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Master of Science in Sociologie

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORIES
PRESENTED IN RECENT LITERATURE
ON HORIZONTAL ORGANIZATION.
Finding common grounds for research
into commons, cooperatives,
participation and self-organization

Dries Van de Velde

0571699

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Promotor: Bram SPRUYT

Jury: Theun Pieter VAN TIENOVEN, Jessy SIONGERS

Sociale Wetenschappen & Solvay Business School

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Student : Van de Velde Dries
Rolnummer : 0571699
Opleiding : Master Sociologie
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Table of contents

0. Abstract.....	2
i. Background.....	3
ii. Analysis strategy	5
iii. Results	6
1. Coops - the resurgence of a “modern form of HO”	10
2. Commons - the resurgence of a “premodern form of HO”	12
3. Participatory practices - a “contemporary form of HO”	13
4. Ho after 2000.....	15
iv. Analysis.....	17
v. Conclusion	20
vi. Discussion.....	22
vii. Attachment	27
viii. References	28

0. ABSTRACT

A systematic and chronological overview of contemporary literature on horizontal organization (HO) is given; organizations with less hierarchy, more autonomy for the participants and tools for shared decision-making power. An exploratory genealogy of HO has been realized, particularly on the basis of literature on commons, cooperatives, participation/co-production and self-managing teams and organizations. Within this literature it is stated that HO is gaining importance due to the emergence of ICT, but that it is difficult to measure this evolution to date due to the lack of clear definitions and because the literature is spreading over more and more different organizational types. At the same time, this literature shows an evolution from 1900 towards an increasingly broad cultural understanding of organizations within the organizational sciences. At first the focus was only on the needs of the organization, nowadays a paradigm prevails that increasingly incorporates the needs of the participants and environmental factors. Therefore, it is emphasized that there is a need for more research into the cultural aspects of HO and how to understand and measure the effects of this organizational form in relation to other social tendencies. Suggestions are made to address this gap with future research, emphasizing the importance of more interdisciplinary research, in hopes of more holistic methodologies in the future.

i. BACKGROUND

what is horizontal organization? - Since the turn of the century, there seems to be an increasing interest in horizontal organization (HO) (e.g. Chenhall, 2008; Ostroff, 1999; Dietz et al., 2003; Kolbjørnsrud, 2018; Christ, 2022). HO is decentralized social organization that aims to make it possible for everyone to participate equally in accountability, to give more autonomy to the participants and think beyond hierarchy as much as possible. Decentralization is the process whereby the right to decision-making - to decide about which way to go with your organization or group, is divided as much as possible amongst the participants (Christ, 2022). In extremis, it obviates the need for a supervisor's approval to take personal initiative. Hierarchy, or formalized authority, is a solution to coordinate action with, amongst a large number of people, by clarifying who's accountable for what (Jaques, 1990). Institutions, as being the basis of organizations are 'the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction' (North, 1990, p. 3). Therefore, Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy, often recognized as the crystallization of modern hierarchical organization, is not so much about hierarchy as it is about rules (Puranam et al., 2017). Institutions are rules, they are 'the set of instructions for creating an action situation in a particular environment' (Ostrom, 2009, p. 17). Elinor Ostrom understands 'institutions' as 'the prescription that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions' (Ostrom, 2005, p.3). They are meant to bring us increased well-being by imposing a legitimate restriction on all concerned, that is, through the formally established, mostly written, rules expressed in legislation and administrative regulations. It is only when hierarchy is formalized that coercive power mechanisms emerge, standardizing everyone's position within it into a universally understood role and function within a social order. From then on, the "manager/leader/authority" will have the power to decide what someone else is allowed to do and what not. At stake here is to what extent hierarchy and managers are needed to install and follow up those rules. While vertical, centralized organization is supposed to offer a feeling of certainty, decentralized organizations are better at dealing with fast changing environments (Galbraith, 2002). Vertical organizations are better in dealing with crisis and fast decision-making. HOs are more agile, better able to deal with abrupt changes (Anderson, 2018). 'HO is becoming a hot topic for both researchers and practitioners (e.g. Puranam et al. 2014; Van de Ven et al. 2013), based on increasingly competitive and multifaceted (Bennett and Lemoine, 2014), ever-faster changing business landscapes (Fjeldstad et al. 2012) and because 'newer generations have a dislike for authority, be that institutionalized in traditional hierarchical structures, or in traditional views on leadership' (Burton et al., 2020, p.1). This definition of HO forms the backdrop of this article.

problem statement - Despite the many views on this topic, HO seems to be slowly taking ever deeper roots throughout society; e.g. at the macro level; the rise of referenda, voting and human rights, at the meso level; the popularity of cooperatives, networking, and collectives, at micro-level; the declining authority within families. Rotmans (2021) even speaks of a new social order; decentralized, horizontal, bottom-up, networked and of a "new economy" and "change of power". It seems a shift took place in the 20th century in the corporate world (of "Western" countries) towards an increasingly horizontal organization; from scientific management towards ever more HO. 'Seems' because this evolution remains difficult to map so far. The lack of a clear definition hinders further research (e.g. Kirchherr et al., 2017; Marino & Lo Presti, 2019; Hossain 2020; Doblinger, 2022). HO has many guises today – cfr. relating terms: participation, commons, civil initiatives, collaborative & self-organization, self-managing teams, co-operatives, platform economy, coworking and -housing, the circular economy, etc. 'The literature refers to these by a plethora of overlapping terms and concepts (Child

and McGrath 2001; Schreyögg and Sydow 2010) for collaborative organizational forms such as the I-form (Miles et al. 2009), the virtual organization (Handy 1995; Mowshowitz 1994), the C-form (Seidel and Stewart 2011), bazaar governance (Demil and Lecocq 2006), the collaborative community (Heckscher and Adler 2006; Snow et al. 2011), the meta-organization (Gulati et al. 2012), and actor-oriented organizations (Fjeldstad et al. 2012)' (Kolbjørnsrud, 2018, p.1). The practices and applications of HO are widely discussed. Yet there are no methodologies agreed upon to measure HO in its widest form, in its totality, nor criteria to determine what HO exactly is – and as initiatives become more numerous, their heterogeneity increases. As a result, it remains impossible to determine exactly whether HO is an emerging phenomenon, to make statements about the overarching trend or decide whether we want to invest in it as a foundation for shaping our relationships. How can a definition be arrived at in terms of measurability? Corvellec (2002) describes the need for coherence and transdisciplinarity, beyond specialization in silos, so knowledge is not obstructed by deadlocked debates or lost entirely and policy can be implemented. Puranam et al. (2017) put to the front how we tend to suffer from “boosterism” when talking about organizational innovation - as most people find more autonomy and democratic policy desirable - advising to engage in definitive comparative analysis. By recreating a commonly recognized terminology and providing standard concepts, a foundation separate from moralistic criticism emerges, generating the possibility of researching and linking the effects of, motives for, and circumstances leading to HO. This argument therefore asks for a single definition that bundles these practices and divides them into a few simple concepts, and how they are related.

objective - Contemporary forms of HO can be understood, as a counter-reaction to hierarchical policies and thinking that prevailed over the past century (Billinger & Workiewicz, 2019). Therefore, the concept cannot be grasped without first charting its history. This review analyzes how the history is addressed within contemporary reviews relating to HO. The thesis is that HO received little (scientific) attention in the 20th century because of the limited classical economic view of what an organization is, dominated the opinions. This view still lingers in our heads today, yet is slowly shifting. The objective is to better understand how science affected the way we organized and still organize ourselves today based on the research question; **‘what can different more-horizontal organization types learn from the histories mentioned in their fragmented, recent literature?’**. There is a need to bring together the different bodies of theory and experiences and show how the corporate world can learn from self-managing organizations (SMOs) (e.g. Martela), commons (e.g. De Moor), co-operatives (coops) (e.g. Clare) and participatory practices (e.g. Marino), and vice versa. As far as is known, this forms a first genealogy that combines the many forms of HO. Previous articles on different types of HO do not refer to each other, are usually treated within different disciplines and therefore, as we will see, almost all call for more interdisciplinary approaches. On the other hand, these articles highlight how today's existing picture of what a "good organization" is, largely based on traditional economic theory, hinders recognition of their dual and mixed (cultural, ecological) socioeconomic practices, both in practice and in science.

significance - The study of organizations occupies a central place in sociology, psychology, management and organizational design studies, amongst others. How we organize ourselves changes the way we think, feel and act, and the other way around (e.g. Salaman, 1978; Ivancevich & Donnelly, 1975; Wenger, 1998) – think of Bourdieu's ‘dialectic of dispositions and aspirations’ (Fuchs, 2003). In 1962 sociologist Presthus wrote about how organizations became ‘miniature societies’, referring to how the dominant values of society are increasingly reflected in organizations, and how this can lead to the alienation of the human, suggesting that organizations have become so powerful that they have

replaced other social institutions such as families, as the primary means of socialization and control. This has led to a shift in power from traditional sources such as religion and the state to corporate entities that control economic, political and social life. Whether Presthus is right left open, it frames the scope and depth of the underlying debate. In a series called 'Organization Zoo' by the Journal of Organization Design, Puranam et al. (2017) assert that coordination by hierarchy will remain needed. Based on information processing theories, they emphasize the fact that information processing capacity, fueled by hierarchy, must exceed the uncertainty in the work tasks and the environment, thereby referencing Galbraith (1974). However, they also state that ICT makes it possible to coordinate up and down the hierarchy, making it plausible that no matter the limitations of HO, experiments with extreme decentralization are likely to emerge. Most recently, certain scholars (e.g. Nunes, 2021; Graeber & Wengrow, 2022) emphasized the discussion on the pros and cons of HO, by describing the history of political organization and presenting it as a constant choice to be made. They conclude that no organizational model is the same, and that all have their "function". Some even say that organizations that combine both modes - cfr. ambidexterity (Joseph et al., 2018) - have the greatest chance of survival (e.g. Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017), thereby using types of leadership for each specific situation - cfr. contingency theories (Donaldson, 2001). Addressing the gap of ambiguity should make it possible to measure if there is an increased formalization of hierarchies - and the insularity and pigeonholing that comes with it, but also what its effects are for science, societies, human and non-human elements. There is a need for further research to substantiate this debate and understand whether, for example, HO should be funded and why.

ii. ANALYSIS STRATEGY

Different organizational types are placed under the catch-all term 'HO' and there is a body of literature for each type. A systematic review is done on the most prominent reviews per HO type, supplemented with, where necessary, documents that better explain certain parts that were left out. The scope of this exploratory research was partly established prior to the literature study based on ten years of field experience as a policy maker and organization coach for HOs. Which made it clear how the different organizational types and associated practices and research appeared to exist side by side. This scope was supplemented on the basis of the literature found. The following search terms were used within Google Scholar: {commons} OR {self-organization} OR {co-production} OR {participation} OR {co-operatives} OR {coworking} OR {place-making} OR {self-management} OR {self-managing teams}. Combined with terms as {history} OR {review} OR {"names of the journals"} OR {horizontal} OR {organization} OR {organizational} OR {structure} OR {evolution} OR {design} OR {networks} OR {ideal type}, etc. Priority was given to reviews, to the most cited articles and to those that appeared after 2019, to obtain an overall picture of recent literature on HO. Some organizational forms with a lower number of citations are left out (e.g. artist-run and self-governance). After using Elicit and Research Rabbit it became clear that saturation was reached. 106 documents (including 68 peer-reviewed articles of which 50 reviews) were included in the analysis. Attached you can find a classified overview per domain. Most documents studied provided a brief history of their organizational form, usually as a form of evidence of why the importance of that particular type of organization grew over time. By first selecting these (hi)stories and theories, to then put them together and detect sensitizing themes, an image of HO is created by presenting these themes chronologically, followed by an analysis. This, to sketch a view upon the history of HO today so as to understand our contemporary view on the matter and where it comes from, as a genealogy is supposed to do. It explains the history of HO by linking it with certain streams of thoughts during that same period.

iii. RESULTS

introduction - The results are presented chronologically integrating the different theoretical perspectives of the four organization types and how they evolved throughout the 20th century and beyond, as described within literature. Each chapter begins with a definition and brief history, followed by how their history is experienced within their particular literature, how their body of theory was influenced by the (incompatible) more established traditional or neoclassical economic theories, and how the image of traditional economic theory is still haunting HO today. This creates a first glimpse of how these types can inspire each other and what type of future research is needed for it. In addition, it should stand out how i) the interest in HO increased during the last century and how this is related to the rise of ICT and ever faster-changing environments, ii) how most mention the need for definitions and for more research on the cultural aspects, iii) how it is impossible to determine to what extent there is increased HO, and whether this has not been argued for a very long time - at least since the 1950s, this literature shows. The analysis section shows how each literature refers to an evolution in the way organizational structures are designed – from a focus on the organization (production and profit) to a focus on the individual and personal aspects (e.g. motivations such as happiness and well-being), and later also on the environment. This is related to an increasingly broader scientific understanding. Scientific management, focussing on profit and efficiency, was dominant since it was born. Only when we gained more insight into the role of people within organizations and the importance of culture and even emotions, gradually more "evidence" emerged that other organizational types can be functional. According to Joseph and Gaba (2020) traditionally, organizational processes were often understood as static and predetermined structures that could be designed and controlled from the top down. This approach often relied on linear models of information processing and decision-making, where information is processed sequentially and rationally to arrive at a final decision. By highlighting the importance of context and the situatedness of organizational interaction, organizational processes must be understood as shaped by ongoing interactions between individuals and groups and their environment. In other words, organizational processes are not fixed or predetermined but rather emerge and evolve as a result of ongoing interactions and adaptations to changing circumstances (Joseph & Gaba, 2020). This perspective shows how the emphasis seems to be shifting towards a more ecological and evolutionary approach to understanding organizational processes.

how organizations are mostly run today: managerialism, specialization and efficiency - To date, the dominant view in organizational design can be traced back to Smith who wrote 'The Wealth of Nations' in 1776. It relates to the idea that organizations should produce as much as possible, as fast as possible, basically defining the word efficiency as we still understand it today. This book made clear that differentiation and specialization on the work floor leads to increased productivity. One person making pins on his own could make a few pins per day. Ten coordinated people can make about 48.000 pins. This led to more efficient ways of organizing and managerialism and forms the basic idea of where organization design started and still seems to start (Shepherd, 2018). Shepherd describes it as an ideal type just like today's predominant ideology, that has effects beyond the organizational setting into economic, social, cultural and political spheres, penetrating us into our smallest fibers. Just like professionalism, it is a normative system, legitimizing what counts as valuable knowledge, who knows it and who is empowered to act in what way as a consequence. Supervisors only appeared at the end of the 19th century to maximize the profit for the stakeholders (Shepherd 2018; Lee & Edmondson, 2017). Taylor's book 'The Principle of Scientific Management' (1911), proposed that every move

employees made was best measured, further shaping scientific management by increased surveillance, reducing tasks to their component parts, 'separating the conception and execution of tasks, or thinking from doing (Broadbent, Dietrich, and Roberts 1997)... Managers are able to justify themselves on the grounds of their superior know-how, and their skills and competencies are viewed as critical to organizational survival and success (Farnham and Horton 1996)' (Shepherd, 2018, p.1673). This success story gained dominance throughout the 20th century, resulting, according to Shepherd (2017), from the 1970s on into Neoliberalism. The core idea behind it, is to break the production process up into smaller units, opening them up to competition. Smith (2003, p. 26) wrote: "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." The idea was that by pursuing one's own self-interest and striving to improve one's own life, individuals in a society can create a system of mutual benefit where everyone's needs are met. In this sense, Smith (2003) believed that self-interest could lead to a sort of "invisible hand" that guides economic activity and ultimately benefits society as a whole. An important footnote here is that when decentralization is mentioned within this stream of theory, they usually mean specialization and do not aim for the democratization of power by shared decision-making. Finally, Shepherd (2017, p.1668) states '[m]anagerialism pervades the higher education literature... Yet, despite its ubiquity and importance, managerialism remains an under-theorized and elusive concept that has multiple definitions and blurred boundaries. This article addresses this lack of conceptual clarity'. Over the last half-century limitations to this organization form have become increasingly apparent (e.g. being efficient in stable conditions but not so much in complex, boundary-crossing situations and rather alienating (Lee & Edmondson, 2017). Leading to an increase in less-hierarchical organizing (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Mintzberg, 1979), to solve complex, non-routine and wicked problems (Adler, 2001; Barley, 1996; Heckscher & Donnellon, 1994), and answer the need for rapid change (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Hamel, 2008). Finally, managerial hierarchy creates and reinforces status differences that can stifle the developmental and growth needs of its human members (Kegan, 1998; McGregor, 1960). Nonetheless, managerial hierarchy proved remarkably resistant to change based on the intertwined, reinforcing and taken-for-granted norms, mindsets, and cultural assumptions that came with it - today managers with power, predictability and efficiency are considered essential to organizations. 'Still, the persistence of the managerial hierarchy may be explained as much by a belief in its effectiveness as by its actual effectiveness. Another factor is almost certainly a lack of perceived viable alternatives' (Lee & Edmondson, 2017, p.2).

the other view: the discovery of the individual in organizational design studies - Polanyi (1944) is known as one of the first to view economic phenomena within their social, cultural and historic contexts, and saw markets as polycentric systems, a web of constant moving agents with many decision centers, within an evolving social condition and under an overarching set of rules, norms and values (Aligica & Tarco, 2013). This opinion is counter to mainstream economics but is popular in many other studies, such as history, sociology and anthropology. By the end of the 1940s, Simon, a major contributor to organizational design studies, started focusing on how decisions are made, understanding organizations as systems that process information, and bringing psychology into economics to better understand behavior within organizations. Which led him to win a Nobel Prize in Economics in 1978 (Joseph & Gaba, 2020). Slowly key concepts of individual cognition appeared in the framework. Shifting the focus from understanding organizations only based on the organizational needs, to also taking individual needs and decision-making into account to increase decision-making capacity - though mainly still to increase profit.

first empirical research on HO - In the 1950s, a group of coal mine workers ended up working in more traditional smaller teams again, after reformations to a more large-scale, depersonalized setting. Researchers of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations brought to light how this led to increased productivity, greater personal satisfaction, and decreased absenteeism and called it a new kind of work design (Joseph & Gaba, 2020). This contributed to the development of sociotechnical systems theory, which would later play a pivotal role in explaining the effect of self-managing teamwork on the psychological well-being of team members (van Mierlo et al., 2005) - note how knowledge was developed through typically accidental circumstances. Other widely publicized research was done by Worthy in 1950 who investigated approximately 100,000 employees over 12 years on the potential effects of flat and tall organization structures. This led to one of the first researches mentioning the scientific advantages of flatter organizations, addressing the shortcomings of large organizations: low output or performance, low job autonomy with suppression of personal judgment and initiative and failure to develop managerial talents. It showed how large organizations had lower employee morale and lower individual output, which he related to an increase in hierarchical levels of management. Ivancevich & Donnelly (1975) give many (contrasting) examples stating that this is the moment in history when research on flatter organizations started. Lee & Edmondson (2017) see the work of Burns and Stalkers (1961) as the taking-off point of this evolution within research on organization design. They mention how McGregor by 1960 proclaimed that classical hierarchical economics are based on a set of assumptions, notably about human nature as being lazy beings who require oversight. 'To meet the "higher" needs of individuals, McGregor proposed a contrasting set of assumptions - that individuals are intrinsically motivated - and so managers should empower individuals to manage themselves' (Lee & Edmondson, 2017, p.8).

the rise of SMTs in literature - As a consequence, self-managing teams (SMTs) were studied thoroughly. Senthil, Jane and Bret (2005) define SMTs as being able to regulate their behavior to their whole task, gaining popularity during the 1970s and 1980s (Bernstein et al., 2016; Huovinen, 2020). Resulting in a shift from 28% in 1987 to 68% in 1993 of Fortune 1000 firms indicated they employed SMTs - within still more hierarchical organization structures (Lawler, Mohrman, & Ledford, 1995; van Mierlo, 2005). By 1984, '[a]t the symposium on productivity and technology... a senior professor at Harvard took the occasion of the celebration to suggest that we may be in the midst of some revolutionary changes in how people are managed in work organizations. One of the students asked, quite reasonably, for the visitor's views about the circumstances under which a self-managing organizational design... would be preferred over a traditional organizational structure. "I'm not going to answer," he responded, "because that's last year's question. The question for today's managers is not whether to design organizations for high involvement and self-management, but how to do it, and how to do it well"' (Hackman, 1986, p.89). In 1997 Wageman still mentions how SMTs are fast becoming the management practice of choice. Interestingly enough, paying a lot of attention to appropriate leadership within SMTs. This seems to indicate that the definition of SMTs still differs greatly among authors (during that period).

Despite the many studies on SMTs (Trist & Bamforth, 1951; Hackman, 1986; Markham & Markham, 1995), peaking in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Cohen & Ledford, 1994; Ezzamel & Willmott, 1998) not all authors were enthusiastic about this evolution. Some argued that empirical evidence still seems to be lacking and that there is no comprehensive, sufficiently detailed picture of the individual knowledge, skills, abilities and other characteristics necessary to function in SMTs (Doblinger, 2022), nor of variables such as satisfaction with work, anxiety-stress and performance (Ivancevich & Donnelly, 1975). For example, Barker & Tompkins (1994) claim that long-term SMT workers identify more with

their team and company than short-term workers, introducing yet another variable. Most studies on SMTs were meant to improve productivity, quality and morale and to reduce costs (Cohen, Ledford & Spreitzer, 1996; Senthil, Jane & Bret, 2005), with the consequence that most studied characteristics were economic in nature and focussed on outcomes such as increasing productivity, profitability and employee satisfaction (Barker, 1993), later supplemented by factors such as team effectiveness and contribution to innovativeness (Senthil, Jane, and Bret, 2005). Van Mierlo (2005) states how the effects of SMTs remain a matter of debate to this day and that probably only job satisfaction is consistently related to self-managing teamwork, stating that ever more variables and levels are involved in these researches. By 2018, Magpili and Pazos provide an overview of the multilevel factors influencing the performance of SMTs. However, even in this recent study, the limited scope is mentioned. This lack of evidence might explain partly why SMTs did not become the norm up till today (Huovinen, 2020).

ICT and knowledge-based work - The entrance of computers enabled further decentralization (Mukherji, 2002). During the 1960's information in organizations mainly flew top-down. Computers made it possible to share information more easily, leading by the end of the eighties to more hybrid structures. Both computers and organizations, as information architectures, became decentralized, sending information interactively in all directions, becoming more robust to the increasing turbulence in the external environment. ICT influences communication, coordination, collaboration and knowledge-sharing (Cross, Parker & Sasson, 2003). The role of ICT within the history of HO can be hardly overrated, yet it exceeds the scope of this paper. However, it is safe to conclude that its effects are twofold; ICT makes more autonomy possible by enabling decentralized organization to an increasing extent, while at the same time giving room for increased surveillance, formalization and consequently the limitation of personal autonomy - think for instance of AI as the new manager. Additionally, the current literature claims it resulted in a world with an increased acceleration of change in the environment, increased uncertainty, and increased information processing requirements (Baker, 1993; Miles & Snow, 1986; Baker, Nohria & Eccles, 1992).

Technology also made way for knowledge-based work, a new system of authority; the intellectual class (Gouldner, 1979). Soon, terms popped up such as the 'post-Fordist society' (e.g. Negri & Hardt, 1994; Amin, 1994) and the 'post-industrial society', referring to a society that is increasingly dependent on a more service-based economy, in which information, knowledge, and technology are key (e.g. Swanson & Bell, 1973; Toffler, 1980), as well as more emphasis on flexibility, innovation and individualization in the production process. Finally, by the end of the 20th century, the idea of 'the network society' and of 'community based organizations' was born (Castells, 1996; Cross, Parker & Sasson, 2003), signifying a new form of social organization, characterized by the widespread and global use of communication networks and the decentralization of power. It shifted the focus within organization(al studie)s from manufacturing and production to innovation, creativity, and knowledge creation. This shift placed, according to these authors, a premium on collaboration, knowledge-sharing, and the ability to leverage expertise from across a wide range of fields and disciplines. Technological developments seem a key driver of these shifts. Based on this evolution in the way we organize ourselves, an increase in decentralization is expected (Paranam et al., 2017). Science did not "believe" in the fact that humans are able to work together productively without managers. Technology, more specifically ICT, coincidence, as is the case with the group of miners, and evolutions such as the increase in knowledge work, have still led to a commitment to HO after all. To substantiate this point the history of co-operatives (coops) and commons, as dealt with in separate literature, is presented.

1. COOPS - the resurgence of a “modern form of HO”

According to the EU Parliament, coops are i) open and voluntary associations with ii) a democratic structure - each member having one vote, and iii) an equitable and fair distribution of economic results (Karakas, 2019). Coops highlight the process of collective decision-making (Aragonés & Sánchez-Pagés, 2009). ‘[T]he earliest record of a cooperative comes from Fenwick, Scotland... 1761. It took however until 1844 for the modern cooperative movement to be founded by the Rochdale Pioneers, a group of 28 artisans working in the cotton mills in Lancashire, England, who wanted ‘to provide an affordable alternative to poor-quality and adulterated food and provisions, using any surplus to benefit the community’ (ICA, 2023). By 1966 Helmberger speculated that the industrialization of agriculture would lead to the demise of farmer cooperatives utilizing recent developments in neo-institutional economic (organizational economic) theory (Puusa et al., 2016). Against this theoretical disbelief, some theories endorse their functioning; as for example provided by Puusa et al., 2016, who explain their downturn by the wave theory that insinuates that coops gain importance in times of crisis to spare some uncertainty. However, since its beginning the cooperative movement has flourished, extending across the globe and encompassing all sectors of the economy (ICA, 2023; Puusa et al., 2016). ‘Throughout the world, thousands of cooperative firms produce goods and services for the market and provide work opportunities. These cooperative structures range in sizes’ (Gupta, 2014, pp.100). ‘The British cooperative movement experienced a “renaissance” around 2000... [and] represents a growing cooperative movement with 14 million members, 241 thousand employees and an annual turnover of £38.2 billion pounds as of 2020 [in the UK]’ (ICA-EU PARTNERSHIP, 2021, p.3). ‘In [today’s] times of crisis and austerity in Europe, where both government and businesses are rescaling their roles, both have looked hopefully to the co-operative organization as an attractive alternative; think of David Cameron’s Big Society or Noreena Hertz cooperative capitalism’ (Cameron, 2011, Kisby, 2010, Hertz, 2009)’ (van Oorschot et al., 2013, pp.68). Although still relatively new in some countries, for instance in Argentina (Vuotto, 2012), ‘[t]oday, co-operatives comprise some of the world’s largest businesses contributing globally to resilient employment, a sustainable economy and the well-being of workers (ICA, 2013)’ (Puusa et al., 2016, p.23).

Coops share ‘some characteristics with both corporations (e.g., commercial activity, presence in the competitive market, surpluses distributed to members/shareholders) and non-profit associations (e.g. social mission, property rights are not related to capital invested, democratic decision-making structure based on people rather than capital), having a competitive edge and simultaneously a members’ and environments’ focus. This “dual nature” - having a business and a social community role - is mentioned by most documents studied (e.g. Spear, 2000; Neck, Brush & Allen, 2009; Mazzarol et al., 2011; Puusa et al., 2016). It was discussed by George Fauquet (1941) in 1935 and defined by Draheim (1952). Coops have a variety of goals, some of which may be in conflict with one another (Draheim, 1952; Mooney & Gray, 2002; Puusa et al., 2013). Mostly traditional governance theories are used to grasp coops (Michaud & Audebrand, 2022). However, the complex nature of coops, ‘their basis and reliance on co-operation, is considered problematic from the neoclassicists’ perspective as it does not fit into the boundaries of neoclassical framework’ (Mooney & Gray, 2002, p. iv). ‘Despite these structural differences, co-operatives are experiencing increasing pressure to import tools, procedures and structures from investor-owned firms, which are dominant in modern capitalist societies (Doherty, Haugh, & Lyon, 2014; Puusa, Mönkkönen, & Varis, 2013)... Even if critics do not explicitly compare the two, they often evaluate a cooperative using the same economic criteria that they would use to evaluate a capitalist business, which misses the point... The traditional concept of dual nature invites us to build management approaches on the principles of participatory democracy (see e.g., Aragonés & Sánchez-Pagés, 2009; Corbett, 2014)’ (Gupta, 2014, pp.99).

After years of neglect in academic literature, there has been a renewed interest of coops, both in practice and in public and academic debate, particularly since the last crisis [financial crisis of 2008] (Cheney et al. 2014; Tuominen et al., 2013; van Oorschot, 2013), and the United Nations declared 2012 the International Year of the Co-operatives (van Oorschot, 2013). Describing them 'as strategic organizations to achieve sustainable economic development and greater social cohesion, both at a local (Monzon 2013) and international level (McMurtry and Reed 2009), in a context dominated by neoliberal globalization' (Bretos & Marcuello, 2017, pp.64). Moreover, when cooperatives are studied, they are mainly examined through models inspired by neoclassical economics (Paredes-Frigolett et al., 2017). These models are largely based on the characteristics and behaviors of capitalist firms and their owners, and thus fail to consider the wide range of often-conflicting motives for establishing cooperatives, also making these models unable to explain a co-operative's success or failure (see Novkovic & Miner, 2015; Paredes-Frigolett et al., 2017)' (Michaud & Audebrand, 2022, p.2). Nonetheless, according to Tuominen et al. (2013) the need remains for scholarship that investigates why coops succeed or fail, and how they can be managed for long-term success. To conclude one can say that despite the disbelief in coops within science, coops are still thriving and their experiences can contribute to our general understanding of what organizations are. What follows is a text that sets the tone for how this literature underpins a different image of mankind than the one common in economic literature, stating how this inability to research coops arises from a fundamentally different view, based on theories of purposes and justification of ownership and property rights and how they guide in part how American business enterprises are run today (Gupta, 2014). 'In his 1927 lecture on property and sovereignty to Cornell Law School, the jurist, Morris Cohen, stated that as members of a community, property owners must "subordinate their ambition to the larger whole of which they are a part." ... [and] "may find their compensation in spiritually identifying their good with that of the larger life." Cohen's understanding of property differs from some of the key property theorists before him,... Cohen inserts the concepts of moral obligation and moral fulfillment into his beliefs on property, which are not present in the writings of property theorists such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill,... [and their] "utilitarian goal of the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people,"... To Bentham, the security of property rights is of utmost importance in order to maintain a person's expectations and avoid the "pain of disappointment"' (Gupta, 2014, pp.98). Gupta gives the example of Rose (1994), who investigated 'ownership' and found that society is understood to be composed of individuals who, far from exhibiting entirely self-serving traits, are often altruistic and communitarian-oriented. Gupta continues with 'viewed through a neoclassical economical lens, cooperatives are doomed because of the numerous structural loopholes that exist which self-maximizing individuals could exploit, and because of the limited room for growth in capital, which supposedly self-regarding individuals would find unsatisfactory. Examined through a sociologist's lens, however, cooperatives speak to a society's shared understanding of fairness and justice and can be comfortably situated within the concept of a "moral economy" in which individuals act not only to advance their well-being, but also to improve outcomes for everyone in the system (Geertz, 1963)' (Gupta, 2014, pp.99.). Gupta's findings from her limited case study support existing literature on cooperative action, suggesting that humans are not purely rational self-regarding individuals or self-centered utility maximizers (Scott, 1976; Ostrom, 1990; Rose, 1994). Based on interviews it becomes clear how employees involved have many other motives (Gupta, 2014). 'In fact, most governance studies assume the dominant corporate form by default, thus "neglecting the full range of different organizational forms that are used for organizing economic activity" (Smith & Collin, 2017)' (Michaud & Audebrand, 2022, p.1). These results show how despite the distrust there seems to be a growing awareness that coops' view on mankind can provide a broader understanding of what organizations are.

2. COMMONS - the resurgence of a “premodern form of HO”

‘Commons, or common-pool resources, are shared resources that are built, managed, and used by a community’ (Kolbjørnsrud, 2018, pp.4). Members of a community—and membership can be open or restricted—can access and use the resources in the commons freely according to shared rules and norms (Levine 2007; Ostrom 1990). Tine De Moor (2015) traces the history of commons in three waves of cooperation. The first wave existed of rural commons and guilds (mid-age til 1800). Modernity brought the abolition of common-property rights, making way for the second wave of commons, with its cooperatives, mutual insurances and labor unions (1800-2000). Contributing to the establishment of the welfare state (Holemans et al., 2019). ‘The third wave is identified around the turn of the twenty-first century when commons experience a revival in the fields of care/health, culture, food, energy, housing... While in the period from the late eighteenth century until the 1970s people were pessimistic about the potential of governing resources collectively, we now see an opposite trend’ (De Moor, 2012, pp.290). During the last two decades, scholars have witnessed a remarkable wave of new commons (Holemans, 2022). A recent Belgian study (Noy & Holemans, 2016) based on an inventory of 480 initiatives, set up between 2000 and 2014, noted a striking increase: in 2014 ten times more citizen collectives saw the light than in 2004. It must be said though that defining the commons remains up to date a problem within studies mapping the number of commons. Commons today are not only tangible, such as land, similar to the historical commons, but also less tangible (or even virtual) goods that are shared by large groups of people such as Wikipedia (Ostrom 1990; Ostrom and Hess 2006). Also their great variation ‘has caused a great diversity in terminology, which hinders comparative research’ (De Moor, 2012, pp.272). Nonetheless, commons form an alternative to the capitalist mode of production that relies on private property and market exchange (De Angelis, 2017). In the market, resources are owned by the market participants and transacted when buyers and sellers agree on a price. In the hierarchical form, the organization and its owner(s) own the resources. In short, both markets and hierarchies operate under a private-property regime (Demsetz 1967)... while communities collectively build, maintain, and use shared resources according to a common-property scheme (Benkler 2002; Ostrom 1990)’ (Kolbjørnsrud, 2018, pp.4). For coops the focus remains on producing, while for commons (today) the focus is on the process of collective governing itself, on constructing the rules of the game, on the reconfiguration of social relations; the commoning, as a form of politics, the shaping of living together and deciding on what form that needs to take, treating culture instead of economics as the foundation of society (De Angelis 2017; De Tullio [Gielen], 2020). Therefore, also commons can only be understood as emerging from a fundamentally different image of humans than the one that is current within economic theories (Bauwens & Onzia, 2017). Again, an exemplary quote is provided. ‘Until the 1980s, many scholars had presumed that the users of such resources could not self-organize to manage them. Thus, scholars often recommended the imposition of government or private ownership based on the theories of Gordon (1954), Demsetz (1967), and Hardin (1968) [“tragedy of the commons”]. Scholarly reports during the mid-1980s, however, began to raise serious questions (Feeny et al. 1990)... In 1983, the National Research Council established a research committee... A report was published in 1986 that.. argued that the complexity of the systems... had confused scholars into thinking that chaos prevailed unless simple government or private-property systems were imposed... The model of the individual that Ostrom (1990:185) relied on consisted of “fallible, norm-adopting individuals who pursue contingent strategies in complex and uncertain environments.” The institutional design principles then follow North’s (1990) conception of institutions as mechanisms for reducing uncertainty in complex, uncertain environments. By reducing uncertainty, trust and norms of reciprocity may be built and sustained, and collective action may become possible’ (Cox et al., 2010, pp.3.).

Although the consensus held that commons had been harmful to economic efficiency, studies like the one from Ostrom showed how the longevity of such collective arrangements could respond to reasons other than purely distributional ones (McCloskey 1972; Grantham 1980; Allen 1982; Lana 2008). Ostrom's principles for governing commons, based on case studies, were therefore acknowledged by a Nobel Prize in 2009 (De Moor et al., 2016). Bollier (2014) states that the "tragedy of the commons" is the misconception that commons are failures-relics from another era, and explains their rich history and promising future, as being an ageless paradigm of cooperation and fairness that is re-making our world. Describing how it challenges the standard narrative of market economics by explaining how cooperation generates significant value and human fulfillment, and how it provides a framework of law and social action that can help us move beyond the pathologies of neoliberal capitalism. 'This conceptual evolution from commons as small-scale, local resources to large-scale, global resources has taken place over the past half-century and is now leading to a new era in commons studies, but also to some additional confusion on what commons are and what they could mean for future societies' (De Moor, 2015, pp.161). 'Scholars in the social sciences have only recently begun to deal with the challenges involved in analyzing complex systems. The central problem is the large number of relevant variables and their interactions that affect how human systems operate at multiple levels' (Cox et al., 2010, pp.2). 'How success is defined within commons literature has been subjected to considerable discussion (Conley and Moote 2003; Agrawal and Chhatre 2006; Pagdee et al. 2006; Hajjar et al. 2016; Barnet et al., 2020). However, commons show how 'resources can be managed and safeguarded in an effective way through users' self-government, 'through forms of self-organisation that go beyond the traditional mechanisms of public authority and market' (De Tullio, 2020, p.10). 'Not by a highly repressive apparatus able to completely deter or punish free-riding, but by a participatory regime in which commoners came together relatively often to adjust rules to changing circumstances' (De Moor et al., 2016, pp.549). 'When social justice is put at the centre of this kind of self-organisation, commons can also produce cooperative and non-competitive relationships, non-extractive economies, horizontal decision-making and more democratic institutions' (De Tullio, 2020, p.10). '[Commons] propose the revalorisation of practices of mutualisation, cooperation and non-competitive relationships... Micciarelli (2014) defines these experiences as... the fulfillment of fundamental rights of the entire community of reference connected to the good itself'" (De Tullio [Alvarado], 2020, p.165). These results again suggest an emergence of commons and thus of HO throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, yet despite the noble goals of commons, further research remains necessary to empirically substantiate its effects.

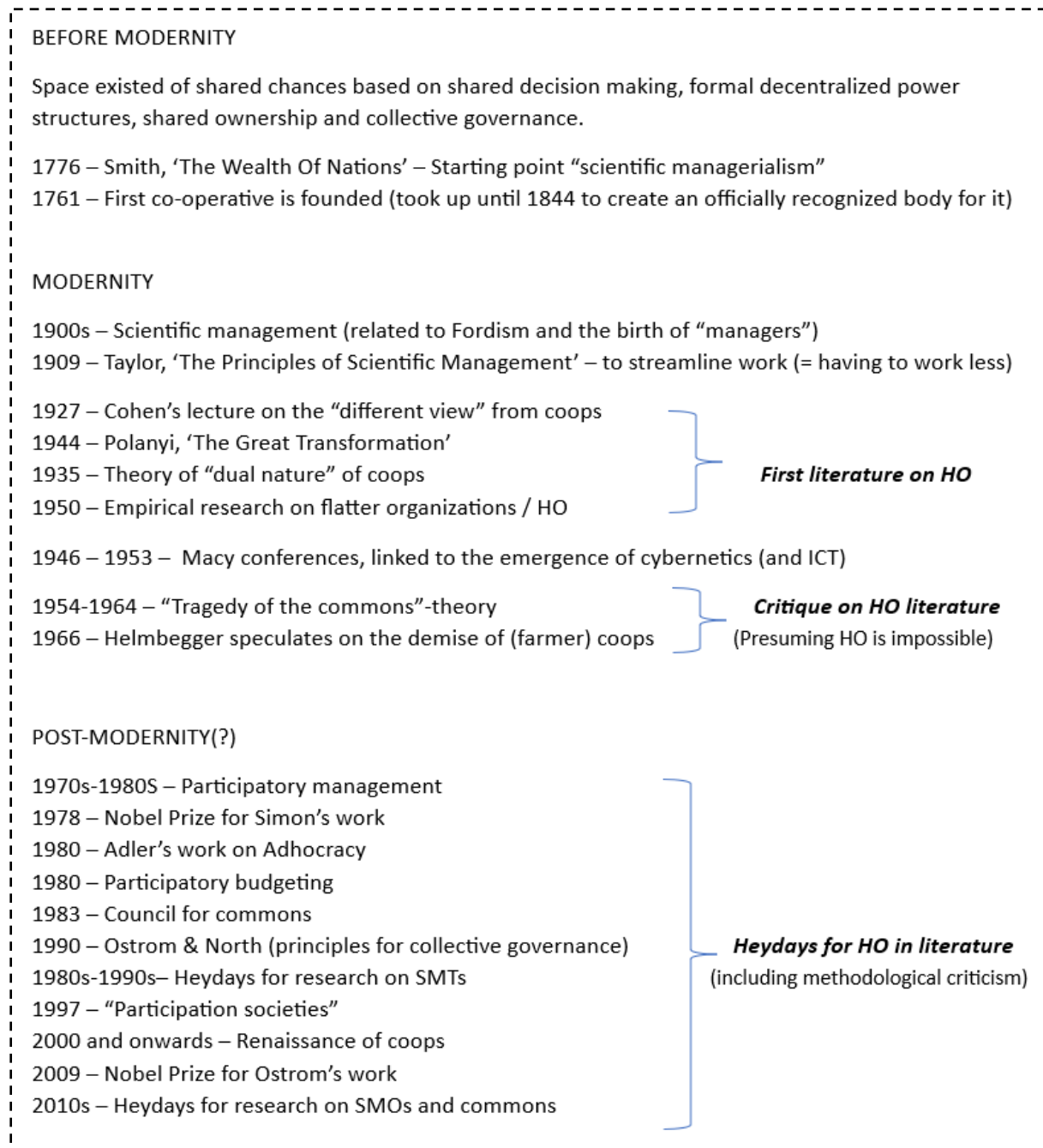
3. PARTICIPATORY PRACTICES - a "contemporary form of HO"? Its many forms and critiques!

The rise of 'participatory practices' has been widely discussed since the 1990s, just as their effect, (e.g. Cornwall, 2006; Ianiello et al., 2019; Turnhout et al., 2020). '[P]articipatory management implements structures to increase worker participation, such as committees where workers can influence aspects of their work experience ranging from working conditions to the strategic direction of the company (Collins, 1995; Cotton et al., 1988)' (Lee & Edmondson, 2017, p.3). This body of literature is closely related to the term 'co-production'. Co-production and participation mostly refer to processes where service users (e.g. employees) and service providers (e.g. companies) work together to create and deliver services, demanding an active role of the participants; from co-production where participants are invited to think along to participation and co-creation where there is no longer one central point steering the process. From the 1980s on, governments [understood as big organizations] experimented with participatory budgeting: giving power to citizens to decide on policy proposals. 'This experiment... shows that a participatory system at the local level is indeed possible and can successfully [the number of participants grew from '89 onwards]' (Aragonès & Sánchez-Pagés, 2009,

pp.67). 'From 1997 onwards, welfare reforms aimed to galvanise an 'active civil society with voluntary associations as its organized vanguard' (Fyfe and Milligan 2003, 398; Putnam 2000)' (Warren, 2014, pp.280). According to Corbett (2014), participation practices rose because of a general political disinterest as a form of empowerment based on social quality theory, reinforcing the practice and the people. 'Citizen engagement is considered to be a key feature in deciding on the functionality of a society. Civic engagement is seen as a resource that stimulates political action, and social capital is the ingredient that facilitates the social aggregation and trust between interpersonal networks thus increasing the well-being of society. Studies on this ambit have always shown ambiguity in its definition (Rowe and Frewer, 2005)' (Marino & Lo Presti, 2019, pp.294). Nonetheless, '[l]iterature on co-production is booming. Yet, most literature is aspirational and methodological in nature... and does not address the question why these processes often fail to achieve stated objectives of empowerment and societal transformation... We suggest that it is important to understand co-production as both a knowledge-making and a political practice; a political practice which is inevitably imbued with unequal power relations that need to be acknowledged but cannot be managed away... Under a variety of concepts and labels including coproduction, transdisciplinarity, science-policy interface, democratization of expertise, and knowledge brokering, numerous projects and interventions have been set up... that aim to integrate different ways of knowing and jointly develop knowledge' (Turnhout et al., 2019, p.15). Participatory management reached its highest usage as a term in the 1970s and 1980s (Lee & Edmondson, 2017). By 2018 Ianiello et al. point out how little we know about the effects of shared decision-making. 'Over the last decades [90s-00s] the benefits and drawbacks of citizen participation in decision-making by public sector organizations have attracted a significant amount of attention by researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners alike (Kickert et al. 1997; Edelenbos 1999; OECD 2001; McLaverty 2002; Klijn 2008)... A systematic assessment of whether citizen participation does deliver on its promises has received much less attention: this concern in itself is not new (Arnstein 1969; Riedel 1972; Rich and Rosenbaum 1981; Kenney 2000), but most contributions still consider the benefits of participation as a given. More recently, though, questions have surfaced as to under what conditions citizens' engagement is performing at a level that justifies its costs (Barnes et al. 2003; Involve 2005; Michels and De Graaf 2010; Devins, Mitchell, and Willis 2014)... Normative assumptions about the value of citizen participation are often taken for granted, and many examples of successes and failures are under-analyzed or overestimated, thus blurring its potential and hiding some of its downfalls... A growing number of empirical studies does try to understand what makes participation successful and what effective engagement truly means, with different levels of depth, breadth, and methodological sophistication (Chess 2000; Rowe and Frewer 2005; Rowe et al. 2008; Berner, Amos, and Morse 2011)... none of them took a systematic approach to the analysis of available evidence... Nevertheless, an increase in rigor and standardization of data collection and evaluation criteria of citizen participation would facilitate more systematic comparisons (Eisenhardt 1991; Hoon 2013)' (Ianiello et al., 2019, p.2).

4. HO AFTER 2000

The previous results were schematized as follows.



Scheme 1. Highlights of the history of HO found in literature on HO

Throughout the 20th century, literature on (horizontal) organizations experienced a change in perspective. The recent literature on SMOs, coops and commons emphasizes the emergence of first theories about HO in the first half. While in the second half, they were first criticized, only to be picked up slowly after that, even though they constantly had to compete against scientific management practices and traditional economic theory. Since 1980 and especially around 2000, HO has become a hot topic. The shift in perspective that came with it is further described and analyzed here, by presenting how today's practices of HO are received and perceived in that same literature and how it relates to some new concepts that are presented.

emerging SMO's - By the 1990s, self-management has become a real buzzword, at least in "first-world Western countries" (Martela & Jarenko, 2017; Lee and Edmondson, 2017; Huovinen, 2020; Christ, 2022). The focus on SMTs is slowly shifting towards self-managing organizations (SMOs). '[O]nly in recent decades have we started to see examples of organizations with thousands of employees that are "applying the principles of self-management to entire institutions" ... one could claim that the self-managing organization is the organizational structure that has currently captured the headlines as the next big thing in designing organizations (e.g., Hamel 2014; Gelles 2015)' (Martela, 2019, pp.2-8). SMOs decentralize authority formally and systematically. The principles and basic rules must be clear to everyone, i.e. the focus is no longer on the team level but on the whole organization. Organizations mix this type also with other forms into new, rapidly evolving hybrids (e.g., Shah 2006). 'A community is an organizational form that ... entails membership, commitment to shared goals and purposes, and rules for participation (Heckscher and Adler 2006; Snow et al. 2011)... in a self-organizing fashion, implying that they accomplish coordination and control primarily via direct interaction among themselves... Work is characterized by self-assignment to tasks and commons-based peer production (Benkler 2002; Lee and Cole 2003), guided by shared values, rules, and protocols [guiding rather than directing] (Fjeldstad et al. 2012; Ostrom 1990), providing a basis for trust-based collaboration (Adler et al. 2008). They affiliate with the community via some form of membership (Snow et al. 2011), while participants in markets and hierarchies affiliate via market contracts and employment, respectively (Simon 1991; Williamson 1975). Second, even though formal hierarchical authority structures may be absent, status hierarchies, network centrality and periphery structures, and other patterns causing asymmetric distribution of power, influence, information, and resource access are usually present' (Kolbjørnsrud, 2018, pp.14). However, unlike SMTs, SMOs have been studied very little (Huovinen, 2020). A second likewise contemporary example is the collaborative organization; defined by aligning values, mutual trust, company-wide shared knowledge and decentralization (Collaborative Organization - P2P Foundation, n.d.). Today, within the 'collaborative economy' many grassroots initiatives develop hybrid organizational forms, also organized around a social mission combined with a commercial attitude: foreign for-profit enterprises, start-ups, citizen initiatives and partnership social enterprises, etc. Lambert et al. (2019) describe how also this sector is struggling with a rapidly evolving environment dominated by for-profit enterprises, resulting in isomorphic pressures. A third example is 'Sociocracy and Holacracy', which develop (game) rules so that everyone can manage themselves in line with the entire organization. Despite the prominence "vertical" organizations, 'there has been a resurgence in the use of functional organizational structures and flatter hierarchies. Witness the rise of the Holacracy, an organizational form without a formal hierarchy, job titles, or job descriptions (Puranam & Håkansson, 2015)' (Joseph & Gaba, 2020, p.64). 'Sociocracy is an open-source solution, and it has its roots in 19th century Netherlands. During the last decade, Sociocracy has been processed into two well-known and documented forms... The first version of Holacracy was published in 2009 (Robertson, 2014). Sociocracy 3.0 was "launched as an open-source framework in March 2015" (Bockelbrink, Priest and David, 2017)... Hundreds of organizations have begun self-management with Holacracy as their basis and avoided many trials and errors... (Lee and Edmondson, 2017). Still, many have started with their entirely own way of self-management (Laloux, 2014)' (Huovinen, 2020). We can also observe the increased adoption of platforms, ecosystems, and crowds that is meant to help solve organizational design problems. Each of these approaches reflects a type of meta-organization that encompasses many corporations, communities, or individuals linked not by contracts but rather by technology and/or a common goal (Gulati et al., 2012)... it may well become more difficult to identify the optimal combination of design choices for achieving desired outcomes' (Joseph & Gaba, 2020, p. 67). Based on this extremely concise overview of the current situation in the field of HO, it seems that HO is gaining in importance, but that at the same time more and more new forms are emerging and that a flexible and agile organizational structure is especially desirable.

iv. ANALYSIS

two traditions of thinking and theory - The constant choice on how to organize ourselves is exposed in 'the longstanding debate between neoclassical economists and sociologists over how human agency and individual choice can be understood. Simply put, economists tend to hold the belief that humans are self-regarding and utility-maximizing, whereas sociologists see individuals as embedded in society and social relationships of reciprocity (Polanyi, 1954)... To such anti-reductionist social scientists, life is not just a series of constrained optimization problems, but the living out of shared understandings of fairness or justice (Bardhan & Ray, 2006)' (Gupta, 2014, p.99). Only the second body of theory is able to explain why humans might possibly cooperate beyond self-interest. Within this project, two portrayals of humankind, two human archetypes, emerge - which, for the sake of argument, are placed in oversimplified terminology: "the rather economic view", based on the premise that humans are rational, utility-driven beings who are best not to be trusted versus "the rather psychosociological view"; humans are not-so-rational social beings who seek recognition, belonging or 'moral fulfillment' based on a 'shared understanding of fairness and justice' and a 'jointly developed social quality theory'. This thought forms an important part to understand how history is dealt with in literature on HO.

a named shift towards a more cultural approach - 'Recent works in both practitioner and scholarly literature have explored HO under the aegis of the "future of work," the "future of management," and "reinventing organizations' (e.g. Lee & Edmondson, 2017). Within organizational design studies, it seems that a shift took place from a rational-choice to a more cultural approach (Haveman & Wetts, 2019). However, the cultural effects of HO remain rather underexposed and are difficult to grasp holistically. Interdisciplinary research is needed, especially on the cultural aspects (Martela, 2019). HO needs a more thorough and holistic definition with more verifiable concepts for future research (e.g. Chenhall, 2008; Pfeffer, 2013; Adler, et al., 2008), as is confirmed, among others, in the EU policy paper 'Cultural Policies in Europe a Participatory Turn' (Négrier & Dupin-Meynard, 2020). Only in this way will it be possible to make statements about whether Smith's managerialistic way of organizing makes us more selfish or whether HO effectively leads to the desired self-development. Recently, for example, the empirical relationship between workplace democracy and democratic attitudes has been extensively confirmed (Rybnikova, 2022). A "horizontal culture and decision-making" presupposes a different way of communicating and relating with each other: less authoritarian, power-based and commanding and delineated, therefore more facilitating, consulting and diffuse (Martilla, 2019; De Tullio, 2020; Joseph & Gaba, 2020). However uncertain, three intertwined shifts within this more cultural approach to studying organizations were noted:

- **a shift from organizational thinking to welfare-thinking within organizational design' based on "employee-centered organization design"; employees simultaneously being the owners, and sometimes also the consumers** - Around 2000, Wengers (1999) came up with his idea of 'communities of practice', and Adler (2001) defined the ideal type 'community'. Two thorough versions of HO based on shared goals and values to install the necessary trust to collaborate horizontally, putting the needs of the employees at the forefront to facilitate passionate participation. Literature on coops shows most experience with this way of organizing, as it is structurally embedded in them, based on the fact that there is a collision between the roles of employee and the one of the owner. Michaud & Audebrand (2022) describe a more humanistic governance (e.g. Miner & Novkovic, 2020), based on a member-centered conceptualization of co-operatives – as member-owned, member-controlled and member-benefiting (Zeuli et al., 2004). Commons take it one step further by putting social justice at its center, as described. "Employees" here are also owners and consumers. As if they were once taken

apart for efficiency, and today are brought back together by, or at least in theory. It typifies the shift in organizational studies from a singular focus on outputs to a focus that also includes personal, psychological and environmental aspects. The renewed interest in commons exemplifies a shift from firms focusing on profit from a secret product, based on the idea of scarcity, turning other companies who provide the same product into rivals. Towards commons who govern a living product in a transparent fashion hoping to join forces, rather than thinking in terms of abundance, turning other (similar) producers into partners. Commons shape our 'living together', '[w]hat Rancière calls 'politics' (Rancière 2015)... such civil actions originate in emotions (Castells 2015). Passions also generate the energy and drive for such actions. However, for commoning practices to develop sustainably, rules, forms of management and structures need to be developed... taking culture as its substructure' (De Tullio [Gielen], 2020; p. 31). Throughout Ostrom's principles (1990) can be seen how she emphasizes balancing the organization with its environment, rather than dominating it as is typical of modern organizations, and balancing the organization with the meanings and motivations of the participants. Another example of this shift is given in Laloux' popular book 'Reinventing Organizations' (2014). He explores a 'next paradigm of management' where human flourishing lies at the center of leading and organizing, and where organizations invest ever more in self-management, wholeness, and something he calls 'their evolutionary purposes', highlighting their socializing function in society, beyond mere profit-making or achieving operational goals, striving to create a nurturing and purposeful work environment where individuals are encouraged to express their full potential. A next example of this shift is given in the literature on SMOs, describing how empowerment becomes increasingly important since self-organization might only be for a few. Empowerment in management studies is more than 60 years old, yet experiences a revival today (Huovinen 2020), believing that empowerment initiatives enhance employee performance, well-being, and positive attitudes (e.g., Maynard et al., 2012; Hempel et al., 2012; Spreitzer, 2008). Here, too, the results remain open to discussion (Huovinen, 2020). Finally, there is also the rise of the terms such as 'enabling leadership' (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017), 'leading by example, empowering, shared or humble leadership' (Anderson, 2018) and 'feminist leadership' (Rao & Kelleher, 2000), relying on values such as transparency, collaboration, inclusivity, empowering others, and being mindful of power and personal biases (De Welde et al., 2019). The key themes exist of intersectionality and a commitment to inclusive and collaborative decision-making processes (Liu, 2021), which indicates how every person - and (their) culture - became more important when organizing. As a form of critique, some authors warn about the danger of the possibility for (capitalistic) individualism to rise within HO, based on "extreme democracy" and flexibility, reducing the feeling of group solidarity, underlining its inherent contradictions (see e.g., Hansmann, 1996; Troberg, 2000; Varman & Chakrabarti, 2004; Vuotto, 2012; Gulati, Isaac, & Klein, 2002). Now that physical well-being in Western societies is secured (Inglehart, 2008), HOs can become a tool for individual self-fulfillment. Though it is argued that 'when properly balanced, both shared and individual goals will provide an ideal work community for modern entrepreneurs' (Puusa et al., 2016).

- **a change of motivations** - How to make sure that the focus remains on equality and the democratization of power, without falling prey to market mechanisms? Based on the presented results, it seems logical to once again focus on collectivity (e.g. workers coops), but with an eye for minorities and pluralistic theory, and from an intersectional perspective. To do so, it might help to understand this shift as being part of a broader shift in motivations. According to Collins (2009) forms of sanctioning have changed over time. De Moor describes how tasks and positions in premodern commons used to be divided and appointed by rules and punishment. The new generation seems to seek meaning through work and apparently experiences an increasing urge for autonomy. Rather than relying on physical punishment or the threat of violence, modern societies tend to rely more on bureaucratic and legal forms of sanctioning, in other words, our motivations to behave 'well', changed from extrinsic to intrinsic (e.g. Lee & Edmondson, 2017). We seem to become ever more sensitive to

belonging to groups (and the identity that follows from it), also within work-related contexts. Maybe this can be related to the fact that people today join these “collective projects” more out of fun, interest, to meet new people, for societal change and less for survival. There is a need to understand how the motivations of people changed and how this relates to HO - e.g. when people join collectives and impose the corresponding rules on themselves of their own free will, can that still be understood as individualism or have we simply become better at dealing with issues of identity and how to steer and shape our community on that basis? When are individualistic motivations selfish and when can they be understood as altruistic? When are shared values necessary to gain a feeling of collectivity?

- the increasing importance of context as a means to counter asymmetric relations - Megatrends like the increasing globalization of the world economy, the increasing amount of knowledge-based work, rapid entry and exit of both competitors and technologies, and unprecedented risk started an increased acceleration of change in the environment, increased uncertainty, and increased information processing requirements (e.g. Huovinen, 2020; Cross et al., 2003). ‘[C]ompanies nowadays are confronted with a world that is changing more quickly than ever before and working today means something completely different than 30 years ago (Hackl et al., 2017)’ (Weirauch et al., 2023, p.2). ‘Scholars and practitioners now focus on establishing governance models adapted to the internal and external environment of organizations (Bradshaw, 2009; Ostrower & Stone, 2010)’ (Michaud & Audebrand, 2022, p.2). Since the 1950s and increasingly today, research on information processing and decision-making highlights how more HO helps to be resilient by agility (e.g. Gulati, Puranam & Tushman, 2012; Burton, Obel & Håkonsson, 2015; Joseph, Baumann, Burton & Srikanth, 2018; Puranam, 2018; Joseph & Gaba, 2020), to be better able to answer the call for more innovativeness in dynamic environments (Mintzberg, 1980). While with Smith, mostly the point of view of the owner of the organization was important. Organizations were like islands of rules, mostly thinking about themselves. Today, scholars like Joseph and Gaba (2020) emphasize how organizations form ecologies, highlighting the dynamic and evolutionary nature of organizational processes and situated interactions between individuals, groups, and their environment and how it cannot be understood in isolation from their broader context.

The literature on shared place-making, serving as yet another example of HO, shows more into depth how the emphasis on context is becoming increasingly prominent. In doing so, the role of space in organizations is being reframed in more flexible ways, such as within participatory projects, fablabs, coworking spaces and creative hubs (see e.g. O’Doherty et al., 2017). ‘In recent years the increasing democratisation of public realm design has earned the name of place-making. It is an area that is increasingly multi-sector, aimed at exploring socio-spatial relationships and focussed on the promotion of social value and health and wellbeing (Tuan 1977), it is an exercise where we might expect to find significant psychological and community benefits of co-production (McCann 2002; Lepofsky and Fraser 2003; Dyck 2005; Pink 2008; Pierce, Martin, and Murphy 2011)... Psychological wellbeing is a multidimensional concept closely associated with... the pursuit of meaning and purpose.’ (Corcoran et al., 2017, p. 2). An example of organizations that facilitate “organization through space” are coworking spaces, which, from 2010 onwards, are under heavy scholarly investigation. The number of coworking spaces and people choosing to work in them is growing (Jakonen, Kivinen, Salovaara, & Hirkman, 2017; Rus & Orel, 2015; Bouncken et al., 2022). Bouncken et al. (2022), estimated a growth of at least 250% in 5 years (2019-2024), going from 16,000 to 42,000 coworking spaces and from 1.6 to 5 million users. They deal with the same “typical HO topics”; productivity, well-being, knowledge sharing and job satisfaction, expanded by topics such as ‘how to build a sense of community’, ‘attractiveness’, ‘the multi-level approach’, ‘collaborative capacity’ (Bouncken et al., 2022). Another example, creative hubs, emerged in the 1970s. They are ‘shared spaces’, turning (vacant) buildings into ‘working communities’. Despite the lack of clarity of their definition, many policy agencies around the world are currently promoting them (Pratt, 2021; Chan et

al., 2019). 'Hubs represent a collective approach to coping with uncertain social, cultural and economic environments and processes of creativity and innovation' (Dovey et al. 2016, p. 4; Sandoval, 2019). Additionally, some authors explore the potential of the city as a space of HO, as a commoning space (e.g. Stavrides, 2016; Bauwens & Onzia, 2017). They put emphasis on the tensions between openness and exclusivity, and argue that common space has the potential to challenge the dominant logic of capitalist urbanism. Commons seem, as described, to have an inherent focus on being in balance with their environment, as the shared governance and use of a living resource is their major goal. Physical places form examples of how HO can be facilitated without the immediate need for shared values, and so, on a more pluralistic base. By reclaiming place, recent literature questions the accumulation of privilege on the work floor, and how to resist spaces of a particular, neoliberal capitalist order (e.g. Callahan, 2013; Raulet-Croset, 2013). '[S]paces and places can serve to reform and destabilise old routines and institutional logics (Lô & Diochon, 2019; Våland & Georg, 2019)... drawing on Merleau Ponty's philosophy of embodiment, argue that emotions lie at the heart of the embodied first experience... Organisational spaces produce us as much as we produce our place(s) in the spaces of organising' (Chan et al., 2019, p.2). 'How can we face the power imbalance... We attempt to answer this question by presenting the self-organised communities that we are part of' (Torres-Olave & González, 2021, p.6). 'Sustainability science recognises the need to fully incorporate cultural and emotional dimensions... mediated by place and identity... We review emerging evidence across disciplines and suggest a new model exploring interactions between place, identity and empathy for sustainability. There are emerging innovative methodological approaches: exploratory, interactive and generative!... emotional engagement creates cultural meaning and embeds the environment and pro-environmental behavior in place-oriented norms and institutions' (Brown et al., 2019, pp.11-16).

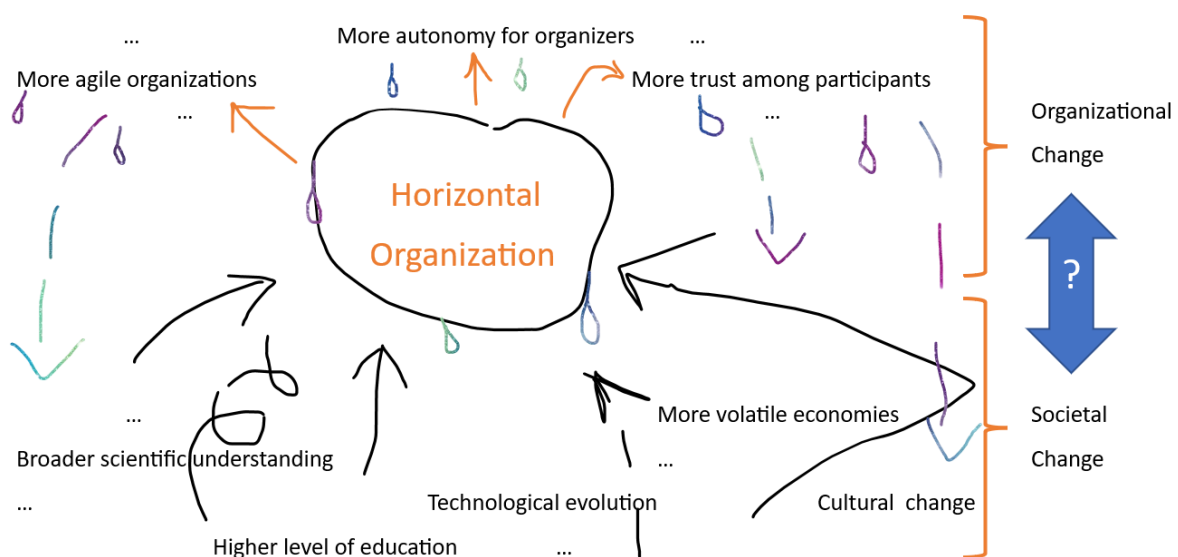
Despite the popularity of this topic, some authors are critical about how HO can as well enforce 'existing power relations and prevent wider change; based on not to 'challenge existing hierarchies', 'to strive for consensus (rationality of the elite)', 'confined to project boundaries' (Turnhout et al., 2019) By acknowledging the emotional and embodied dimensions of work, a need pops up to recognize and better define the relationship between 'reason and emotion' and the 'specific relationships of politics and power' within HO. Place-making, for example, is characterized either in terms of 'hot' jobs in 'buzzing' places or precarious, often poorly paid working conditions, which needs further investigation. Otherwise, HO can lead to new forms of rigid closures including many forms of exclusions (Warren, 2014). Warren criticizes the negative consequences of participation in her article; exclusivity, abuse and poor conditions, and wonders to what extent these are inherent to HO (Warren, 2014). Also Uitermark (2015, pp.) warns of how 'networked communities rather than hierarchical states have come to be seen as the source of welfare, prosperity, and happiness'.

v. CONCLUSION

This article indicates the need for interdisciplinary research to gain insight into the shifts taking place in the organizational landscape by connecting these to broader societal shifts. To begin with, the added value of bringing together the many organizational types should be recognized, based on shared terminology and methodologies, empowered with insights from cultural sociology. More and more different organizational types are focusing on HO, as an organizational form that focuses on shared decision-making rights through participation tools, leading to increased forms of equity and more autonomy. Autonomy means that there is a self (auto-) capable of creating the rules (-nomos) by which it behaves. Within organizations, this increasingly asks for a climate of trust at the expense of control. In order to understand how this came to be, a first step was taken towards a genealogy of (horizontal) organization. Two questions predominated; what do we see happening and what is needed, according to the literature on HO and how its perceives its own history? On the basis of this

cautious exploratory, inductive literature study, in which organizational horizontalization is approached as much as possible in its entirety, some tentative conclusions can be drawn.

the tragedy of scientific management - Managerialism was given a boost at the onset of modernity by the likes of Smith and consorts. Before modernity, spaces existed where people shared power equally on the basis of shared ownership (cfr. commons). Throughout modernity, these were formalized into recognized by the state coops and similar organizational forms. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of scientific management prevailed, with its drive for profit and effectiveness through bureaucracy. From 1930, according to the literature, the first theories emerged that pursue a broader understanding of organization, with more room for cultural aspects. This, together with technological and other social trends, led to studies in search for first empirical evidence on the effects of HO by 1950. Since 1980, literature on HO has become prominent, although it remains difficult to prove the benefits of HO to this day. Notwithstanding, it is striking how a shift of perception and perspective took place within the literature. At the beginning of the 20th century, the focus was on the needs of the organization itself (profit and effectiveness), throughout the 20th century the view was broadened to include the needs of participating people, as well as environmental (f)actors. At the beginning of the 20th century, reference is made to a striving for more autonomy and a more value-driven organization, just as a need for more agile, decentralized and thus for more HOs. The popularity of literature on and practices of HO suggests that it shifts the general preference of organizing on the continuum from vertical towards HO. Why this happens and what the consequences are, however, remains difficult for scientists to understand. Traditional economic theories seem to fall short, while cultural aspects are gaining importance – e.g. where does our contemporary desire for autonomy originates, or what motivations lie behind the shifts in how we organize? Moreover, is there a self-reinforcing tendency? To find answers to such questions, it pays to bring together the various literature on HO in order to detect larger underlying flows and to get a better grip on the connection between societal shifts and shifts in the way we organize ourselves. An example of this is the role ICT plays in our lives. We know that this can lead to a further increase in formalization and surveillance. At the same time, it gives us the opportunity to act more and more autonomously on the work floor because information is more easily accessible. Based on the results, the challenge arises to better understand in the future how these processes interact.



Scheme 2. Relation 'societal change-organizational change'

What should become clear from this overview of preconceived histories is that HO is not simply a choice of organizational designers, but that this is related to other social trends that need to be (better) understood, such as our desire for autonomy, new forms of equity, new ideas, the emergence of ICT, the ecological crisis and so on. The individual and their personal environment are gaining in importance when organizing. They are increasingly attracted by and can contribute to the shared values within organizations and do this more and more based on intrinsic motivations, such as 'feelings of moral recognition' or in function of 'the search for forms of more justice and equity', and to challenge unjust asymmetries. This shift is complemented by an organizational vision that places increasing importance on the spaces, and how they can destabilize old routines, and the environment in which they operate. Organizational design theories (still based on scientific management) are not equipped to capture these processes. New approaches need to be developed for this.

vi. DISCUSSION

on the role of science - Based on the history outlined, the question arises as to whether we can think and act beyond old, traditional thinking and become more interested in imagining alternatives, and if so how. 'It is in the conceptualization of alternative forms that organization theory has been weakest (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979)' (Gupta, 2014, p.99). Although this point goes beyond the scope of this article, it should be noted that science plays an important role in shaping our organizations and, consequently, in shaping society and ourselves. By addressing how especially during the second part of the 20th century, committees came together to discuss how to accept the complexities of organizations and the rapidly changing role of technology within them, it becomes (painfully) clear that in times of scientific management, scientist simply did not have the capacity to calculate the effects of (hierarchical) organizations on human beings - or did not care for it. This point could be substantiated by looking at how definitions of what constitutes an organization or "good leadership" have evolved throughout history! Expected is that this makes the shifts discussed more visible. HO seems to be ever more approached as grounded in a set of values, belief systems and behaviors, and as such, framed in a cultural sociological perspective - in addition to the popular, limited focus on efficiency practiced in business schools (Haveman & Wetts, 2019). Ahmady, Mehrpour and Nikooravesh (2016) for example, understand organizations today as the manifestation of systemic thought. Accordingly, HO should be studied as processes of distancing, social cohesion, collective meaning-making, and classification.

It can be cautiously concluded that, because scientific management was based on a limited scientific understanding, companies have produced the necessary alienation, not to mention the individualism and capitalist thinking that are inextricably linked to it. Their limited focus on the needs and goals of organizations made us blind to how organizations fatigued employees, estranging them, sometimes resulting in non-productivity and "few innovation", or in other words, rigid organizations who do not seem to adapt fast enough to their environment (in crisis). This article therefore can be read as a warning of the harm that an overly strong belief in the intangibility and all-encompassing determinability of science can cause. Just as it can be read as an explanation of why collective forms of organizing seem to have gone through a dip in modernizing times, simply because back then we did not have scientific knowledge to better understand the holistic consequences of such an approach and how it was based on science that was accomplished by mostly the dominant class; white, "Western", rich, healthy men, probably unconsciously playing with the protection of their privileges towards the less dominant classes and minorities.

Is it correct to conclude that first science determines the direction, then politics follows, and then this body of thought (about how to organize our selves) settles in our heads? Did we become less altruistic because we simply could not prove if and why humans are altruistic? Should we understand new organizational forms as a consequence of the continuation of our knowledge about inequality, such

as the recent developments within intersectional thinking? Is there an increasing interest in steering our behavior by designing the way we organize ourselves? In the end, proving that self-organization is possible might help scientists to believe that altruism is a real factor. The rise of HO offers the exceptional opportunity to create, as experimental settings, the possibility to investigate under which circumstances more autonomy leads to certain effects such as increased altruism/selfishness or joy of life/stress, etc. At the same time, 'given that organizations have become increasingly characterized by distributed decision making (i.e., across ecosystems, platforms, or communities), we shall require a more complete understanding of how organizations can adapt to changing circumstances' (Joseph & Gaba, 2020, p. 67).

clear terminology to socialize ourselves - Only based on clear terminology can we make statements about major changes that lie behind and within the shift towards horizontalization. Puranam et al. (2017) discuss in their article how boundary conditions may imply a limited range for boss-less organizations, while De Moor (2015) emphasizes how commons used to survive for centuries, based on forms of self-organization. These are just two examples that show how the debate about 'whether hierarchy is necessary' is still alive today. Without a clear definition of what less-hierarchical organizations are, it remains hard to tell whether there really is an increase of such organizational forms. Nonetheless, there is an interest today within organizational design studies in the shift taking place from clearly defined and designed organizations with stated goals towards organizations that might be best understood as living experiments. Even if both forms remain useful, there is a need to better understand this evolution and what it tells about ourselves. For it will always remain a question of choosing between controlling and giving autonomy to our fellow humans. In other words, there is more at stake than just understanding the evolution of organizational structures. This discussion also reflects our fundamental political understanding and view of humans. Just as The Bureaucrat had her rules, The Entrepreneur had her private sphere and property. What type of trust and behavior will HO facilitate? To reach ever more equity, empires and kingdoms first had to get rid of (physical) arbitrariness, bureaucratic states had to get rid of inheritance law and the free market had to grant everyone equal access to the economy. Networks today strive for inclusive decision-making forms. From the overthrow of feudalism to the development of modern market economies, people have continually sought to broaden their horizons and pursue diverse paths in life. Can and should we understand the networked, horizontal way of organizing as a next step in this evolution, as in delivering ever more possibilities to everyone? By delivering standard concepts, a basis is created for future research into the effects of, motives for and circumstances that lead to HO. Only in this way does it seem sensible to make statements about matters such as 'does everyone on average become increasingly aware of how an organization socializes us?'. This argument therefore asks for a single definition that bundles these practices and divides them into a few simple concepts, and how they are related. Defining them by what they are, but also by what they are not (Sartori, 1970). Defining allows the discourse to change and move on. Many authors mentioned this need for a different yet generally recognized terminology. It was striking how the literature on shared and circular economies was cited most, while at the same time, there, the need for definition was most clearly emphasized. As was the fact that too many new terminologies are constantly emerging, which often amounts to putting old wine in new barrels, by people who wish to reinvent hot water over and over again. It seems advisable to first arrive at a limited number of linked and generally accepted definitions. For example, 'commons' are mostly SMOs that, like coops, pursue shared ownership, but on a more loose-fixed basis, whereby producers are also consumers, governing sustainably a highly fluctuating, "more living product" to facilitate different living conditions with. The relationships between the different types of HO require further research into how these types relate to each other. The role of terminology such as 'hierarchy', 'formalization', 'authority', 'efficiency' or for instance 'what good leadership is' is

equally in need of redefinition within this context. A shift towards more HO seems to thoroughly erode these terms in their traditional understanding. Doing so, it is important to avoid the trap of coming up with new, fancy words such as co-creation, that actually hide the ever-reinforcing neoliberal, individualistic and capitalist ideas behind it, something Laermans et al. (2017) warned us about. At the same time, there is no need to downplay the relevance of HO by stating that it inherently embraces a paradox. Maybe it is rather the more “natural” way of organizing. It seems appropriate to obtain continua on which the different types can be placed in the hope of measuring the degree of horizontality, hierarchy, formalization and so on, and how it evolves. At the same time, we also need to better define what the problem is with hierarchy, not only from an organizational point of view (e.g. inertia) but also from a human point of view (e.g. indifference, biases and power reproduction). The further defining of the types of HO contributes to the understanding of these fields. Moreover, Hossain (2020) provides a scheme to evaluate all the different theories that are used within SE that can be useful within the study of HO.

towards a more cultural understanding of organizations - Conventional governance theories are often incomplete (Cornforth's, 2004; Michaud & Audebrand, 2022). ‘The theory that the heterogeneous goals of workers will lead to inefficient decision-making is problematic to evaluate, because of the ambiguities of the word “inefficient”. To be sure, each interviewee mentioned the fact that decision-making through a collective democratic process can be challenging, frustrating, and time consuming. However, members also made it clear that this form of decision-making, despite its obstacles, was exactly what attracted them ... in the first place – the opportunity to have one’s voice heard and be part of an egalitarian and democratic community. On an economic level, it seems possible that this form of decision-making could lead to inefficiency in response times to certain problems or conflicts, but at the same time, several members pointed out that the decision that is ultimately reached by the group is often well crafted, having benefited from multiple members’ input and perspectives’ Gupta (2014, p.104). Institutional panaceas seem to be inherent to human organization and motivation. Nonetheless, a broadening of the way we understand and study organizations seems to have taken place ‘acknowledging “the diversity of puzzles and problems facing humans interacting in contemporary societies” (Ostrom 2010)’ (De Tullio [Alvarado], 2020, p.166). This broadening might be best understood as a co-optation of the critical management studies of grassroots organizations within organizational design studies. Even though critical management studies only arose in the 1980s, the idea behind it captures the long history of theory on HO. ‘The common core is deep skepticism regarding the moral defensibility and the social and ecological sustainability of prevailing conceptions and forms of management and organization’ (Adler et al., 2007, p.119). Critical management scholars argue that organizations are not just neutral entities that exist to achieve certain goals, but are deeply embedded in social and political contexts, shaping their practices. Organizations are seen as sites of power and struggle, where different actors may have competing interests and values. To better understand these mechanisms, the cultural sociological perspective is needed within economics, yet remains underemployed for the time being (Vaisey & Valentino, 2018).

beyond natural reflexes? - What is striking is that, within the consulted literature, there seems to be an increasing desire and need for (a sense of and) opportunities for cultural equity, beyond economic equity - from 'who earns the most' to 'who can say/determine the most'? This begs the question of who this is working for and when. At the same time, there is a paradox between an increased interest in the physical work environment and how it strengthens or redistributes power, in the “embodiedness” of the participants versus other contextual factors such as increasingly volatile economic environments, the ecological crisis, and more uncertainty amplifiers. These latter factors would normally lead to the conservative reflex or status quo bias (Kahneman et al., 1991), which, in

the face of uncertainty, drives us towards conservatism and strong authorities. In times of change, there is often a natural inclination for individuals and organizations to rely more heavily on established structures, routines, and traditional ways of thinking. This tendency arises from a desire for stability, predictability, and the preservation of existing norms and practices. However, despite the increasing uncertainty, we seem to be striving for more autonomy and the uncertainties that come with it. It is striking how science seems to want to help us go beyond our deeply psychologically rooted reflexes, based on the idea that decentralization makes organizations (more innovative and) more adaptive - and therefore giving also every participant more chances of survival. As if the meso-level serves as a buffer to, on the basis of shared values, work with our personal (and societal) biases. It relates to the insight that a wider (creative) potential needs to be tapped for this, for which it is best to make maximum use of everyone's voice. As a result, it can be cautiously concluded that there is an increasing need to give employees more space and freedom, and therefore more trust and fewer rules.

a change in our image of the human being - Throughout the text, just as within the consulted literature, it was made clear how the choice for more managerialism or rather horizontalism, as two extremes on the same continuum, can be understood from two bodies of theory that refer back to two images of the human being. On the one hand you have the idea, of the "Smithians" and associates, that people cannot be trusted and are lazy, but that we can build a flawless economic system that must be defended at all costs, and in which 'The Organization' stands for the management and representation of this system. On the other hand, there is a more cultural image of an economic system that is embedded in a social reality that changes constantly and at an increasingly rapid pace based on the contributions of everyone, and that the economy can therefore be better understood as a social permaculture in which individuals can be trusted and contribute as much as possible to their full potential. A clear way to describe the underlying assumption can be found by thinking of the role of ownership. Ownership (arranged by organization) brings security. When you choose to share a piece of land, a house, a patent or anything else that can as well be individually owned, it shows trust in the other person. 'The Organization' functions here rather as a socializing redistributor of capital, powers and forces. To better understand these flows, research would be fruitful on the relationship between images of the human being and ways of organizing, or how a particular image of the human being leads or does not lead to a preference in organizing and leadership. It is expected that traditional "economic thinkers" prefer vertical organization, while more "cultural thinkers" may find it easier to invest in HO.

Based on these assumptions, a shift seems to take place from the idea that humans can't be trusted but the system can (cfr. Leviathan), to 'the system is incomplete because culture changes constantly and all humans can contribute to finding solutions for the problems caused by these changes'. When Young (2011) coined meritocracy in 1958, he seemed to be insinuating that we are moving towards a system where not people, but our economic system can be trusted, helping us in our quest for equity, giving everyone the chance to become what they want to be. Fortunately, in the decades that followed, authors like Bourdieu (1987) broke with that image by proving how culture and social capital are crucial in interpreting the failure of that same economic system. Personally, it makes me wonder whether the image of human beings most used within sciences is shifting from 'we are dancing to our (selfish) genes' as Dawkins (2016) still claimed in 1979 to 'our genes (behavior and characteristics) are dancing to its surroundings while our culture is being the DJ with an eye out for how our genes react to the music' - especially since the cultural turn in social sciences gained momentum in the 1980s. Prior to the cultural turn, social scientists tended to focus more on economic and political factors, as well as more traditional sociological concepts such as class. Including terms as race and gender led to the development of a range of interdisciplinary approaches that incorporate cultural factors into the study of social phenomena. This whole evolution is in line with how our thinking seems to evolve from

'all our life we have the same values' to 'all are life we evolve, socialized by our surroundings'. These two different views on humans - or different mentalities - are still reflected in high school youth today and within the courses they follow, with on the one side more exact and on the other side more human sciences. Arguably the same dichotomy can be found in society, begging for more "social ambidexterity". The core problem statement being that there are still so many disparate theories that fail to converse with each other. the different images of human beings certainly do no good to our attempts to come to a more interdisciplinary research field.

If we leave more room for people within organizations, does this also mean that our 'general view of man' is based more on 'people can be trusted'? To clarify this question, a thought experiment. Society, like a raft, can be unstable in a stable surrounding. On a sea where there are no storms, instability is not too much of a problem. Africa, for example, has rather a lot of policy problems (instability) but a little changing environment. This could explain why there is more need for spontaneous collectivity there. In "Western" regions such as in Europe or North America, there is more organizational stability (e.g. no war) within a rapidly changing environment (mainly due to large capital and technology). The nuance here is that the outlined evolution towards HO is based on a formally installed trust and therefore concerns formal communities, which only exist because they can fall back on a trust in rules. So you could speak of a kind of "false-trust". This makes it likely that only those who believe in a need for greater cultural equity will bet on the sometimes tiresome practice of striving beyond false-trust, into a deeper, genuine trust in the Other.

'If we can't be ourselves at work, but lose most of our time there – what kind of lives do we lead?... [The] body is also caught in the automatism of a routine repetition' (KUNSTENFESTIVALDESARTS — MIKE, n.d.).

vii. ATTACHMENT

106 documents (including 68 peer review articles of which 50 reviews) were included in our analysis. What follows is a classified overview per domain.

Within literature on '**commons**' a total of 27 documents were consulted:

- 14 peer reviewed article (7 of which were published after 2019 and of which 10 are reviews),
- 7 books (three articles came from one of these books),
- 2 policy paper,
- 4 website pages.

Given the aim of our research, we chose to not conclude literature on commons from the legal or political sciences.

Within literature on '**self-organization, self-management and self-managing teams**' a total of 17 documents were consulted:

- 12 peer reviewed articles (2 of which were published after 2019 and of which 10 are reviews)
- 1 article which is soon going to be published (Review),
- 1 book (Review),
- 1 book review (Review),
- 1 master thesis

Within literature on '**co-operatives**' a total of 17 documents were consulted:

- 7 peer reviewed articles (3 of which were published after 2019 and of which all of them are reviews)
- 1 policy report
- 3 webpages

Within literature on '**co-production and participation**' a total of 6 documents were consulted:

- 6 peer reviewed articles (3 of which were published after 2019 and of which 4 them are reviews)

Notice how co-production seems to replace the term participation in literature.

Within literature on '**co-working**' 1 peer review article (review) was consulted.

Within literature on '**Shard spaces & creative hubs**' a total of 8 documents were consulted:

- 8 peer reviewed articles (5 of which were published after 2019 and of which 6 are reviews)

Within literature on '**Collaborative organization**' a total of 8 documents were consulted:

- 2 peer reviewed articles (of which 2 are reviews - one from 2018 and one from 2019)
- 4 website pages

Furthermore, some extra documents were consulted to further substantiate the general picture of these practices and theory where necessary. Within literature on '**more general horizontal organisation topics**' a total of 22 documents were consulted:

- 12 peer reviewed articles (3 of which were published after 2019 and of which 10 are reviews)
- 5 website pages
- 4 book
- 1 book review

viii. REFERENCES

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