine guns and steel plating half a foot thick; you come at them unmenacingly on your own ten toes instead of tearing up the turf with your caterpillar treads, take them on with an open mind, as equals, man to man, as we used to say, and yet you never fail to get them wrong... The fact remains that getting people right is not what living is about anyway. It's getting them wrong that is living, getting them wrong and wrong and wrong and then, on careful reflection, getting them wrong again.

That's how we know we're alive: we're wrong. Maybe the best thing would be to forget being right or wrong about people and just go along for the ride. But if you can do that-well, lucky you. ■■

The Functions of Networks

The Collective networks have multiple functions. Some of these functions are shared across all networks; others are specific to the purpose of the network.


Relationships are the primary function. Many people in the social sector in Barking and Dagenham did not know each other, or could not put a name to a face, prior to the Collective. This statement remains true today but less so. The Collective and its networks have facilitated hundreds of new relationships.

By the same mechanism, the Collective has brought to the surface people and organisations with significant capability who would have remained submerged in the previous competitive environment. The social sector is visibly more inclusive as a result of the Collective's work.

The Collective and its networks have facilitated hundreds of new relationships.

When the Collective and the networks are effective, they serve the function of what French philosopher Montesquieu called 'gentle commerce'. Progress in the competitive private sector is oiled by strong relationships between businesspeople that result in sharing ideas and acting in the common good. Gentle commerce generates a 'positive sum' by growing the market in which an individual company operates, and indeed smaller organisations joining a Collective network increase their income, reach and influence. Some Collective members report recovering the values that drew them to public service, and that get lost in the struggle to protect their organisation in a competitive environment.

Underneath these cross-cutting functions, networks have been established to:

- Improve efficiencies in the response of organisations with a shared mission, e.g the Food Network
- Re-imagine the collective response to the well-being of residents, e.g. the Re-imagining Adult Social Care Network, Social Isolation Network, Early Help for Families Consortium, Mental Health for Older People Consortium, the Migrant Network.
- Increase the power of a collective of smaller organisations, e.g. the Youth Network, Sports Network and Women's Network. 


The Positive Sum of Networks

The pandemic instigated networks of people meeting online and keeping in touch via 'WhatsApp' and telephone. The Food Network is the most enduring. It brings together a continually growing number of organisations responding to food poverty, typically food banks.

It was the first network to demonstrate the 'positive sum' generated by collective endeavour. Working as a group, the members found they could source more food, waste less food, and feed more people than if they had operated as single entities. The benefits are more the product of tactics than strategy. When one organisation finds a food source it cannot

use, or has food that will soon perish, or has a resident it cannot feed, it connects with other network members.

An algorithm developed by Ratio for analysing the WhatsApp conversations of network members shows that connection, trust and belonging between members fluctuates over time. In the case of the Food Network, the increased 'sum' of food sourced and used to feed residents is closely associated with the strength of connection, trust and belonging.

The positive sum is instrumental to the longevity of each network. Not only do more people get fed, but the desires and needs of the leaders of each food bank in the network are satisfied. 

The Food Network was the first network to demonstrate the 'positive sum' generated by collective endeavour



Values and Action

The tables below summarise some of the analysis of WhatsApp conversations between, in this case, Food Network members. The algorithm was designed to produce a feedback loop, a mirror to each network, reflecting back patterns of connection, trust, belonging and shared endeavour. But they also reveal something about how civil society works, when it works well.

Values are clearly important. But they take the form of a shared history, something that binds together everybody and everything in civil society. There are few explicit references to the values of power, accountability, connection and trust in the network WhatsApp feed until there is a significant challenge and members are brought back to the essence of what they are trying to do together.

If the network data are indicative of civil society more broadly, social connection, trust and belonging are closely bound up in action. As the tables below indicate, there are periods when network members are out of contact with each other.

Action brings them together. When food is sourced, or about go to waste, or when people who may go unfed come to notice, network

members connect, trust is rekindled, refuelling the sense of belonging.

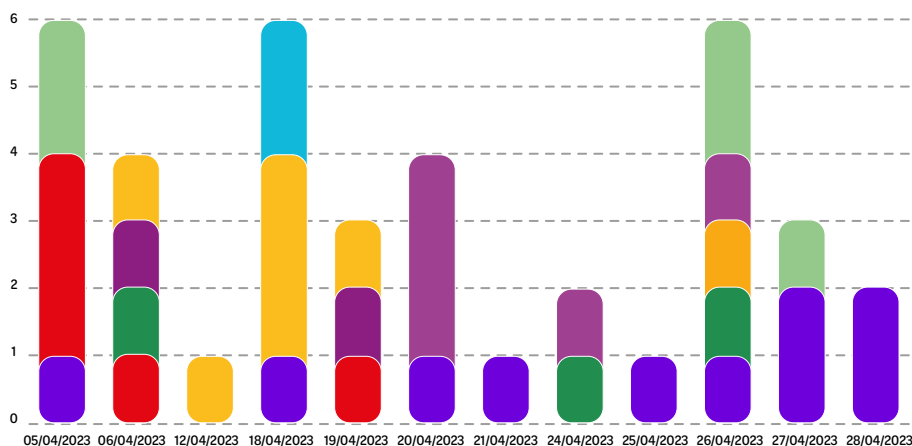
The strength of the connection, trust and belonging makes counting redundant. Nobody adds up who got what. Indeed, well-functioning networks appear to operate without bureaucracy. There are few formal meetings, no agendas, minutes, or reports. **■**

Supporting Migrants Network

Connection/Trust/Belonging Apr 23

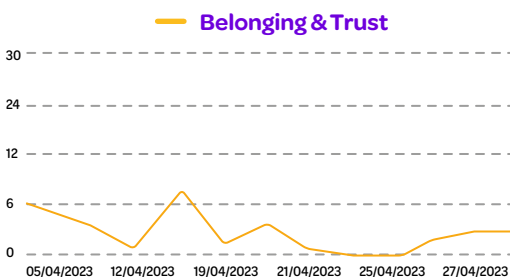
Connection

*colour indicates different person making an interaction



- 88.9% networks members active
- 39 interventions in 12 days
- 34 words that indicate belonging & trust ('we' - 50%)
- 3.25 interventions/day (min 1, max 6)
- 9 question ?

Connection Trust Belonging

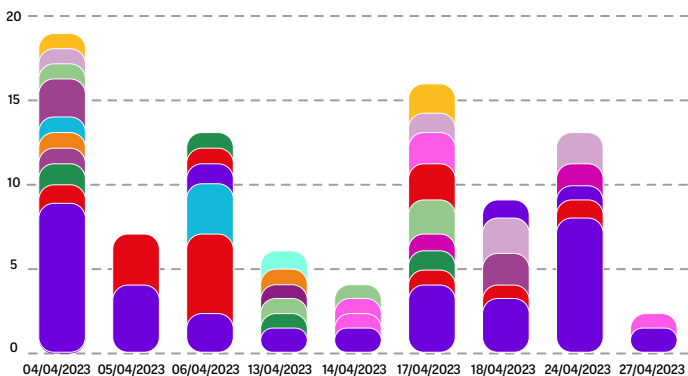


Food Network

Connection/Trust/Belonging Apr 23

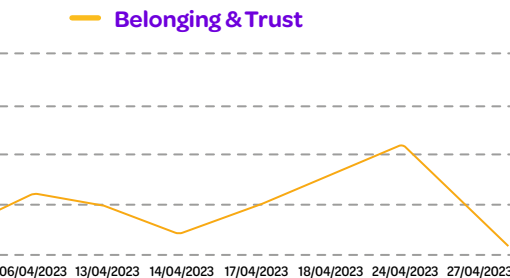
Connection

*colour indicates different person making an interaction



- 44.9% networks members active
- 89 interventions in 12 days
- 63 words that indicate belonging & trust ('we' - 42%; 'x' - 19%)
- 9.8 interventions/day (min 2, max 19)
- 5 question ?

Connection Trust Belonging



The Values in Action: The Network Kit

For the Collective to flourish, the founders had to be altruistic, to invest significant time and effort in a yet unspecified collective endeavour. For progress to sustain, it was necessary for the values -to connect, create trust, share accountability and power- to become systemic, that is automatic and not dependent on the goodwill of individuals.

Agency and decision making is fully devolved to the network members. It cannot be controlled by existing steering or learning group members.

The design and learning group developed a kit to allow any leader of the estimated 5,000 civil society organisations, however small, to start a network. Stage one gives the potential leader simple instructions and a small amount of resource to recruit people to a network. Once achieved, the group are then sent the full network kit that:

- Explains the Collective Values
- Describes the functions and benefits of a network.
- Includes a debit card with £500 of value to be spent at the discretion of network members.
- Explains the rules, to adhere to the Collective Values and sign up to a WhatsApp group.

- Sets out the function of regular feedback on patterns of connection, trust and belonging, and expenditure.
- Provides the opportunity to share ideas and benefit from opportunities broadcast on the Collective's Discourse communication platform.
- Gives any representative of the network rights to be part of the governance structure for the overall Collective.

Agency and decision making is fully devolved to the network members. It cannot be controlled by existing steering or learning group members. ▣

Points of resistance

The Collective operates against three decades of deteriorating trust between social sector organisations. Progress and spread of networks have been uneven, and the learning has led to much adjustment to the network kit.

The primary challenge is what Olsen¹⁰ calls the 'free-rider' or 'free-roller' problem, the fear, sometimes confirmed, that one person or group of people benefits as a result of the efforts of another

person or group of people. Olsen showed that 'free rolling' is rational response in many group contexts. The philosopher David Hume¹¹ captured the problem very well. He observed that if two neighbours, well known to each other, share a plot of land, they will take care not to exploit each other. But when many people with fewer to no social obligations to each other share a plot of land, some will exploit the situation for private gain.

Free rolling is generally underhand and hard to see. A secondary challenge is the explicit efforts of network leaders and members to

manipulate the system for private or uneven gain. This is seen when networks take on the form of organisations or special interest groups, replacing distributed leadership and open discourses with a leader, agendas, and minutes.

It is also evident in the few cases where the algorithm picked up on networks establishing a second WhatsApp group for decision making by a sub-group.

The Design and Learning Group of the Collective turned to the work of Nobel Prize Laureate Lin Ostrom to resolve these challenges. ▣



Learning from Ostrom

Ostrom was interested in Olsen's 'free-roller' problem. She studied how it operated in real world conditions. She visited communities that had more people fishing open access lakes than could be sustained by fish in those lakes. She watched how shared irrigation systems worked, asking why the amount of water taken by one farmer didn't deprive that available to others.

In the competitive world of commissioning of social sector organisations, rules, boundaries and sanctions are set by the commissioner. If the social sector organisation fails to adhere to rules, or oversteps a boundary, then a penalty can be imposed, financial for example, or loss of contract.

Ostrom found that effective collectives operate differently. They define their own boundaries (how much of the lake can be fished, who has access to the irrigation system). They set their own rules (how many fish each person can take, how much water they can draw) and

make decisions by consensus. They self-monitor to check if there is any free-rolling (there is no external evaluation) and, critically, they impose

people hate being told what to do but will follow rules that are arrived at by consensus. Most effective collectives seldom need to impose penalties.

sanctions (there are penalties for people who take too many fish or draw off too much water).

Ostrom found that people hate being told what to do but will follow rules that are arrived at by consensus. Most effective collectives seldom need to impose penalties.

The framework identified by Ostrom is systemic. Effective networks comprise the same mix of people that make up the social sector in Barking and Dagenham. Some are smart, some are more practical. Some will bend the rules, others are

rigid. Some are prone to personal attack, others less so. Some are intrinsically altruistic, others display self-interest. The boundaries,

rules and sanctions of self-organising collectives bring out the better selves of all participants.

The Collective's network kit has gradually evolved to reflect this learning. The rules have been set by the Collective design and learning group. (They require that all networks adhere to the Collective values, operate via WhatsApp, and share learning and activity on Discourse). The sanctions for breaking the rules are feedback loops.

The measures of connection, trust and belonging are shared regularly, and expose for example, secondary

channels of conversations opening up. The financial transactions of each network are also reported on the WhatsApp feed. The response to feedback is generally immediate, and positive.

At the end of Year 3, the design and learning group agreed a criterion for networks to claim additional funds from the Network Pot. Around 40% of the infrastructure income from the contract with the Council is placed on the Open Collective platform and is available for Networks to claim against the set criteria. This is another way trust is being built between networks.

When networks fail, the boundaries (for example membership or focus of the network) are blurred. Rules are set by a leader, often operating in self-interest or on behalf of a sub-section of the network. Struggling networks tend to exclude outsiders and eliminate feedback. ■



Systemic Resistance

The Collective has evolved into a non-organisational, self-organising, self-regulating model. But it remains under the influence of the system in which it operates. One illustration of the continuing constraints emerged from analysis of stalling progress in one of the innovations sponsored by the Collective (the Localities work described below).

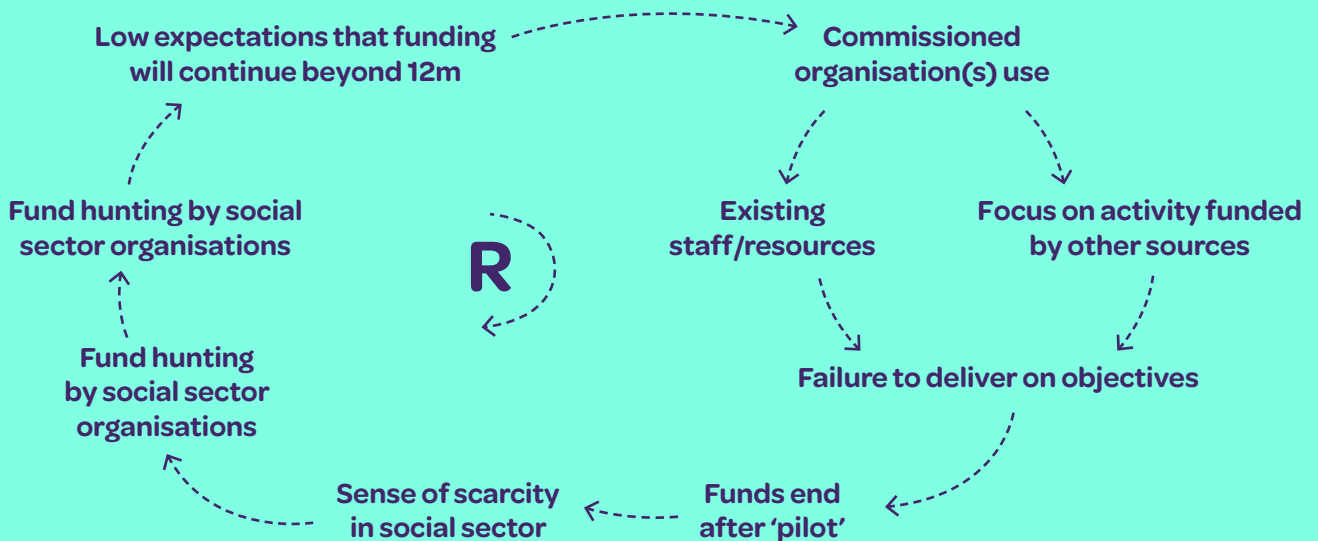
The work was led by five medium size social sector organisations, four receiving £50,000 of support, with the fifth -covering two areas- receiving

£100,000. In the first six months, the network struggled to deliver the innovation with discipline and rigour. A primary cause was the lack of preparation time. The innovation had 14 months to prove concept, and only two months to prepare.

A secondary cause was network members' sense of scarcity around their own organisations. Leaders of these organisation are involved in a continual 'hunt' for funding to 'survive'. Funding streams are increasingly short-term, often labelled as 'pilots',

and organisational leaders have little trust that funding will continue beyond testing phase'. After securing the grant, the leaders of the organisations are understandably restrained in their commitment. They dovetail the work with other funding streams and use existing staff members for delivery. Impact is limited or not recorded.

Disappointed funders pull the plug, confirming the skepticism of social sector organisations. In the language of systems science, this is a reinforcing negative feedback loop. **R**



A Network of Networks (not an organisation)

As its values suggest, the Collective has sought to share power and accountability. The distribution of power requires good governance. The standard response is organisational. Nearly all English local authorities have a Voluntary and Community Service or CVS organisation that acts on behalf of member social sector organisations, with an elected board and paid staff.

The Collective was established by the leaders of 10 social sector organisations. They formed a steering committee. The fiduciary responsibilities of the Collective, such as managing external grants and employing staff,

were allocated to organisations in the Collective acting on the Collective's behalf and answerable to the steering committee. A small secretariat co-ordinates activity such as communications, convening events, supporting network development, and managing finances.

As networks became the primary vehicle for the work of the Collective, it was decided that any leader or representative of a network had the right to a place on the steering committee. Gradually, the leadership of the steering committee changed from founders to network leaders.

The steering group sets out the general direction of travel. The design and learning group have responsibility for decision making. The learning partner, Ratio, reflected back learning on the Collectives failures every six weeks. The design and learning Group decided how to respond.

In sum, the Collective is not an organisation. It is a network of networks. The power of the leadership groups is checked by the fact that any of the 5,000 civil society organisations in the Borough can establish a network and become part of the leadership. **R**

THE FOURTH QUADRANT

(OPENING UP A SPACE FOR REFORM)

As the work of the Collective gained traction, questions about its functions and potential re-opened. How was it different from the CVS, which continues its work, and other infrastructure entities, such as BD Giving and Barking Enterprise Centre? The Collective might be viewed as a 'disruptive innovation' designed to cut through the competitive environment created by public system commissioning. Having disrupted the system and generated 'gentle commerce' type relationships, maybe its work was done?

To think about this challenge, the design and learning group thought about the activity of civil society organisations in four quadrants (see diagram below). The vertical axis separates activity by solo organisations from activity

by groups of organisations working in partnership. The horizontal axis separates activity that is led by public systems of health and Council from activity that is led by the community.

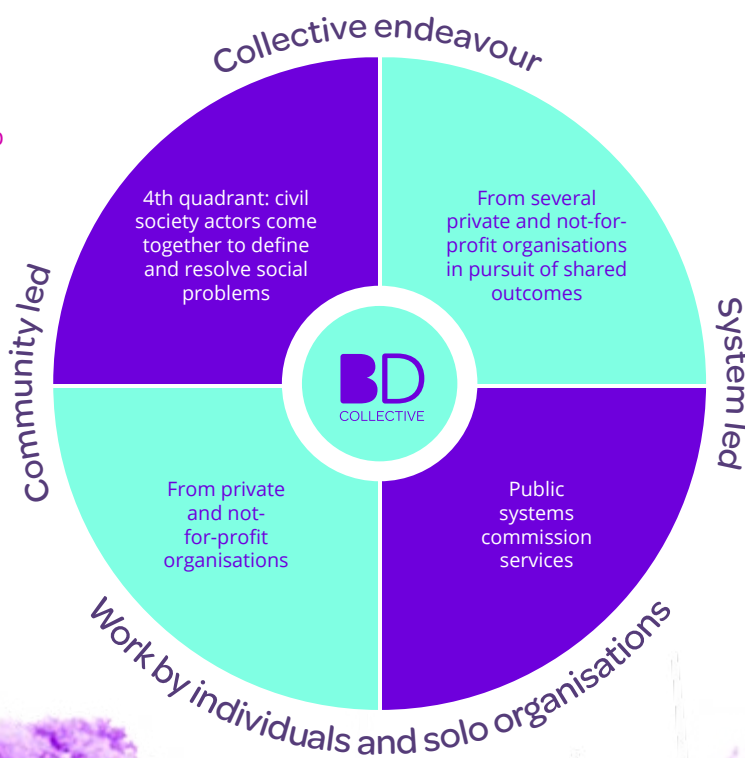
In the bottom two quadrants, commissioners purchase services from civil society organisations that represent their community. The Council, for example, has supported

Al-Madina mosque to become a 'community hub', adding Council services to the existing array of existing, community led supports.

The two quadrants on the right-hand side of the diagram could represent a 'collective outcomes' model where the commissioner brings together multiple organisations to deliver services to achieve a shared goal.

A self-organising collective adds little value to activity in these three quadrants. It may temper the unintended consequences of competitive tendering. It could provide the networking required for a collective outcomes model. But that function could be delivered as well by other infrastructure organisations.

The fourth quadrant is different. Civil society organisations and activities come together to re-define and find shared solutions to social problems. In this space, the work should be directed and defined by residents not by owners of funding streams or leaders of individual social sector organisations. The potential is to respond to local challenges with local innovation. Collectives of civil society organisations working in tandem with residents could deliver that innovation. ■



Innovation

Residents are building networks of households to hold and share resources to respond to shared challenges.



struggle to connect with smaller organisations in their neighbourhoods. The idea of building out from ideas generated by residents is new and, in some cases, threatening. The Collective values can get lost along the way.

Nonetheless, although experimental and tentative, the work is producing innovation that would not have been considered prior to the Collective developed by people who would not have been given a role prior to the Collective. It includes space recovered in unused shops for residents to meet and talk and engage in mutual aid activities.

Maps drawn by and shared between residents that capture the places and spaces where they find a 'warm welcome' and people who can provide useful, practical advice about shared problems. There is triage used as permission to have conversations and learn about how residents are coping with major stressors, and to share information about places, spaces and other resources that bind a community. Residents are building networks of households to hold and share resources to respond to shared challenges. Young people are working to recover shared space in 'new build' communities to compensate for and challenge the shortcomings of developers.

These early prototypes suggest a modern twist on pre-competition social sector activities, as exemplified for example by the Settlement movement, focused on communities not individuals, and produced with the residents not for residents. A shorthand to describe this shift is the recovery of a 'we' society from an 'I' society. ■

The Fourth Quadrant has taken the Collective beyond changing relationships between social sector organisations and into changing relationships between residents, civil society, including business, and public services. It has resulted in a series of innovations, all designed with residents. It has generated small but significant additional investments (circa £2.5 million) in social sector activity in the Borough.

The Neighbourhood Networks initiative supported by the National Lottery Community Fund and the Council brings together groups of small

civil society organisations to innovate with residents. The process is managed by the Collective and supported by BD Giving.

The Localities work brings together five medium to large size civil society organisations with leads from health services and the Council to engage with residents, re-imagine community agency and power with the objective of recovering the average of five years lost from healthy life expectancy in the Borough.

The Early Help for Families consortium was formed through the Department for Education's Start4Life funding

strand. This brings seven organisations together to explore how to develop a new model in which families are enabled to build community infrastructure that slows or shuts the 'revolving door to services'.

Another set of collaborations is building prototypes to tackle social isolation.

All of this work is nascent, and so far, is generating as much failure as success. The culture of gaming that characterises relationships in the bottom two quadrants of the above diagram is hard to shake off. Medium to large size organisations can

The Learning Brought Together

The learning continues. The idea of 4th Quadrant innovation emerged 15 month's ago. Today it is generating investment and innovation. In 15 month's time it may be swept away and replaced by a new idea. Or the Collective itself may be swept away and replaced by a better way of connecting, building trust, sharing accountability and shifting power. There are a series of lessons from the last three years to inform whatever comes next. They are summarised in the diagram below.

It is now possible to imagine a different way to link civil society organisations, and to cut across the negative side effects of commissioning and competition. It starts with strong, shared values. Building connections across civil society. Recovering trust by having difficult conversations and finding shared resolution. Sharing accountability across civil society (and beyond social sector organisations). Re-balancing the power of government systems, civil society and residents. Coming together to agree boundaries, rules and

sanctions is an essential building block for effective collective endeavour. Simple feedback loops that mirror back how we behave are effective and powerful sanctions.

Ordinary human relationships sit at the core. Meeting and talking. Not shying away from difficult conversations. Not asking what others can do but asking what 'we' can do collectively. And holding 'we' accountable when things go wrong.

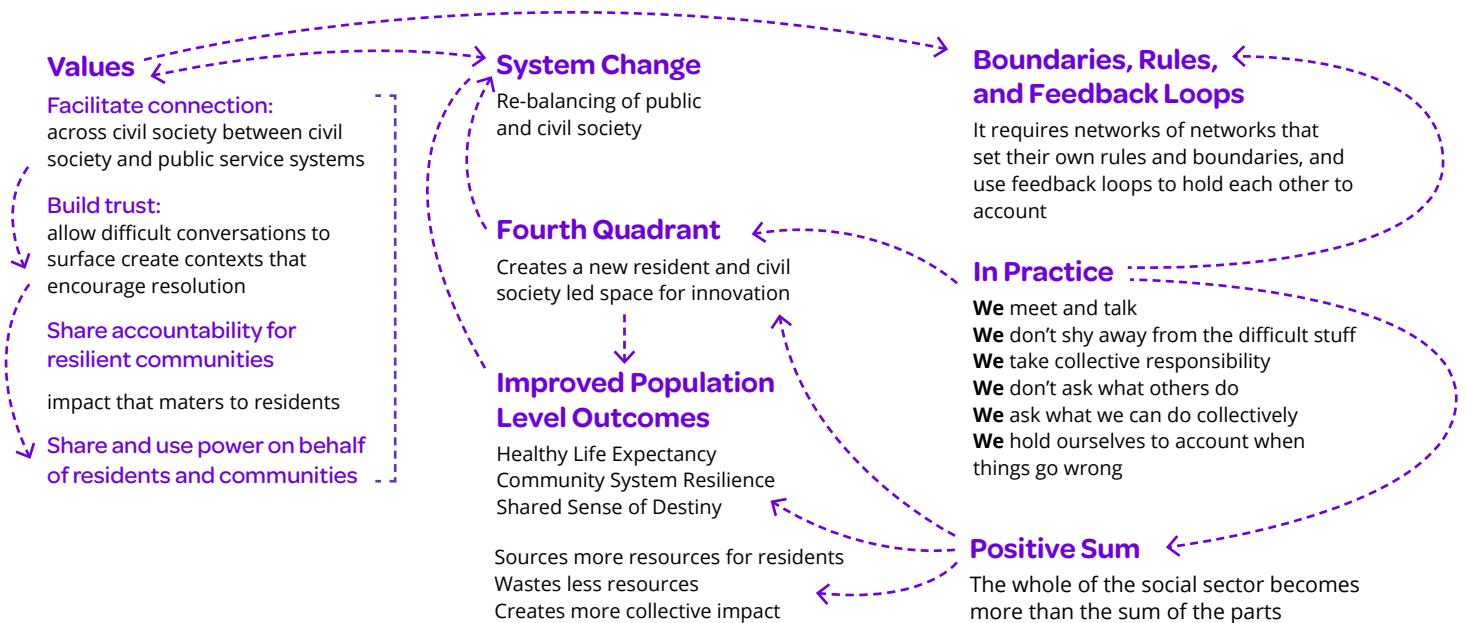
When these things happen, a positive sum is generated. The whole of civil society

organisations becomes more than the sum of its parts. (There is also self-interest. Organisations that engage in collective activity increase their income).

Shared endeavour opens up the potential for innovation that is collectively designed across civil society.

To be sustained, these shifts will require a re-balancing of public systems and civil society to protect the collective space.

The objective also shifts from 'I' to 'we', from fixing residents one case at a time to better population level outcomes, such as healthy life expectancy. **■**



Getting out of the way of Civil Society

Most of the learning has focused on what the social sector can do to re-build trust across civil society. Local government and public systems also have a role to play.

Part of this concerns the culture of public services. For example, elected members and professional staff lose sight of the relatively small role of local government services in the health and well-being of residents, and the significant role of civil society and residents themselves.

Money flows are another part. There is an imbalance of investment in services to meet the needs of individual

residents and in social infrastructure that increases residents' potential to be their better selves. Re-balancing commissioning across the four quadrants of the above diagram is one way to realise this opportunity. Another shift from 'I' to 'we'.

Barking and Dagenham Council is working hard to generate more external investment in the Borough. Using that investment to re-invigorate civil society will not only address staggering inequalities that cost the average resident five years in healthy life expectancy, it can also bolster democracy in a borough where all seats are held by a single political party. **■**

Conclusions

The idea of self-organising, informal co-operation across civil society that benefits residents and participating organisations is clearly relevant to the recovery of the United Kingdom. The ideas contained in this report should be relevant to the multiplicity of place-based initiatives across the country, not to mention the prospects of relational social policy.

Within Barking and Dagenham, the picture is mixed. On the one hand, there is a broad appreciation that a changing Borough needs a changing approach to public policy. The limits of public services to meet the needs of residents one case at a time is widely appreciated. The alternatives are not clear, but working with, tapping into the capability of and/or ceding power to civil society is increasingly seen as a fruitful avenue for exploration. The Collective is at least an oil to lubricate these efforts and, at best, could be a core mechanism for change.

On the other hand, there are extremely strong conservative forces, the strongest of which are in the social sector itself. For anybody running a small to medium-sized social sector organisation, the risks of using a collective approach to radically disrupt public policy in the Borough appear to be mostly on the downside. Strong values, transparent structures, co-operative working and a greater voice for residents' sound enticing to the outsider. To the insider they represent giving up power and learning new ways of working.

As with most innovation, the question is whether there are sufficient innovators and early adopters ready to take a chance on an, yet, unproven product, knowing that if they are proved right others will follow their example. The next 15 months will begin to answer this question.

In November 2018 an inquiry into the future of civil society, which I chaired, published

THE GOOD, THE BAD

Dame Julia Unwin is an experienced non-executive, speaker, consultant and mentor.

She was the Chief Executive of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation for a decade until the end of 2016.

In 2017 she launched and chaired the Independent Inquiry into the Future of Civil Society in England, which reported in November

2018, and held a fellowship with Carnegie UK Trust 2017/18 considering the role of kindness in public policy.

She has written and spoken extensively on issues relating to philanthropy, governance, the voluntary sector and its relationship with government.

Her publications include 'Why Fight Poverty?', 'Kindness, Emotions and

civil society – in all its richness and diversity - may be in a parlous state, but it is still, despite everything, our best hope of success.

its final report, Civil Society Futures. Thanks to the work of brilliant colleagues and the input from many organisations and individuals, within and outside civil society, we tried our best to predict the trends and changes that faced civil society in the coming years. We listened hard to the experiences of people



AND THE UGLY

REFLECTIONS
BY
DAME JULIA UNWIN

Relationships', the 'Blind Spot in Public Policy Making' and 'The Grant Making Tango'.

She is currently a non-executive director of the Mears Group PLC and of Yorkshire Water. She is Inaugural Chair of Smart Data Foundry based at Edinburgh University. She also chairs the Board of Governors at York St John University.

In 2010 Dame Julia was awarded the Outstanding Leadership Award in the Charity Awards and has received honorary doctorates from three universities. In the 2020 New Year Honours she received a DBE. For more information about Julia please visit her website: www.juliaunwin.com

all over the country, trawled through oceans of data and examined the opinions of experts in coming up with our report.

Looking back, after such a difficult period for the country – after the Covid pandemic and all its associated challenges, during political turmoil and a cost-

of-living crisis to surpass all other, it is worth asking the question, what did we get right? And what did we get wrong? What did we spot? And what did we miss?

Well, we said that we were heading for challenging times (how right we were!). We talked about precariousness – the

likelihood of economic volatility, civil unrest, cyber-attack, terrorism, and every other sort of chaos, but what we did not foresee was a global pandemic that upended the world. A pandemic which has seen half of us in the UK working from home, caused huge dislocation to the economy, added to the enormous pressures on the depleted NHS and opened up major fault lines in politics and society as a whole.

We did say that 'we need to talk about race' and argued that a huge weakness for civil society in England was its failure to properly address questions of race, and work to face up to the huge damage that is caused by racism. The massive impact of the murder of George Floyd, and the subsequent Black Lives Matter movement, has challenged all of us to think differently, more deeply and more seriously about race and racism. We were right to acknowledge that civil society needs to make progress on this issue.

Most importantly, we said that civil society, renewed and reenergised, was the only way we would meet the challenges of our times.

We also said that associational life – the ability of individuals and communities to get together – was incredibly important. Whether it was a choir or an allotment society, a major national charity or a new and emerging network, our report pointed out people really cared about the places they lived in and mourned the lack of shared spaces. This insight seems only more important now.

We also said that civil society, renewed and reenergised, was the only way we would meet the challenges of our time – the climate crisis, the democratic deficit and our frayed and exhausted social fabric. If we have learned anything, it has been that civil society – in all its richness and diversity – may be in a parlous state, but it is still, despite everything, our best hope of success. **■**

Civil Society Futures

In launching the Civil Society Futures inquiry, we wanted to listen really hard, observe really carefully and learn from what is really going on within civil society. I said we wanted to be humble. But I also said I wanted us to be bold. It is too easy to repeat platitudes about civil society. Too easy to say that all would be well if only... if only funders were better,

or government supported us better, if only local authorities commissioned better. Too easy to say we have to work better together.

What we heard in the inquiry was much more challenging and much more demanding than that. We travelled across England (And the Inquiry was only about England) and heard time and time again about the deeply divided society we live in. A society divided of course in income and in wealth. But a society divided between towns and cities. A society divided by age, by ethnicity and by faith. A society in which power was hoarded, and relationships were fractured.

And we heard that, perhaps inevitably, civil society

contained all these deep divisions too. There are great divisions between richer and poorer organisations. Between the long-established institutions and the emergent networks and movements. Between the self-organisation of younger people, and the frameworks and structures familiar to older generations. How could it not be this way? Civil society obviously reflects the society in which it exists.

But we were adamant. If civil society could be renewed, re-energised, re-thought, its potential was limitless. The time since we reported has taught us so much about what we can achieve at our very best.

Since 2019, this terribly difficult period, I've observed that a lot of what we reported has happened. The good, the bad, and frankly, the ugly.

THE GOOD

We've learned that in every city and town, in every

neighbourhood, in every place, people want to help their neighbour. The 'explosion of mutual aid' which followed the early days of lockdown took government by surprise but astonished no-one who knew about the realities of local communities and the deep connections which existed below the radar of much of officialdom. We also learned that in the places where local government was really used to working in genuine partnership with community groups, amazing things happened.

We learned that in a damaging and desperate cost of living crisis it was local community organisations that set up community larders, that arranged warm places, that drew attention to the devastation being wrought by an economic crisis that was never made by the communities' who rose so valiantly to respond.

We've learned that at their very best, partnerships between national bodies and small local networks were productive and made a big difference in hard times.

And we learned that without noisy advocates, public policy in a crisis would just ignore those groups already easily overlooked - people with cancer, for instance, those with chronic and challenging conditions and those women and children to whom a 'stay at home' order was a sentence to abuse and cruelty.

Their voices were amplified by supporters in the charity world whose deep connections and awareness of what was happening meant that policymakers had to sit up and take notice of their needs.

We learned that when extreme weather events take place, and more will surely come, it is local communities, sometimes supported by national organisations, that organise the protective response, shout for aid when it is needed, and protect the most vulnerable.

And we learned that those who seem to have most power – the funders and grant makers are also capable of real and effective response. We've learned that when push came to shove, some of the biggest funders were able to change their rules and approaches to get money to the places it was needed - quickly and efficiently.

THE BAD

But there has been bad news too. We've learned that organisations 'running hot', whether in private, public, or voluntary sector cannot both 'run hot' and deal with an unexpected crisis. We got an insight into the precarious nature of so many essential services, when many groups faced closure, and in Black led groups were particularly at risk. When national charities had to lay off staff as fund raising activities and high street shops closed, demonstrating that this is no way to pay for the services on which we all depend.

We've learned that organisations 'running hot', whether in private, public or voluntary sector cannot both 'run hot' and deal with rolling and repeated crises.

Through all of these crises it was very clear that the vital role of this complex and interdependent web of organisations, groups, networks and movements is simply not understood. That we, in civil society, have not done enough to get a clear, honest and comprehensive understanding of the power, the depth and the value of civil society.

THE UGLY

Revelations of poor practice, of bullying, and of racist, homophobic and misogynistic behaviour in all sorts of supposedly 'worthy' organisations were devastating. The hard work of making sure that the culture of civil society is fit for the 21st century became ever more urgent. It will be taxing and painful to make some changes but hiding our weaknesses or our failures means we will fail to achieve our potential in difficult times.

For civil society to really live up to its potential it needs to have a culture that is suitable for the changing times. That means a culture and a way of behaving that brings people together, doesn't divide. That increases trust, rather than fostering suspicion. That focuses on what needs to change, not how to grow. That plays to its strengths, not attacking others for weakness.

In Civil Society Futures, we argued for a PACT for civil society. A new strategic approach to addressing the behaviours attitudes and practices which form our cultures. We started with a new focus on Power. Power is obviously not evenly distributed, and one of the vital roles of civil society is to ensure that those who could have power because of their experience, are able to use that experience to change the minds of those who do hold the power to affect their lives. We also made the case for a new focus on Accountability. To focus less on accountability to funders, regulators, and government, but the essential accountability to our communities. And we maintained that Connection is at the heart of civil society - that deep connection between people in communities and between movements and networks and big organisations. Unless we do more to deepen our relationships within civil society, we will always be hampered and undermined. And finally, we argued that we needed to invest in Trust, an asset worth more than anything else on our depleted balance sheets, which makes it possible for us to thrive.

We argued for a new focus for voluntary and community organisations, not so much on the funders and the regulators, but on the people and communities they exist to serve. Too often we allow our energies to go into those who have power, not those who we exist to empower. For too long we have followed the

money. We need to learn that when good work happens, money will come. We are working in devastating times. An exhausted voluntary sector will be asked to do more, and to play a key part in rebuilding for a better, greener, more equal future. It seems to me that our Inquiry four years ago identified the essential strength and capability within civil society and suggested some ways in which we could truly be ready for the challenges ahead. It is as relevant now as it was then.

This report from BD_Collective takes all this work forward. It is deeply rooted in the real experience of communities and those who work in them. It is timely because it recognises the enormity of the challenging times we are in. But above all it is optimistic, because it recognises that when civil society is at its best, lasting change happens. And change has never been more needed. ■

Dame Julia Unwin May 2023

We've learned that at their very best, partnerships between national bodies and small local networks were productive and made a big difference in hard times.

PASSING THE BATON

AVRIL'S REFLECTIONS

When I heard Julia Unwin talking to the Voluntary Sector at the launch of the Civil Society Futures' report back in 2019, I felt I'd been hit between the eyes. She challenged sector leaders, saying that we had become the new gatekeepers to the community, becoming the spokespeople for them. At the same time, I also witnessed, not only a very exciting vision emerge from Barking and Dagenham Council, but also a lot of sector resistance to the idea of being part of shaping it. The nine other sector leaders I originally approached all had power and influence locally. Prior to the Collective, we barely talked to one another, but we all had

strong models of delivery and good relationships with Council officers and / or politicians. We agreed to become 'door openers' rather than 'gatekeepers' – both to the wider social sector and also to local people. It was a significant moment. The buy-in was real and committed. There was a willingness to genuinely share power.

The Council took a brave step in commissioning BD_Collective with the £100,000 infrastructure contract previously held by the CVS (they didn't tender for the renewal). The Council have continued to take risks in working through consortium commissioning, partnership working and investing in an endowment fund for BD_Giving.

We've learned so much over the last 4 years, mostly by getting things wrong. Pre- Collective, there was very little working together. Now, I see multiple consortia, networks and partnerships.

Information about what happens across the Collective is shared and all decisions are made by those involved – transparently and accountably. We seek to embody the values. That means connecting. Having hard conversations. Sharing accountability for our objectives. Taking power from the powerful and giving away power.

The development of BD_Giving in parallel to the Collective has been so significant and is attracting new funders into the Borough. It models genuine devolved decision making and involves local people who would never have been involved before.

There has been so much mistrust in the past. This is what people say has changed the most. We're not fully there yet, but there is tangible, and to me at least, incredible change. There are many who have committed to this new journey, sometimes at cost to their own organisation.

There are still those who resist, who criticise without offering an alternative. But the bigger challenge is those who barely know that the BD_Collective exists. That is our main focus over the next year. To really see a change, we need to find those organisations who are

ready to work with others to bring lasting, sustainable change. I'm convinced we will find them.

Barking & Dagenham continues to have the highest deprivation stats across many categories. Yet, I believe now more than ever, we have the building blocks for real and lasting change. Our statutory system is broken, we need a different way to tackle the growing issues of mental and physical health, social isolation, housing, the list goes on. Can we realise the power of civil society; where neighbours are a source of support, businesses see their importance to the community beyond profit, where social sector organisations facilitate community power and people come together to identify solutions to the issues, they experience daily.

The infrastructure contract awarded to BD_Collective will be re-tendered. Our hope is to have a member-owned entity in place for that. A newly formed Leadership Team has just been established and its role is to shape the future of BD_Collective, its governance and core activity.

What we have is a long way from where we started. It will continue to evolve. It will be out of any one person's hands. Scary, but rewarding. That is how we set it up. To ensure power could not be established in any one place. Values are the basis of what we do, not the strap line. ■

Avril McIntyre May 2023

SOOTHING THE PANIC

MICHAEL'S REFLECTIONS

The Collective is different, and difference surfaces a range of reactions.

Most people are mute because they don't know about the change, or if they do know about it, the arguments for and against are muddled. I suspect that less than five per cent, and certainly no more than 10 per cent of the 5,000 civil society leaders in the Borough know about or understand the Collective.

Of those that do know, the primary reaction is instrumental. Civil society leaders ask 'what does this mean for me? And my organisation? And the staff I employ? Will it generate more income? Will it make the job any easier?

A common and rational answer to these questions is that although the Collective may be good for residents - something still to be established - it isn't going to enhance the income streams or stability of well-established medium size organisations. I am thinking here of faith organisations with space and resources to connect residents of any or no faith; organisations that operate effectively in the second quadrant as it is defined above; organisations already well networked with other provision in their community. The Collective doesn't bring any extra value, as far as I can see, to these organisations.

Another proportion leaders exhibit what Rebecca Solnit¹² calls 'elite panic', by which she means the fear of losing legitimacy and power when the context requires a radically different way of behaving.

When I hold up the mirror to Collective members, they see the fear. The adjective 'elite' jars, but most social sector leaders have an income in the top four deciles, and most are part of social and professional networks and speak regularly on the sector's politics with a small 'p'.

As much as many grumble about the competitive market and its unintended consequences, it is a market

that they know well, and the unintended consequences can be manipulated to an advantage.

The panic stokes conservative instincts to keep the world as it is, or worse to take it back to a place in the past. The social sector thinks of itself as radical, and it has good reason to do so. But within there is a strong reactionary element.

Other groups face in another direction. The moral agents ask questions about values, norms and ethics. They start conversations that open up new possibilities. They don't have a set destination.

Then there are the people who change their minds, the people I have appreciated

the most in my work with the Collective. Often feisty, bordering on the polemical, I watched them listen to the other side of the argument and find a new path, one that is new to all.

The relationships between these groups of people will determine the future of the Collective. The openness of moral agents to change. The shifting mindsets and new paths found. The soothing of panic as the radical becomes mainstream. ■

Michael Little, May 2023

The moral agents ask questions about values, norms and ethics. They start conversations that open up new possibilities. They don't have a set destination.

BD
COLLECTIVE

in collaboration with



bdcollective.co.uk

¹ <https://civilsocietyfutures.org/>

² Solnit, R. (2010). A paradise built in hell: The extraordinary communities that arise in disaster. Penguin.

³ Konrad Elsdon, Voluntary Organisations: Citizenship, Learning and Change, NIACE, 1995

⁴ Don Berwick, Era 3 for Medicine and Health Care, JAMA, 2016

⁵ Toby Lowe and Dawn Plimmer, Exploring the New World, Collaborate, 2017

⁶ Robert Putnam and Shaylyn Romney Garrett, The Upswing, 2020

⁷ <https://civilsocietyfutures.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2018/11/Civil-Society-Futures-The-Story-of-Our-Future.pdf>

⁸ Onora O'Neill, A Question of Trust, 2002

⁹ Philip Roth, American Pastoral, p.35

¹⁰ Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, 1965

¹¹ David Hume, David, [A Treatise of Human Nature, 1739-40

¹² Rebecca Solnit, A Paradise Built in Hell, 2010

