Perspectives on Empowerment, Social Cohesion, and Democracy

An International Anthology

Cecilia Henning
Karin Renblad (eds.)

Perspectives on Empowerment, Social Cohesion and Democracy

Europe, as well as the rest of the world, is facing several challenges in the future: economic and financial crises, unemployment, environmental problems, political conflicts, migration, ethnic conflicts, and demographic changes towards a greying society, to name a few. These problems, along with others related to these challenges, are threatening the social cohesion of societies.

A society, as defined in terms of social cohesion, in which people feel empowered and in which well-being is linked to solidarity and shared visions, is a society which fosters democracy. Different aspects of citizenship and democracy are highlighted in Part I of this volume. In Part II examples of implementing Future Workshop as a method of empowerment are presented and discussed.

The articles in this anthology are oriented towards long-term unemployment, social planning, education, rehabilitation and eldercare which are all used as examples of applications. Social cohesion linked to a greying society should be understood as promoting a sustainable society. For the future development of eldercare it is crucial to discuss the importance of empowering older people. However, it is only possible to create a strong welfare society if elderly people get involved alongside with other citizens in a true democratic process.

Social cohesion is important for creating a strong civil society, which in turn is crucial as a base for democracy. The role of civil society in relation to the state and the market today and in the future, is a highly topical issue in the discussion about new concepts for the future in creating a welfare society for all people. The various parts of this anthology contribute in different ways to this discussion by problemising and discussing concepts like empowerment, social cohesion and democracy.

Recent initiatives by international organisations concerned about the future development of well-being in society show that the interest in social cohesion and civil society is a European phenomenon but also a global challenge.

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CECILIA HENNING • KARIN RENBLAD (EDS)

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Preface

Cecilia Henning & Karin Renblad

It takes a lot of time and is a complex process to edit an international anthology. The delay while producing this book has had some advantages. It has led to our ability to ask more colleagues successively to embark on the project, which has given added value to our book.

The whole idea started with a meeting between Cecilia Henning and Carsten Rensinghoff at a conference in Dortmund in November 2005. Carsten R. had written a PhD thesis on the Future Workshop as a method in Social Work. "Why not write an international anthology on experiences from different countries and contexts in working with Future Workshops?" we said to each other. Cecilia H. then asked Cecilia Cappelli from Florence to join the project. She had worked together with Cecilia H. and her colleague from Jönköping, Ulla Åhnby, in a previous project funded by the European Social Fund.

Magnus Jegermalm from Stockholm and Cecilia H. met Lars Lambrecht, Stefanie Ernst and Sabine von Löwis at a meeting in Hamburg while working on a proposal to the European Commission with the aim to formulate the agenda for a Social Platform within the European Union's 7th Frame Programme. As we shared the interest in developing methods for a democratic dialogue between citizens, stakeholders, planners and researchers, our colleagues from Hamburg were later invited to join the book project together with Felizitas Pokora and Ingo Neumann. Karin Renblad from Jönköping joined the group while working to elaborate the proposal for the project aimed at establishing a European Social Platform and became a co-editor together with Cecilia H.

Ulla Å. and Cecilia H. wrote a chapter in an international anthology on empowerment, edited by Tokie Anme from Tokyo and Mary McCall from San Fransisco. In return we invited Tokie A. to contribute to our book. Finally we asked another colleague from Jönköping, Ingrid Grosse, to write an article based on her PhD thesis. Mary McCall, Professor at Saint Mary's College of California, has made a review of the manuscript. Lisa Andersson at Luppen Development and Research Centre did the editing and the layout.

The editors want to thank all the colleagues who have contributed to this volume. Thanks to their patience we have been able to finally complete this project.

The aim with this publication is to highlight, from different cultural perspectives and from different contexts, the links between empowerment, social cohesion, and democracy - three important elements for building a sustainable civil society.

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Introduction

An Agenda for Social Cohesion

Cecilia Henning and Karin Renblad

Europe, as well as the rest of the world, is facing several challenges in the future: economic and financial crises, unemployment, environmental problems, political conflicts, migration, ethnic conflicts, and demographic changes towards a greying society, to name a few. These problems, along with others related to these challenges, are threatening the social cohesion of societies as a whole. The Social Cohesion Development Division of the Council of Europe in cooperation with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Autonomous Province of Trento, Italy, arranged a seminar in Strasbourg in November 2008 on the theme "Involving citizens/communities in measuring and fostering well-being and progress: Towards new concepts and tools". Much of the discussion concerned how to define well-being and how to develop indicators for measuring well-being among citizens as guidelines for community planning. The Director General of Social Cohesion, Council of Europe, Alexander Vladychenko[1] draws a distinction between individual well-being and well-being for all people. It is the latter concept which was introduced by the Council of Europe in its revised Strategy for Social Cohesion as the ultimate goal of the modern society. It has been emphasised that well-being cannot be attained unless it is shared. The ultimate goal is a society based on right and shared responsibilities and social cohesion should be achieved through consultation and participation.

   Gilda Farrell, Head of the Social Cohesion Development Division, DG Social Cohesion, Council of Europe, expresses a shared vision for well-being which also includes a strive for social cohesion: "First, however, it should be borne in mind that the Council of Europe's approach to defining well-being with ordinary citizens reintroduced an ethic of mutual responsibility, in which the participants stood aside from their individuality and immediate interests and developed their perceptions through a process of exchange."[2]

   Much of the discussion during the seminar in Strasbourg was devoted to the theme of how to find ways to empower different groups of citizens in the development towards a society based on social cohesion and with the goal of well-being for all people. The inherent conflict between individual well-being through empowerment and societal, collective, well-being was not discussed at the seminar in Strasbourg,

but will be included in the discussion of this volume.

A society, when defined in terms of social cohesion, where people feel empowered and where well-being is linked to solidarity and shared visions, is a society which fosters democracy. This is an aspect which is discussed in the article by Lars Lambrecht (*On the Need for and Importance of Empowerment to Strengthen Democracy*) as an introduction to Part I of this volume. The exclusion of some groups of people who have been either traditionally or situationally marginalized – works against this democratic process and goal of social cohesion. The risk of exclusion of long-term unemployed people, thus threatening the cohesion in the society is analysed by Stefanie Ernst and Felizitas Pokora in their contribution (*Between 'Constructive Pressure and Exploitation'? Interpretation Models for the Concept of 'Qualifactory Employment' for the Long-term Unemployed*). A traditional definition of the concept of labour, which is linked to employment and wage, reinforces the risk for long-term unemployed people to be excluded from the community defined as the civil society.

In Japan a new legislation on preventive oriented community care, and the development of community centers, are based on a tradition in the Japanese society that fosters a family-group oriented self with a strong desire for belonging to family, group and society. Tokie Anme analyses in her article (*Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community*) how this tradition has facilitated the development of a new strategy for care in the community which is based on community empowerment. Ingrid Grosse analyses in her article (*Welfare Services to promote Social Cohesion: Are NGOs a Solution?*) which conditions must be fullfilled for NGOs in contributing to the growth of empowerment. This discussion highlights again the importance of empowerment for creating a strong civil society.

In Part II of this volume different examples of implementing Future Workshop as a method for empowerment are presented and discussed (*Future Workshop- A Method for Empowerment*).

Sabine von Löwis and Ingo Neumann present and compare some cases from Germany of different empowerment methods in relation to urban development (*Governance and Collaborative Planning Practice, the Change in Urban Planning Methods - Examples from Germany*). They also analyse these approaches in relation to a distinction between governing and governance. The latter concept means less influence by the state leading to a change in the power relations within the society. A development towards governance walks hand in hand with striving for methods in urban planning that promote empowerment.

Carsten Rensinghoff from Germany describes how he used the Future Workshop method to empower severe brain injured adults and young people in two different cases (*Future Workshop to Empower the Disabled- Examples from Germany*). Examples from Italy, implementing the Future Workshop method in three different contexts, are presented by Cecilia Cappelli (*Future Workshop from the Citizen's point*

of view- Examples from Italy). The aim shared by all three examples is to improve the quality of the services offered to the citizens taking into consideration their expressed needs.

In an article by Ulla Åhnby and Cecilia Henning (*Future Workshop for Empowerment in Eldercare- Examples from Sweden*) the Future Workshop method is presented, in relation to several examples from Sweden on empowering older people and staff within eldercare, with the aim to promote a comprehensive view on housing and care.

In Jönköping, Sweden, the initiative by the Council of Europe on supporting projects that promote a development towards social cohesion (through establishment of a so called Social Platform within the 7th Frame Program), has been followed up by a local project. This project is presented in an article by Karin Renblad, Cecilia Henning and Magnus Jegermalm (*Future Workshop as a Method for Societally Motivated Research and Social Planning*). The discussion on the importance of empowerment for the growth of the civil society and democracy, presented in the contribution by Lars Lambrecht, is followed up in this article. The development in Sweden is linked to how the definition and position of civil society, in relation to the state and the market, has changed during the recent transition of the Swedish welfare model. The description of the development from a top-down to a bottom-up perspective on social planning in Sweden has similarities with the analysis from a German point of view, presented in the article by Sabine von Löwis and Ingo Neumann.

In the final chapter (*Empowerment to Strengthen Social Cohesion and Democracy*) the different contributions to the discussion on empowerment are analysed in relation to a model presented by Karin Renblad and Cecilia Henning.

Recent initiatives by international organisations, which are concerned about the future development of well-being in the society, show that the interest in social cohesion and civil society is not just a European phenomenon but a global challenge. Two international conferences planned for 2010 could be mentioned as examples which point in the same direction. At an international conference in Durban, South Africa, in 2008, arranged by IASSW (International Association of Schools of Social Work), it was decided to arrange a joint international conference in Hong Kong 2010 in cooperation between IASSW and ICSW (International Council on Social Welfare) and FSW (Federation of Social Workers). On the web site of IASSW the ambition is formulated as a new agenda and set of directions for social development. Further, one aim is described as "A new action agenda for social work and social development in the next decade that creates synergies among professionals to lead the global agenda for people-centered sustainable social progress."[3]

The next 10th global conference on ageing in Melbourne, Australia in 2010 was announced at another international conference in Montreal 2008 ("Design for an Ageing Society"), arranged by IFA (International Federation on Ageing). The theme

for the conference in Melbourne will be "Climate for Change -Ageing into the Future"[4]. The point of departure for the conference is formulated in terms of population ageing as one of the most important challenges facing societies around the world today. One ambition for the conference is to promote positive social change for older people including demographic opportunities and challenges. Sustainability as a key concept encompasses social issues like the challenges that are linked to a greying society. Social cohesion in this context should be understod as promoting a sustainable society.

Many articles in this antology are oriented towards eldercare. The importance of a civil society perspective in social gerontology was emphasized at the international conference in July 2009, arranged by the International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics (IAGG). It is crucial for the future development of old age care to discuss the importance of empowering old people. But it is only possible to create a strong welfare society if elderly people get involved alongside with other citizens in a true democratic process. Democracy is the fundament for social cohesion. At the same time empowerment fosters social cohesion and democracy.

Notes

[1] Well-being for all. Concepts and tools for social cohesion. Trends in social cohesion No 20.2008.
Council of Europe Publishing

[2] Ibid, page 18

[3] IASSW, home page www.iassw-aiets.org

[4] IFA, home page www.ifa-fiv.org

Part I Perspectives on Empowerment

On the Need for and Importance of Empowerment to Strengthen Democracy

Lars Lambrecht

The tradition of 'empowerment' found in contemporary theory and history of knowledge is primarily placeable in contexts of social psychology, pedagogy and therapy[1], which this volume will discuss. That is why this preface must mainly refer to the eminently important momentum the idea of empowerment has provided to democratic theory and practical politics. In this preface to Part I, I will limit my discussion to a few references from the literature of sociology and political science on 'exerting the concept' of empowerment. In this context empowerment must primarily be regarded as one of the conditions required for a chance democracy (I). This premise allows us to infer the necessity of empowerment for a strong democracy and civil society (II), which, in a third step, leads us to deduce and assess the importance of the concept of empowerment III).

I

First and foremost, empowerment may be regarded as one of the prerequisites for modern democracy, which also include constitutional foundation, democracy as a process, participation, deliberation, and recognition and involvement of others. While it is important to avoid creating a ranking list, let alone a hierarchy of such preconditions, based on experience a generally accepted topos of and for democracy is the condition that "those to whom laws are addressed should also be their authors"[2] ; in other words, those in society who are subject to laws and justice should be identical to those who formulate, compose and pass those laws.

This introduces the issue of the participation principle, which has been accepted in Europe since the classical age and was defined by Aristotle in a thoroughly classical manner as "participation in word and deed" *(logon kai pragmaton koinonein)* for all concepts of democracy. There has been heated discussion about this principle for over twenty years. An example is Benjamin Barber's argument for greater participation in the sense of 'strong' democracy in his 1984 publication *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for A New Age.*

Barber criticized the weaknesses of purely representative democracies, weaknesses that were being exposed and acknowledged as the ideas of the national welfare state and the achievements of democracy were called into question at a global level. In keeping with his communitarian orientation he predicted for the democracy of the future "politics in the participatory mode" that would become "the source of political knowledge."[3] In this sense, Barber imagines a 'strong democracy' as "the revival of a form of community that is not collectivist; a form of public debate that is not conformist; and a series of civic institutions that are compatible with a modern society."[4]

Seyla Benhabib puts forward a "universalist and universalizing" norm of self-determined participation by all in practical discourses for which no particular and constitutionally guaranteed political right of participation is required. This norm, she claims, is the prerequisite for individual moral autonomy and the maintenance of citizens' rights that apply equally to all cultural, linguistic, ethnic or religious minorities. However, if that universal norm is merely implicit in citizens' rights and lacks explicit constitutional status, then its cultural origin in the European/Western tradition of individualism and universalism in relation to this idea of democracy becomes a problem and often results in the exclusion of non-Western civilisations. This has been seen, for example, in the debate about Turkey's inclusion in the EU.[5]

Volker Gerhardt understands participation as "involvement and participation" within the context of a new policy that links freedom of the community to individual self-determination. In doing so, he also draws upon the entire European tradition of socio-political and philosophical thought, as though the 'break' (Hannah Arendt) from this tradition in the twentieth century did not mark the fundamental crisis of modern social development after totalitarianism. Gerhardt's observations reveal the fundamental problem within all of these variants; namely that such a consensus-oriented concept of participation always appears to legitimate and integrate whatever socio-economic system is handed down.[6]

By contrast, Jacques *Rancière's* work, *La Mésentente* (1995) attempts to derive politics as a culture of debate from the Greek *polis*, rather than interpreting it as a function of the state. According to his thesis, state politics does not mediate the dispute between the powerful ruling elites and the powerless and excluded, those "that labour and are heavy laden". Rather, this dispute is understood as a direct political process in which each side must fight its own corner. Empowerment, in this model, can be interpreted as a process of becoming aware by those who see their social status in terms of exclusion from exercise of state power. They speak out for change in the existing order of social inequality and thereby separate themselves from the dominant consensus created and maintained by the external media environment.[7] The extent to which an empowerment process conceived in this way could be understood as genuine social change is shown by the example of the project initiated the Nobel

laureate Amartya Sen and the philosopher Martha Nussbaum to encourage political participation by Pakistani women in conjunction with literacy and healthcare programs. In this project participation was understood as a condition of freedom in the growing self-confident choice of social and political alternatives[8], or as a UN report found, "greater people's participation is no longer a vague ideology based on the wishful thinking of a few idealists. It has become an imperative – a condition of survival".[9]

Thus, according to Nussbaum, the central criterion of the hotly debated participation principle is itself up for discussion; namely the question, "Who is entitled?" Her answer was the Aristotelian *hostisoun*, meaning anyone or everyone.[10] In principle, this also answers the additional question of who decides on entitlement: everyone does. However, in order to practically implement this high standard additional momentum beyond the participation principle is needed, both for theory of democracy and more especially for the empowerment process.

II

Questions of necessity have a tense relationship with the issue of freedom. That is why the necessity of empowerment can only be justified in relation to freedom – a perspective that refers back to the notion of politics and thereby to the area of public policy, public space, the commonwealth as *res publica*, as locality that refers to an interconnected world, to a 'world republic', cosmopolitanism[11] and the problem of globalization.[12]

In this context decisions are made about the recognition or inclusion of others, of foreigners and the problems associated with modern migration, exile, etc.[13] According to this, empowerment may be understood as the aptitudes for democracy, both a) in relation to the individual personality or subject within civil society[14] and b) in relation to the problem of a collective identity. The goal is freedom, the purpose of all things political (H. Arendt), emancipation.

a) Aptitude for democracy in relation to the individual subject: the goal is a fully developed personality relating to the whole of society. There are no unqualified individuals (as there are in the German labour market), but rather the recognition that everyone has their own special qualification, and it is merely necessary to develop or attain additional qualifications; in terms of physicality, health, capability, flexibility of employment and social security (flexicurity), as well as qualifications in relation to socio-psychic and mental aptitude, civil accountability, general education and specialized (professional) training. The latter includes social abilities in relation to the inclusion of others, positive expertise on local, regional, national and international social and political affairs and worldly wisdom[15]. The 'inclusion of the Other' also applies to those who do not possess any of the personality traits listed above. In the

case of these individuals – the excluded, foreigners, Others, 'those that labour and are heavy laden', the 'uncivilized', the sick and mentally and/or physically disabled, etc. – the community must consider and decide how they are to be integrated. Taken together this forms the central question: who is the *hostisoun*, this 'everyman' or 'any man' specifically and individually, and especially "who prescribes and determines who belongs?"

 b) Not without reason I wrote in the previous section about 'the' other, 'the' stranger etc., as though I were approaching the issue from a purely individual and subjective perspective. Much as it is urgent and necessary to consider this aspect of the 'subjective factor', one would fall prey to a fundamental misunderstanding if one were to understand the above-mentioned aptitudes – empowerment – as requirements demanded of the individual subjects in accordance with Karl Popper's version of methodological individualism. Not only are requirements not demanded of an individual subject, they are primarily subject to a collective or socially traditional determination of civilizing and cultural values of socialization and development (G. H. Mead, J. Piaget, L. Kohlberg).[16] A prerequisite for the aptitude for democracy is represented by the problems of a *collective identity*, a *social collective* that is identical to itself. This is certainly the greatest problem of the modern era and more particularly of the present day. This theoretical approach positing collective social identity, which is still hotly debated by social scientists, was founded in the last century by Maurice Halbwachs who conducted exemplary research on this thesis in the Palestine region. Thankfully, his work has been continued by other scholars in recent years.[17]

III

It would be a facile to contend based on the above arguments that empowerment is of vital importance for democracy or to attempt a conclusive judgement of empowerment. Its importance can only be portrayed in terms of the function of empowerment within and for an ongoing and discursive debate. The term empowerment that is being developed by this debate is not merely something to be manufactured or crafted, either individually or institutionally, although institutions – in the fields of economics, social affairs, state, politics and education – have great significance in developing aptitude for democracy. The final decision on empowerment will be made by the affected populations, in the regions, nation and world; this is not a matter of top-down determination, but one in which the bottom-up principle applies. This is an issue for those affected. Their opportunity for participation is dependent on a further condition, which may be understood as the aptitude for political deliberation on issues ranging from their own unique problems to global conflicts, and to reach pragmatic decisions on these issues. On the latter, this should never involve final, definitive solutions, but rather provisional legal relationships that should be reviewed

and reformed within a set period based on the achievement of greater and advanced knowledge.[18]

Fundamental factors of the empowerment principle should be considered within this process of deliberation, scientifically guided by the Human Development Project that was successfully tested by Sen and Nussbaum. On one hand, these include the requirements for what Martha Nussbaum characterised as 'levels of capability' (education as a public responsibility, abolition of monotonous work, leisure, advisory and judicial activities as the two fundamental forms of political participation) – requirements that she characterised as "significant features of our *conditio humana*", which we must take into account. These include first, constant awareness of "our mortality" (opposing any godlike arrogance), secondly our dependence on the external world as a natural co-existing form (i.e., from eating and drinking to mutual human support), thirdly the explicit "cognitive capability and the capability of practical reason", and fourthly the conscious sociability of humans (*zoon politikon*) as "a certain openness and sensitivity to the needs of other beings similar to us" and "enjoyment of co-existence with them."[19]

These factors of principle also reflect significant components of social economics and singular science. This idea was developed as part of the sociological research concept for the life circumstances approach as was developed in Otto Neurath's Viennese School to understand the life circumstances of individuals. This approach leads, via various historical interstages, to the capability project designed by Amartya Sen, according to which a composite of 'functionings' is observed in the individual life situation. This composite is individually determined by what is known as a 'set of capabilities'.[20] Sen understands the chances for attainment as "the comprehensive capabilities of people to lead the kind of life which they have reason to value and that does not call the fundamentals of self-esteem into question."[21] As Arndt and Volkert rightly emphasize, the particular "merit of the concept [...] [is] the coherent interplay of ethical positions of justice with economic and sociological approaches as well as empirical substantiations" – a foundation through which "exclusion and privilege of social groups [can be] appropriately recorded"[22].

If we now combine the measurement of chances for achievement in an individual life through the capability approach with the empowerment project, this would at least constitute a new approach for socio-economic research on democracy and processes of democracy, including the alternative social movements and committed intellectuals called for by Pierre Bourdieu. Only then will capabilities be theoretically justified and empirically verified, allowing the corresponding means for their development, namely empowerments, to take shape. This would be a knowledge-led and research-loaded contribution to the empowerment programme that would demonstrate its importance and necessity for democracy (as described in the UN report as an imperative for survival) and protect, à la Sen, the foundations of self-esteem.

Notes

[1] cf. Rappaport 1984 for a fundamental discussion and Ernst 2008 and Elsen 2003 for exemplary approaches; for the difficulties of a precise definition cf. Bröckling 2003, who is knowledgable of corresponding management theorems, although knowledge of the democratic-political dimensions intended here is incomplete.

[2] Habermas 1996, p. 301 et passim.

[3] Barber 1994, p. 159.

[4] ibid., p. 146.

[5] Benhabib 1999.

[6] Gerhardt 2007.

[7] Rancière 2002.

[8] Nussbaum/Sen 1993; cf. Goldschmidt 2008, p. 265f.

[9] United Nations Development Programme 1993, cap. V., p. 99.

[10] Paradigmatic: Aristotle's Politics VII, 2, 1324a 23, see Nussbaum 1999, p. 102ff, esp. p. 107f. for a fundamental discussion; for critical and in-depth study cf. Bull 2007.

[11] Representative of a debate that extends from Kant to Arendt and on to Bourdieu, we can here cite Höffe 2004, whose position however challenges us to critical continuation of the debate.

[12] Cohen/Arato 2007 and Elsen 2003 exemplarily show how much political-theory reflection must include the relationships between the world level right down to the locality and the urban agglomerations. Lösch 2005 and Hesselbein/Lambrecht 2000 discuss this point in more general terms.

[13] Habermas 1996, Honneth 1992 and representative of the French contributions: Levinas 1989.

[14] Cohen/Arato 1992.

[15] This term will be explained at another point with reference to Hannah Arendt.

[16] cf. Garz 2006.

[17] Halbwachs 2003, Assmann 2000.

[18] Habermas 1992, p. 349-398 and representing a critical continuation or alternative perspective Lösch 2005.

[19] Nussbaum 1999, 102ff, 262.

[20] Based on the excellent reconstruction by Leßmann 2006, which points out that Nussbaum interprets these capabilities as aptitudes.

[21] Quoted in: Arndt/Volkert 2006, p. 9.

[22] ibid., p. 7.

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Between 'Constructive Pressure and Exploitation'?
Interpretation Models for the Concept of 'Qualifactory Employment' for the Long-term Unemployed

Stefanie Ernst and Felizitas Pokora

> „We must change the formation of conscience. We have not yet learnt to give unemployment a sense, people still have the ethos: >I should in fact rise at seven o'clock<, and they feel inferior because they need not do so if they do not employed. (…) But I also find that now machines and computers increasingly take over men's and women's work and we must form the lives of the unemployed more satisfactorily and more meaningfully.'(Elias 2005: 182 f.)

Introduction

Are we - in view of the 'brutal' challenge posed to the significance of human labour - 'now in the fourth stage of an anthropological history of wage labour'? (Castel 2000: 336) Is today's labour society *per se* in a state of crisis, or merely its theoretical foundation (Mertens 2000), the concept of which now should be extended? *Labour* embodies 'the participation of each person in the production process for a society, and in this spirit, in the creation of society'. It instils 'rights and obligations, responsibilities and appreciation, as well as burdens and constraints' (Castel 2000: 393).

This Fordistic conception of labour is based (on one hand) on the idea of compensated, and appreciated (according to Max Weber, even at one time holy) labour - which in the meantime itself carries an inherent disintegration potential. This shortsighted concept leads to the paradoxical phenomenon that the same work is considered as labour in the context of a good in line with the market (a product and service), as well as charity, personal inclination, an honorary post or a reproductive necessity.

On the other hand, though, labour also defines itself *ex negativo* in regard to those who are out of work – unemployed or jobless, and therefore not involved in the 'production for and the creation of society'. In this context, according to Castel, unemployment reveals the 'Achilles heel of the welfare state', the labour regime of which 'has been shaken to its very foundations' (Castel 2000: 347). The erosion of

the (traditionally male-dominated) standardized working relationship, the increase of atypical and precarious[1] employment relationships, along with the disqualification and de-regulation of labour itself indicate this degeneration.

At the same time, however, the demands on the qualification of labour are increasing ever more rapidly, so that low-skilled adults, older employees, young people without a school-leaving certificate, and performance-inhibited persons with a low amount of cultural capital are considered virtually 'redundant' (Castel 2000: 348) and threaten to be isolated from society as a whole. They seem to be low-performance entities who are either unable or unwilling to adapt to the necessities of wage labour, and could even successively lose their 'basic right to relief' (Castel 2000: 374) and to integration. At any rate, though, of whom are we actually speaking when we refer to unemployed persons in this specific segment of society, who should and can bet he target audience of active und *activating labour* market policy, if he/she, to various extents, 'is low-performance' and disadvantaged on several fronts?

These offers targeted to 300,000 or 555,000 persons in the unemployed-persons register of the German Federal Employment Office (cf. Koch/Kupka 2007: 4) encompasses (among other measures), in addition to so-called *profiling* to determine employability and willingness to accept labour, publicly-funded employment programmes in social-welfare-oriented companies. These firms - up to this day - remain, to a great extent, unexplored. Also, as a result of the analysis of so-called 'soft factors', such as i.e., empowerment, development of employability and resources to handle daily life – which should prevent further exclusion - we are charting new territory (cf. Koch/Kupka 20007).

Therefore, this article aims to – on one hand – summarise thought processes oriented to a holistically interpreted, future-oriented concept of labour – and on the other hand, to introduce an exploratory study which facilitates the observation and documentation of these processes.

The demands on unemployed persons, which take on various forms (among others, set forth in so-called 'integration contracts') turn out to be, in addition, increasing necessities of self-organisation, which are to be individually dealt with, subjectively and actively. These are expressed in the interpretation models examined here, and illustrate the questionable nature of current 'activating' labour-market policy specifically targeted to low-skilled unemployed persons. In the following, an initial brief summary of the current labour-market policy and the demands profile for those drawing supplementary long-term unemployment benefits paid by the German federal government (point 1), before the (2) empowerment concept and the labour-sociological debate on increasing self-organisation necessities and the lifestyle of unemployed persons are briefly explored. The project sites and surveyed persons will be introduced in point 3. The intentions of employment-policy offerings are then (in Part 4) presented in contrast to the own interpretations of affected and

involved persons in an exemplary fashion. In the summary conclusion (5), specific prospects regarding an extension of the conception of labour, as well as the debate on job-market policy are illustrated.

1. Labour-market policy and the profile of the target group

The transition in job-market policy to supplementary long-term unemployment benefits paid by the German federal government, to 'demand and support' has not been thoroughly completed to this day. It meets up with a reality which does not merely partially contrast to the actual development on the job market, but over-whelms (and, in certain cases, also simultaneously under challenges –many long-term unemployed persons. The merger of welfare and unemployment aid rather implies, in the context of social management, a paedagogisation of labour-market policy on one hand, and an economisation in term of efficiency on the other hand, which is illustrated in the transition of social work from 'care to social management' (Grohall 2004).

The employment relationships as the basis of social integration have changed – and can in fact have a rather disintegrating effect (cf. Imbusch/Rucht 2007, Castel 2000). Low-performance persons with a minimal amount of cultural capital, are, in the process, increasingly isolated from participation in the job market; their risk of becoming unemployed for the long term increase particularly rapidly. Ludwig-Mayerhofer recognises, to a certain extent, a vicious circle of loss of productivity: 'The longer unemployment exists within a society, the more probable that increasing segments of the group of unemployed persons indicate unemployed phases in their history for so long that hardly an employer is willing to hire these persons, due to a presumed or factual low level of >productivity<.' (Ludwig-Mayerhofer 2005: 211).

Long-term unemployed persons have already experienced numerous negative encounters with the labour market, and are unemployed for a period of one to three years. For most long-term unemployed adults, the instrument of job opportunities according to § 16 (3) of the Code of Social Law II remains primarily the only measure of 'active' labour-market policy[2]; they were unable, at the same time, to increase job-market integration (Kettner 2007).[3] The (non-recurring and short-term) job opportunities are intended for those jobless persons who cannot be referred to regular unemployment or vocational training, and should no longer participate in integrative measures – in the FES jargon, the so-called 'market-neglecting' clientele. Even so – in addition to verifying willingness to work – these not readily referable persons should once again be guided towards the job market by job opportunities. This (in some cases) paradoxical standard, oriented to a traditional understanding of labour, also becomes readily apparent in the recent survey developed for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, on 'Publicly Funded Employment for low-performance long-term un-

employed persons': here, it is stated that:

'In order to ensure the system's capacity for mobility and enable transitions from the programme into the primary job market, it is necessary that the participants receive further support by the case managers. Regular verification of employability and the job-market opportunities is necessary.' (Koch/ Kupka 2007: 4).

By contrast, with intensive support and targeted extension of skills (empowerment), the chances for integration and participation increase, which is indicated by the preliminary results of the project introduced here, as well as the 20 years of experience on the part of the qualification and employment ventures involved.

Since also, within a larger group of unemployed persons, the criterion of direct referral to the primary job market does not apply as the sole criterion to evaluate success, the evaluation of measures should also involve such instruments (here, yet to be developed). The available instruments for the evaluation of measures - even recently - described as 'authoritarian-activating' (Oschmiansky et al. 2007: 291) have not been sufficient to analyse the effects of the new labour-market policy.

2. Empowerment, participation and conduct of life

In this context, a specific question arises: how can the implementation of the new labour-market policy be evaluated, and qualification/employment measures analysed in the context of their contribution to social participation, as well as for job-market integration, beyond a so-called 'hard' integration quota? Especially the success rates of the 'hardly precisely definable and even less readily verifiable' (Becker/ Moses 2004: 24) social integration, improved health and development of social skills can hardly be viewed beyond the constraints of the currently available assessment instruments (cf. Eichhorst/ Zimmermann 2007: 4, 7).

In the job market-policy debate on theory and methods, the issue of how the attainment of objectives and/or efficiency of non-profit organisations can be determined and verified is to a great extent unresolved. Instead, the measures currently in place provide, at best, a problematic 'general classification according to groups within this clientele' (Baetghe-Kinsky 2006: 4) and minimally flexible, unclear recommendations for action. The question which guides our insights into the process aspect of this analysis is, therefore, the illustration of to what extent the success of employment-promotion measures via the (in quantitative terms) more readily measurable integration quota (cf. Becker/ Moses 2004: 34ff.; Eichhorst/ Zimmermann 2007) - i.e., in the form of empowerment, participation und self-organisation skills - is measurable and educible. The 'quality of measures implementation' (ibid.: 5f.) strongly influences, in the process, the result of job-market policy measures. However, what precisely comprises actual employability or integration is overlooked in a purely data-propelled effects research method. Sustainable effects on one's oc-

cupational history and 'targeted success criteria' (ibid.: 9), such as i.e., stabilisation of the daily lives of unemployed persons, 'adjustment of the mismatch' (Penz 2007: 3) is therefore to be grasped as context- and situation-specific indicators. A dynamic labour-market policy requires, on one hand, the correspondingly dynamic evaluation methods, so that, in our view, the formative evaluation takes hold as the method best suited to the subject of this analysis, in order to collect concrete information on progress in integration (cf. Bohnsack et al. 2003).

The increasing demands on employees indicate parallels to the debate on subjectivation[4] and self-organisation performance in one's occupational life, according to which everyone is a 'self entrepreneur' (cf. Kühl 2000; Pongratz/ Voß 2000). Independent decision-making, analytical and problem-solving skills, creativity and innovation, reflection and 'team-playing' capacity, as well as working in more generally defined labour environments (cf. Tractenberg et al. 2002) are considered among the skills which are in high demand, but also difficult to verify and/or quantify. If we also pre-suppose an extended conception of the definition of 'labour', these remarks do not apply solely to the sector of *high-qualified gainful employment*, but are also increasingly relevant to the lifestyle of unemployed persons, who require self-organisation skills and self-control to effectively handle necessary tasks involved in the context of becoming an active participant in economic processes.

The theoretical concept upon which the premise of subject-oriented labour is based - and occupational sociology - ask, in this process, for an assessment of the lifestyles of affected persons who must deal, on a higher level, with the strain caused by unemployment in an extremely heterogeneous field of coping and action patterns, specific and dependent on the available resources and skills (cf. Luedtke 1998). In the content of lifestyle necessities on the part of unemployed persons[5], this also means that in longer phases of unemployment, the level of appreciation – and also (self-)confidence in one's own skills can drop. While one can observe (with the three-phase scheme) the successive decrease in self-esteem and self-confidence[6], Jens Luedtke contradicts a linear 'impoverishment process', 'according to which unemployment necessarily ends in withdrawal, self-abandonment, apathy and disintegration of temporal structures' (Luedtke 1998: 277).

Differentiated unemployment research, in the meantime, points out that one's behaviour or attitude in the experienced unemployment phase is dependent upon myriad influencing factors. In this context, a 'common denominator' in the lives of all jobless persons is at least a relegation process in financial and social terms, as well as a decline in one's ¬standard of living. The reactions to persistent unemployment can, however, differ greatly, according to one's specific available resources, marital status or social networks, and also depend on the affected persons' capacity for self-organisation. Additional factors – such as the duration of unemployment, along with one's working conditions before the phase of joblessness – including the degree of

identification with the work performed – also play a role.

The question of whether and to which extent especially low-performance groups do not become overwhelmed by these qualification demands and experiences of frustration are positively inevitable should be noted already at this point of the analysis. Therefore, it is even more important to reinforce one's self-confidence by empowerment, and re-examine one's development over an extended period of time.

'Empowerment means the process, within which people feel encouraged to take charge of their own affairs, discover their own strengths and skills, and to learn to appreciate the value of one's own accomplishments in finding solutions.' (Kreft/Mielenz 2005: 234)

The comprehensive definition of this specific approach to social work no longer affects (in terms of the current interpretation of the Hartz IV legislation) the original purpose of employment and qualification companies, but still entails the philosophies of 'support and demand', also a significant reduction in socio-pedagogical support services - and with that, also the support of professional 'helpers'.

The individual, in the process of empowerment, achieves the capacity to take action and influence the situation, thereby becoming inactive participant. Approaches in the field of social work, according to this premise, should also consistently reinforce one's identity in all facets of life, as well as one's sense of autonomy, in order to adequately prepare affected persons for entry into this job market, and prevent social exclusion.

In this context, the extent of social *participation* (cf. Bartelheimer 2004) can be measured by one's freedom to act (in order to realise a desired or standard way of life). When external social demands no longer correspond to the possibilities for their realisation, participation is endangered (becomes precarious). Participation is defined according to Kronauer (2001) by four areas: work, close social relationships, rights and culture. Castel continues to assume that three typologies and correlated zones can be localised: the zone of integration, the zone of vulnerability and precariousness, the zone of aid/relief and the zone of exclusion and/or isolation (disaffiliation). He counts (here: in a brief summary) among the isolated, active job seekers and dis-integrated jobless persons such as long-term unemployed young people (ages 14-18), for whom the hope of integration into normal work processes has been abandoned, and the perception of space and time gradually disappears. 'Odd jobs' are performed in the informal social network, within one's own family and neighbourhood (Castel 2000: 363).

3. Concept, places and persons surveyed

The analysis intended and conceived as supplementary research[7] sets as its aim the improved evaluation of the search for 'pragmatic ways to deduce valid conclusions

on the overall efficiency of an organisation' (Becker/ Moses 2004: 44)[8]. This search has in terms of the existing reference values for the determination of the success of measures involving employment supplemented by further qualification, based on a 'Social Balanced Scorecard' yet to be further developed (Kaplan/ Norton 1997). Extended by the consideration of the community's perspective and a participant-based social component (here, empowerment), the traditional Balanced Scorecard can be further developed to evolve into a *Social* Balanced Scorecard (Ernst et al. 2008).

The starting point of this study was the following existing indicator catalogue to evaluate the basic and key skills[9] of generally 'unskilled' unemployed persons:

Table 1. Indicator catalogue of basic and key skills

Learning skills	Willingness to learn, willingness to retain knowledge, capacity to learn, qualification willingness and mastered independent learning skills
Work ethic	Reliability, punctuality, sense of responsibility, sense of duty, readiness to perform, industriousness, conscientiousness, handling of tools, capacity for keeping work site tidy
Organisational skills	Systematic performance, working without guidance, self-management, labour organisation
Social/communication skills	Capacity as a 'team player' and readiness to handle conflict, capacity for co-operation, communication skills, intercultural skills, conduct, self-presentation
Language skills	Speech/language faculty, expressive faculty, ability to speak/read/write foreign languages
Performance-related skills	Resilience, endurance, overall performance capacity, specific performance
Specialised skills	Specialised knowledge (also that across specialised areas)

With a methodical 'mix' of quantitative and qualitative procedures, (initially) the participatory observations and guideline-supplemented interviews were performed. The extent of the participant observation amounted to 15 observation units with a total of n=80 participants from the social-welfare-oriented company I (N= 303), along with three observation units with n=10 participant from the business premises at the second site (N=700). The explorative, guideline-supplemented interviews taken into account here were performed in the social-welfare-oriented company I, with just less than 5% of the jobless persons there (n= 14: of those, 6 women, 9 men, 9 Germans, 5 non-Germans ranging in age from 30 to 53) and one case manager.

Both social-welfare-oriented companies participate in calls for proposals as the largest-scale community-based service providers in their corresponding region in the provision of employment and qualification measures, in order to bolster the capacity to take the initiative in managing one's own affairs. The participants should

be prepared for entry into the general job market with key skills. In addition, employment-inhibiting factors - among others, childcare and housing problems, along with indebtedness - should be minimised (cf. Osenberg 1995: 58ff.). During the nationally renowned campaign 'way to training qualification' organised by the social-welfare-oriented company II which enables participants to complete a qualification-oriented vocational training programme, the social-welfare-oriented company I - with its *Preparation and Integration Phase* (introduced in 2002) - provided for qualification measures, as well as for the capacity to verify participants' willingness to accept support. The interview sequences reproduced in the following section clearly illustrate how the existing offerings of qualification measures for low-performance unemployed persons have been received and evaluated by participants.

4. Intentions and the perspective of the involved persons

For nearly all of those surveyed, the occurrence of the unemployment phase indicated – in line with expectations - a highly significant interruption, to a certain extent, as a 'shock' (M: 181 – 187) and as a step down on the 'social ladder' (ibid.: 247-252), up to the perception as a threat to one's psychological well-being (accompanied by depression, feeling 'down', B: 475-483). However, there are also those who react in the opposite way, so that i.e., for a 36-year-old, childless advertising salesman with a university entrance certificate who has been unemployed for three years views unemployment as 'no big drama' (M: 108-118). The causes of unemployment vary a great deal: here, one speaks of expiring, non-renewed contracts, the company's bankruptcy, the need to care for family members and the occurrence of health problems (G, C, E). All survey participants were marked by a common expression of the strong desire to be able to assume a form of employment which would be meaningful, equitable, dignified – and, if at all possible, open-ended - so that here, a clear orientation towards the job market can be perceived.

However, in the partially 'psychologically strained' (CM: 438-454) participants, who to a certain extent have established themselves within certain 'niches' (CM: 321-324) and built up a fear of crossing a certain 'boundary' (CM: 133-140), the case manager notices an absence of orientation towards the job market. For them, the preparation phase involves 'a great deal more own initiative' (CM: 387-403) than before the law was changed; the following integration phase, though, is considered 'just another possibility' to orient oneself to the general job market within these 10 months. In other words, the perspective appears that 'on one hand, that job doesn't provide enough money, and on the other hand, I feel under-challenged'' (CM: 343-348).

In this context, she also mentions 'constructive pressure' (CM: 133-140, 269-270) as the surplus purpose of so-called 'One-Euro jobs'[10], which are performed during

the preparation phase and the integration phase. However, if a certain kind of work involving an allowance for increased labour 'then becomes a perpetual circle for people who actually wouldn't be capable of performing at a higher level, intellectually or in general, OK, that this measure affects, etc., well, I can't help wondering, there must be a certain point somewhere, when someone says, 'I can't do this anymore', then the approach would sooner be oriented to 'exploitation' and stigmatisation (CM: 336-339, 361-369, 321-324). The 'learning aim' of the offerings provided by the social-welfare-oriented company is, in their view, 'to attempt (…) *to make a greater effort to deal with the prevailing social conditions'.* The case manager continues to explain that it is important 'to not withdraw in resignation, but instead to attempt somehow to exert influence on the situation, *whatever* concrete form this influence may take on… '(CM: 303-312).

If, in contrast to this view, one examines the participants' perspective on the practicality of these offerings, it becomes clear that the objective to reinforce active participation and empowerment – in other words, to 'bolster, reassure, encourage', to communicate a feeling of 'élan' and stability (CM: 110-122), as well as to support positive developments and build self-confidence (cf. CM: 101-108,387-403), is received with varying degrees of enthusiasm by the participants. The social contacts, the resumption of a lifestyle marked by a constant 'rhythm' in recurring daily endeavours, are indicated here, as well as the feeling to escape the sense of isolation (at home) and rediscover one's s drive and stimulus. For example, in the case of Ms. G, a 39-year-old trained saleswoman with impaired health (who has experienced several phases of unemployment), when she was asked what had changed significantly in her day-to-day life, the multi-faceted aspect of social integration became readily apparent:

> 'G: Well, it has changed to the extent that I have now met other people and ... that I can 'talk shop' with them, since most of them also have office jobs.
> I: Yes, anything else?
> G: And I don't have to always sit around at home anymore.
> I: OK, anything else?
> G: Well, I only get paid one Euro, my money situation hasn't changed all that much... but I get out and mingle with other people, which is certainly different from just constantly sitting around at home. You have a lot to do in that situation.' (G: 300-305)

In this context, it is not merely the aspect of finding social contacts, but also the specialised orientation to a certain occupation, which, in this case, is not merely part of one's work identity (in this case for Ms. G.), but also the effect of the measure itself. Ms. G. receives support in extending her scope of specialised knowledge – and with that, greater orientation towards the job market.

Other survey participants speak of 'quite meaningful' (M: 251-252), 'highly informative' (P: 474-479, cf. Q) offerings which provided, in their view, a ''change of scenery' compared to the former daily routine' (G: 214-244), an escape from 'the daily grind' (B: 204-210), as well as the possibility to exchange accounts of one's experience with others. This enabled one to find out 'that I am not the only unemployed person in the world' (B: 466-468) and 'I'm not the only one who feels so isolated' (B: 471-472). Here, it was 'better than being at home' (M: 476-486); one has 'continuity' and 'a scheduled workday' (M: 350-366). In addition, the new situation opened up 'a way to get to the open job market' (C: 178-180), since one was 'on the path to re-employment' and would 'resume' one's 'own occupation'' (P: 851-857, 880-881). Aside from that, one has 'something to talk about when I get home' (D: 695-696), but also 'a bit of a diversion (…) from all that' purely domestic stress (T: 126-134).

In the context of future expectations, those surveyed believe that the time spent in the organised measure is a 'bit of a springboard' (C: 430), provide 'better chances' (M: 233-254), that as a result, one 'makes an effort to once again look for work' (B: 204-210) and another opportunity to 're-enter' (T: 64-66) the world of work.

Here, there is not only the benefit that 'everywhere […] people offer help', but one would 'dawdle [without this measure, at home, S.E.] all by oneself, so that it is beneficial 'when one has to leave the house' (ibid.: 349-356) so, for instance, according to Ms. Z, whose statements are shown here for the sake of example. The trained saleswoman, a 53-year-old single mother who had been unemployed for nine years is subjected to a great deal of strain in regard to her familial obligations, so that for her, the specific aspect of being able to 'escape', for once, the strain at home, has an expressly liberating effect. When asked about her level of satisfaction, she replied that she was 'happy' (ibid.: 329-336, 602-608, 995-1001), had gotten more 'pep' (ibid.: 722-725) and a 'boost' (ibid.: 995-1001), because:

> Z: 'you noticed right away . . . *here, people take action*!'
> I: Yes.
> Z: Isn't that right? Here, you have a chance to do something, to ask questions, to practise, to learn, to communicate with other people you don't know, and things like that, right? It's wonderful.
> I: Yes,… and, now,… well, what are your hopes for the future? As a result of this measure?
> Z: Yes, that I can … actually once again supplement my knowledge, or… even exceed the point where I was, well, with that what I… could do before. That was all kind of idle. Where should I practise that much, well, the books are expensive or… some kinds of programmes and this and that... that… just wasn't there. And when I'm at home, I don't have peace and quiet.' (ibid.: 329-336)

She came to know 'teamwork', effective and 'un-bureaucratic' organisation and aid, and could deal with tasks in a positive mindset, since one could '[progress] from one module to the next and everywhere (…) people helped you' (ibid.: 403-408, 571-586, 930-933, 1012-1019).

Even the survey participants A, E and Y exemplified here, unemployed for three to nine years, see the effect of social integration, despite tasks which they perceive as 'feeble-minded, boring' and certain 'stupidly, monotonously' (E: 205-212) presented talks in a 'useless outfit' (Y: 238-243, 252).[11] These (male) participants are 34, 39 and 47 years old, have minimal to average potential to develop practical skills and resources. Two indicate an active approach marked by own initiative in the organisation of their daily lives and work. For them, these offerings are rather an imposition and an attack on their autonomy and control over their own schedules. In this context, they battled frustration and dissatisfaction. While Mr. A and Mr. E – the former so-called 'Wippstert' with a criminal record (E: 368-369) - actively manage their daily lives and send off numerous applications, Mr. Y, who has now been unemployed for nine years without having achieved any kind of vocational certification, has adjusted to a sooner passive[12], even destructive attitude with a perceived over directed conduct of life, without a larger planning horizon, seemingly places himself among 'his own kind', unable to act on opportunities for employment. Here, in our view, there is definitely a high risk of isolation, since Y does not experience any situations of participation or even empowerment. Even so, he completes the measure that he considers 'feeble-minded', but this circumstance is probably due to the legally codified situation of necessity, which dictates that 'reprisals' (CM: 314-318) are impending if work is refused. The negative attitude towards the socially oriented company, along with the desire for meaningful, dignified labour becomes readily apparent in his description of certain tasks involved in his work:

> 'A: Well, something like this, what we are now doing, is senseless. When I started here for the first time, we put up walls and papered them, painted them, the whole bit. Rooms were created and everything. Now, when I'm here, the rooms are being demolished, ripped apart and rebuilt. Well …! I must say…
> I: Yes.
> A: I just don't get it. …' (A: 110-1134)

His cohorts Y and P are indignant and can see no purpose in certain tasks when 'somehow something is simply, … *demolished, regardless of whether the work is necessary or not!* (Y: 484). Mr. P adds that measures were cut, and that only the demeaning work is left over:

'P: But the people here, well, that they have to clean the entire floor or the toilets, or just stand around waiting, without having the chance to go to the computer room to finish working on our applications. Well, all sorts of things, if only they had offered us more extensive training so that we don't just hang around here. Because all that is not the fault of [the socially-oriented company I, S.E.] but instead, it's just because the measure here is gone cuts are made here. There's nothing left!' (P: 355-358)

He indeed makes this observation at a time of transition for this socially oriented company, for which the non-profit status, supplementary nature and lack of market proximity was disallowed in terms of its offerings.

The question on how one's life had changed since Januar 2005 and the ensuing demand of increased own performance and initiative is answered in an ambivalent tone. One's own performance is ranked at varying levels by all survey participants – ranges between 10% and 100% and is revealed in the circumstance of having 'less money' and less leisure time, but on the other hand, also in the circumstance that more offerings are available than before.[13] From individuals, in the meantime, the demands are increasing, as Mr. B and Mr. E conclude: 'you have to attend regularly and present yourself, and explain what you have done during this time' (B: 344-345) and E tops it off:

'Because you actually have to look and work on your own accord for everything that you want to have or achieve, handle everything yourself, because most of them [counsellors at the job centre, S.E.] don't even know the laws that apply to them in the first place.' (E: 439-444)

Mr. Y, by contrast, answers the question with the necessity for 50% more own initiative, but thinks that' nothing has changed' since the enactment of the labour market-reforms (Y: 770-774), and that one is practically condemned to do nothing, just 'pace, drink coffee …and look dumb' (Y: 266).

The case manager addresses this resignative aspect by mentioning the intense confrontation with the participants' negative mood, which has to be transformed:

'I: …where would you say that such a measure is successful?
CM: One thing that one confronts rather intensely is the resignation on the part of participants.
I: Yes …
CM: And that is somehow understandable, when you look at the current situation on the job market. (Sighs) To be able to crack that shell of resignation just a little bit, and be able to offer encouragement, that's, well, it may sound a little tired, but …'(CM: 110-122).

By contrast, the women already introduced here (Ms. Z. and Ms. G.), approach the socially oriented company with a hesitant - but also hopeful and more open-minded - attitude. Both know how to handle day-to-day life with a keen sense of responsibility, and act accordingly. Since some of them have already been unemployed for nine years – or concentrated solely on the occupation that reflects their vocational training, they have a rather narrow planning horizon, but within the measure, experience – apparently – a transition process, which is then supported and reinforced by a social network or by independent reflection. These examples make the hope expressed by the case manager (for the empowerment of the participants) seem founded. If the efforts in building up self-confidence and stability were successful, the participants, as a result of these measures, would regain their psychological stability, as she is convinced:

> 'CM: …for example, there's the career-path planning measure ['Berufswegplanung', S.E.], now, when I'm no longer the one to provide encouragement …
> I: Yes ….
> CM: …instead, (picking up speed as she speaks), where something develops within the group, and the participants tend to primarily talk to each other, which in some cases, is no longer happening at all, where time and again, there are still some people who come to us and are already isolated to such an extent that they don't even really want to leave the house anymore. At least that's my impression … they have somehow come to terms, in a way, with this isolation, made themselves comfortable, so to speak - and, in spite of everything, you notice that they miss it a lot … the feeling of being able to enjoy life … But they are definitely afraid to approach other people, and therefore also afraid of the everyday routine of working. And it's unbelievable that for many of them, this barrier can be gradually broken down ...
> I: Yes.
> CM: … psychological barriers. That they also become increasingly stable …
> I: Yes, OK.
> CM: And in spite of everything, I wish…I really wish I had more time to dedicate myself to this kind of work now.' (CM: 110-122).

The renewed encounter with kindliness, a sense of collegiality –and finally, also a sense of humanity (cf. D: 244-247) are, in this process, notable factors in the re-communication of a basis for social integration. For instance, Ms. G., whose approach to the measure was initially hesitant, repeatedly expresses the feeling that as a result of this measure, she was not only able to once again 'be around other people' G: 162, 300-305), but that the support on the part of the helpers, despite the noticeable decline accompanied by Hartz IV (before, 'they took better care of people' (G: 275-284) has been on a positive level. Rather, she has the opportunity to 'reinforce'

and further develop her skills with the available course offerings. In her answer to the question on the purpose of the exercises/problems, she asserts, in an exemplary context:

> 'G: Well, I think it makes good sense that there, in the office; one has file folders or binders, which can be accessed independently. Then, go through the exercises, they will then be checked and evaluated. That helps people to reinforce their own skills.
> I: Yes…
> G: Well, that's what doesn't necessarily happen when sitting at home.
> I: Yes. So this is an organised folder or binder which is constantly there, which contains the questions/problems, and then...?
> G: Yes, this is an organised folder or binder, which is constantly there, which contains the questions/problems – for training in using Word, Excel, Power Point. These are various file folders or binders which one can take from the shelf and do the exercises, they will then be checked and evaluated.' (G: 80-85)

Especially, as she continues explaining, the

> 'offering with a focus on essential knowledge for everyday life […] makes sense, if one is not familiar with the structures of official agencies or doesn't know how and where to respond to a certain issue. Well, there are tips offered to participants, so that they can look to see for themselves where to go and what to do in case of a problem with the job centre.'
> I: Yes.
> G: And that already is a big help.' (G: 97-99)

The case manager also views the socially oriented company as an aid – even if it may be clearly relegated to a 'distributor function' (CM: 331-336) – to cope with everyday life, and a means of support for social integration, when she says:

> '…, but it really is not, the thing, what really comprises the general job market - also the specific demands of the general job market, well, that, too, is somehow… (Pause) Yes, something that poses a real strain, and where also only those people with *very strong and stable personalities stand a chance to prevail under pressure*, and elsewhere, there are people who are *less stable, and can no longer cope*. For them to also accomplish something like that, where they feels part of a certain social circle, that is to say, at an organisation or a, well, a job market where they also receive appreciation, affirmation, a certain feeling of 'belonging', which can, well, be developed initially or *maintained*.' (CM: 303-312)

In the course of the further observation of whether and to which precise extent the surveyed unemployed persons possess concrete skills to facilitate action, it is rather striking that the aspects of 'organisation of working life', 'work ethic', 'attitude towards life in general' and 'attitude type' were fulfilled in a positive sense by most of the 14 survey participants. In four to five participants, one can recognise a rather negative, passive – even destructive – attitude, which reflects just less than one third of all participants.

Table 2. Initiative skills on the part of jobless persons, n= 14, absolute values

Successful organisation of daily life: yes: 7 No: 3 partial: 3 no response: 1	Powers of comprehension good: 6 average: 6 poor: 2	Lifestyle 'autonomous': 8 'over-directed': 6	Planning horizon present: 6 average: 3 minimal: 2 none: 1
Organisation of working life: 9 'autonomous', 4 'over-directed'	Job opportunity: 6 As coercion: 6 Neutral: 2	Daily life 'autonomous': 8: 'over-directed': 5 no response: 1	Readiness/willingness for further qualification present: 8 limited: 4 none: 2
Work ethic present: 1 no response: 2 partial: 1	Activity level: own initiative: 8 minimal initiative: 5 inactive: 1	Attitude towards life in general positive: 8 negative: 5	Self-organisation skills: present: 8 average: 2 minimal: 2
Attitude type: active: 9 partial: 1 passive/destructive/ sceptical: 4			

If one views these attributes along with the category 'Organisation of everyday life', which cannot be viewed as fulfilled even by half, it is noticeable that the participants do indeed possess partial skills for taking action: when one views those skills closely correlated to the job market, however, one can only definitely speak of a 'potential' in 30-50% of survey participants. Here, the associated attributes of 'comprehension skills' (in 6 of 14 as good), 'this measure as an opportunity' (in 6 of 14 as positive) and 'self-organisation skills' (in 8 of 14 as present) in just more than half, and the attribute 'degree of activity' (in 8 of14) fulfilled in more than 50% of participants. In view of the organisation of everyday life, it is noticeable that the associated attributes are fulfilled by just more than 50% (8 of 14 long-term unemployed persons), and with that, one can conclude that they do indeed have a partial self-organisation strategy, even here.

In view of the lifestyle constraints that unemployed persons face, dealing with the resource of time was viewed here as an individual, specific and significant factor: all survey participants state that they utilise their leisure time productively and do not

consider it devoid of meaning. At the same time, the emphasis of the socio-integrative effect (see above example) indicates that with the job opportunity, a change in the structuring of time also occurs. The time spent in the socially-oriented company is considered at least a positive aid to lend structure to one's daily routine; all participants consider this aspect a significant change in their daily lives since the start of the measure.

As feedback to the practical aspects of job-market policy, it becomes apparent that the typical evaluation criteria which had been in place for many years in the context of standard qualification approaches (the development of a secondary sense of ethics in addition to concrete job skills/personal and social basic skills) such as i.e. industriousness, punctuality, a sense of duty, conscientiousness and proper organisation do not merely seem to bypass the actual objective of evaluating the present skills on the part of long-term unemployed persons in view of increasing/assessing employability.

Rather, the results indicated up to this point support the statements made by Oschmiansky et al. (2007) on the authoritarian-activating character of labour-market policy, specifically on a micro-sociological level. According to the previous status of corresponding research, one can deduce that the actual 'push' of currently offered measures should be in the direction of addressing the more complex, heterogeneous and realistic demands of the target groups (i.e., teamwork, self-organisation and (foreign) language faculties, along with self-rationalisation) and a higher quality of resources (time, support, personnel) as a basis for the specific increase of the chances for social participation – and with that, 'Employability' – than to stall at the level of a 'general classification according to clientele segments' (Baetghe-Kinsky 2006: 4).

Initially, the evidence points to the tendency that long-term unemployed persons possess concrete skills oriented towards the qualified goal of becoming 'active unemployed persons' and could act accordingly. However, this desire does not correspond primarily or even partially to the reality observed in this study. At this point, the following question is posed: 'Why can't this potential, shown by the participants, not be utilised on the primary job market?' There apparent conclusion is then that in addition to the doubtless relevant health problems, there are primarily specific barriers in terms of expertise and structural conditions - as opposed to individual behavioural deficits as a result of one's own fault - which stand in the way of entry into the primary job market.

The strong desire on the part of all survey participant for a steady job is, furthermore, convincing – despite the lack of perspective – and points to the relevance of the factor 'work' to one's self-image. In this respect, the examples indicating answers to the question on fears and plans for the future, along with the image of 'One-Euro' jobs, that the segment of unemployed persons supposedly considered to be among the 'market-irrelevant clientele' does indeed possess a concrete sensitivity to the per-

ception of what makes for meaningful work and the basis of one's own identity, along with possibilities for participation:

> 'G: Well, most of all, fear, and the prospect of losing a job scares and worries me. That then, you can't find work, and with that, you become dependent on support from the job centre. But you actually want to work...
> I: Yes.
> G: And of course, that the future also doesn't look very good.
> I: Yes. What could happen in the worst case?
> G: (Pause) The worst that can happen is that one is fired and lives on the street.' (G: 335 – 339)

Also the physically handicapped Mr. C., unemployed for fifteen years, has the strong desire to 'of course, get back to work. As soon as possible. At best, now, immediately' (C: 367). That in this context, not just any or a happenstance job is desirable is clearly pointed out by other participants (for instance, Mr. M., who is [looking for, S.E.] a 'job, if it fits my personality, you know, I mean something in a store, too, to work there in uniform, with a tie…' (M: 728-732).

Especially in contrast to 'exploitative' jobs, this occupational ideal is enacted repeatedly by the participants, for instance, when Ms. Z. states that 'Whoever has progressed to the level of working for ten months at a wage of one Euro, (…)' is 'at the very, very bottom of the ladder' (ibid.: 872 – 874). Also Mr. P. feels obligated to provide a service in return, especially in the situation that the state 'pays for his unemployment', but not at any price – instead, within a certain dignified setting:

> 'But they shouldn't take advantage of me as if I were a third-class labourer in this society.' (P: 650-652)

Even so, a survey participant who describes himself as a '*laisser-faire* kind of guy' has an orientation toward the sphere of paid labour and seeks 'fulfilment (…) rather in leisure time and my personal life' (M: 570 – 571).

What exactly comprises this sense of fulfilment here remains open to interpretation. The case manager, in conclusion, offers a suggestion when she describes activity in and of itself as meaningful:

> 'CM: Well, that's what I said before - I think it's important that people who aren't so resilient have the chance to be able to do just simple work somewhere …
> I: Yes.
> CM: …that they are given the chance to at least do something …
> I: Yes.

CM: … from which they gain a bit of an ego boost, something that enables them to independently earn a living, I think that's quite important.' (CM: 364-368)

5. Concluding Summary and Prospect

Low-performance jobless persons may have basic skills to take action in their situation (manage their daily lives), but even so, it would be inaccurate to speak of concrete, active measures oriented towards the job market. However, the rhetoric of 'support and demand' promotes this paradoxical view in the context of a simultaneous paedagogisation and economisation of labour-market policy.

The further methodical research interest in indicator assessment and extension was picked up by these theoretical and empirical results, as the indicators on socio structure were extended (i.e., with the question on the number of measures already completed, capacity to work and health condition of participants), on basic and key skills (i.e., in self-organisation faculties), on sociability and integration (i.e., with the question on the participation in social life), on psycho-social change (i.e., resilience, self-confidence) and on job-market integration (i.e., with individual occupational perspectives and one's own future plans). The questions on one's work ethic (a sense of duty and industriousness) were discontinued, since, due to their general social desirability, have become distorted and/or long-self-evident, already taken to heart in the performance of typical job-related activities – which, in the long-term perspective, also corresponds to the absorption of socio behavioural standards and attitudes towards work which can be observed elsewhere in all socio-economic segments of the population (Elias/ Scotson 1993, Elias 1997a,b, Bourdieu 1994, Ernst 2007). The desire to impose authoritarian sanctions of some kind indicates persistent formalisation constraints (Wouters 1999) towards low-performance persons, for whom perhaps the 'activation measures, due to their lack of perspective, are rather a strain than a benefit' (Koch/ Kupka 2007: 31).

The case manager also draws the conclusion that the paradox 'demand, support and overburden' should be resolved by the transition to a gradual *process*:

'CM: In the preparation phase, this in fact has to do with the fact that now, those who are somehow impaired, just run through these integration phases - that is to say, this integration phase managed by various sponsors. I think, though, that somehow, one can determine that this proximity to the job market represents an excessive demand. That is to say that now, at the moment, this perception is on the rise, say, for the subject with this or these impairments, well, that, but yes, I think that this impression is qualified by the fact that this is merely a temporary occurrence. That at the moment, the support team in the job centres truly seeks to verify what kind of people may reach the integration phase or to which extent they are as resilient as those already in the integration phase.' (CM: 293-294)

Koch/ Kupka advocate, in view of the long-term goal 'primary job market' to achieve political consensus on the premise 'that there is a group of employment-capable persons in need of help, for which the instrument of the Code of Social Law II only provides limited options' (Koch/ Kupka 2007: 31), and to consider publicly funded employment in i.e., socially-oriented companies as a seriously practical, alternative which should be extended. This short empirical excerpt most likely indicated that opportunities for participation and empowerment could only increase when and if the sponsors of such measures are subject to fewer restrictions. Up to this point, the regulations stipulate that the jobs may only be held in addition to receiving supplementary payments, and must be connected to non-profit organisations, without the conditions of regular employment and/or without market-based labour contexts. The goal of increasing individual initiative and responsibility also cannot be achieved if such employees should also make provisions for advanced occupational training solely on their own initiative, and one demands of them the skill to be able to independently obtain and process the market-relevant information.

The insight into whether and to which precise extent these current paradoxical situations provoke anomic isolation and marginalisation processes is revealed in (among other indicators) how minimum-performance, multi-disadvantaged persons who deviate from the typical norm of employability and acceptance of 'wage labour with all its attendant necessities and guarantees' (Castel 2000: 375). The existence in a seemingly permanent 'holding pattern', caught between hope and resignation, along with short-term, demeaning low-wage labour and inactivity does not merely undermine the feeling of security on the part of the affected persons and refuse them a minimum level of appreciation, but instead, releases them as near-'redundant' elements into the seemingly permanent 'uncertainty of the day to come' (Castel 2000), and with that, into the realm of vulnerability.

Furthermore, if one assumes that labour is to be categorised as an aspect of the economic system, as well as of one's individual lifestyle – as suggested by SOFI /IAB /ISF/ INIFES in their reporting from 2005 – we must let go of even the most basic models on which we have previously based such discussion, as well as the dichotomies involved. A feasible future-oriented conception of labour should actually be able to function without the antagonisms of 'Production - Reproduction', 'Labour – Leisure', 'Labour – Volunteer Work' indicated in the Fordistic production model. A model for discussion which comprehends labour exclusively as earned labour outside the sphere of one's personal life - and categorises the rest of the time as leisure time - offers merely a highly limited foundation for a premise to deal with the issue of social participation marked by transition processes within a working society.

Notes

[1] Work is considered precarious 'if and when the employed, as a result of their work, fall below a level of income, security and social integration which is considered a standard within the current social structure and recognised as such by the majority' and 'on the subjective level, is associated with a loss of meaning, deficits in appreciation and uncertainty in planning's for the future – to an extent which clearly corrects social standards to the employees' disadvantage' (Dörre 2005: 182 f.).

[2] 'For employment-capable needy persons who cannot find employment, job opportunities should be created. If such additional opportunities (in line with public interest) for job-creation measures are not supported by public funding according to Paragraph 1, the employment-capable needy person is to be paid, in addition to unemployment aid fort he long-term unemployed, appropriate compensation for additional effort and expense; these jobs do not comprise an employment relationship in the context of applicable labour laws (...).' (§ 16 (3) of the Code of Social Law II).

[3] Especially those measures for young people and persons with handicaps 'have still not yet been systematically analysed to determine their effectiveness' (Eichhorst/ Zimmermann 2007: 11).

[4] In this context, subjectivation is based on individual socialisation experiences, as well as on orientation and perception patterns, and flows into the concrete work performance. Subjective and objective work performance is to be treated distinctly, and with Manske (2005), we presume an ambivalent sense of autonomy, which accompanies not only structural constraints, but also (explicitly) new options.

[5] In unemployment research, the categorisation of jobless persons into various types (among other methods) is applied to the description of their living environments, patterns of behaviour and coping mechanisms. The first comprehensive study on this topic was performed in the 1930s, in the historical context of National Socialism on the rise, in an Austrian village. 'Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal' (Jahoda et al. 1975), is today considered one of the 'classics' in unemployment research. The researchers assume that the four attitude types represent sooner a reduction progression than a coincidental but simultaneous occurrence. In the course of unemployment, one's standards regarding living space become increasingly limited. Also, one's consciousness of the passage of time would disintegrate progressively, and the energy reserves would be applied to the maintenance of the remaining living space. Ultimately, every family would go through the various 'stages of gradual psychological decline' (ibid.: 102) in the case of persistent unemployment.

[6] Initially, a phase of anger and frustration manifests itself. After one year of persistent unemployment, the phase of self-blame, decrease in self-esteem - and especially in men, of withdrawal - ensues, and the third phase follows, with feelings of worthlessness and the assumption that one's existence is merely a burden – up to even suicide, in the most extreme of cases (cf. Rifkin 2005: 155 ff.).

[7] As opposed to an indeed conceivable approach to the experiment with the aim of analysing the potential increase in the likelihood of employment, as Eichhorst/ Zimmermann (2007) propose with a control-group comparison, the formative approach, with the survey of the same cohorts at two different intervals, seemed to us more appropriate to the analysis of qualitative and process-inherent effects (which require their own intervals to transpire).

[8] The 'Balanced Scorecard' can be attributed to Robert S. Kaplan and David P. Norton. In the early

1990s, these experts had developed the 'Balanced Scorecard' as an open-ended control instrument which, based on the premise of the entrepreneurial vision, enables a holistic perspective by impact levels (and can also include i.e., social aspects to enable the targeted control of the company's profits.

[9] The foundation for this premise (the debate on key qualifications) extends as far back as the 1970s, was prompted by the former director of the Institute for Research on the Job Market and Occupations, Dieter Mertens, and - since then - has left its mark on job-market and occupational research. According to this premise, 'key qualifications' encompass 'knowledge and skills which do not result in a direct and narrow correlation to certain (…) types of work' (Mertens 1974) and –in the face of continuously updated knowledge – remain enduring in nature, in order to enable life in a modern society. In this context, the modern demands on working people extend, in their current forms, to the 'core areas of the personality', which results in the emergence of the following question: 'How can measures from outside, and the rights associated with them, be applied to this situation?' (Knauf 2001: 46). With the terms 'social skills', 'methodical skills', 'own inherent skills' and 'specialised job skills', the current debate marks a continuation in the evolution of this discourse (cf. also Eilles-Matthiessen et al., 2002). In the context of 'empowerment', SQ was differentiated into the individual areas of learning skills and readiness to learn, along with the further categories of organisational skills, socio-communicative skills and general linguistic faculties, as well as readiness to perform and capacity to apply specialised skills.

[10] This special kind of employment includes a small allowance – round about 1,25 € in addition to the unemployment pay. In the common use it is called "1-€-Job".

[11] Individual statements: 'that you don't just hang around at home anymore' (A: 277-280); 'a regular daily rhythm' (E: 31-32) and 'regularity' in getting up in the morning (Y: 939-942) and: 'our group can take a punch' (Y: 1013-1022).

[12] 'Because nobody has asked me yet' and: 'nobody told me.' (Y: 853-854, 879-880).

[13] 'Now, I receive more offers', Z: 904-908; or: 'a new division has been created', C: 134-136.

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Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community

Tokie Anme

1. Introduction

Community Empowerment describes how people work to gain control over their own lives within society and the ways in which others can help or hinder this process. This is of paramount importance for people who hope for healthy longevity within communities.

This chapter "Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community" addresses this challenging issue from both a theoretical and practical perspective, exploring fundamental theoretical issues necessary for a comprehensive understanding of health and social provision, as well as sharing insights into the real life experiences of people currently working in the preventive movement to empower themselves and others. This clarifies how social interaction can predict future health, particularly through social affiliation.

"Community empowerment" is emerged under the strong perception of family-group oriented self in East Asian society; strong desire for belonging to family, group, and society. "Community empowerment" defined as: to bring or receive into close connection as a member of branch, or to associate as a member.

This theoretical perspective on the community empowerment relates to the work of the "relational self", "social image", or "social bonding". In this perspective, the intra-social makeup of community empowerment is profoundly interrelated with the emotional patterning of interpersonal relationships as they vary across civilizations. This means for seeing the community empowerment in terms of social roles, presentations, and modes of communication, taking into account those aspects of the person's directly and consciously related to differing patterns of interpersonal relationships, and thus seeing how this enters into the configurations of the community empowerment.

As life expectancy increases around the world, individuals and societies alike are re-imagining what life in later years can be like, and research investigating various factors that contribute to both longevity and quality of life has proliferated over the past few decades. Many studies around the world over the past 20 years have demonstrated the relationship between various dimensions of social networks, social support, and social interaction, and outcomes related to morbidity, physical and mental deterioration, and mortality among older adults (Anme, 1997; Antonucci, Lansford,

Akyama, Smith, Baltes, Takahashi, et al., 2002; Berkman & Breslow, 1979; Berkman & Syme, 1983; Cheng & Chan, 2006; Haga, 1988; Kempen, Ranchor, van Sonderen, van Jaarsveld & Sanderman, 2006; McAuley, Elavsky, Motl, Konopack, Hu & Marqueze, 2005; Sugisawa, Liang & Liu, 1994; Wallston, Alagna, DeVellis & DeVellis, 1983). Across these studies, distinct components of social relationships have been examined, but with generally uniform results indicating the greater amount of social support and/or interaction (especially when positive), the greater is the physical and mental health, and thus, the longevity, of older persons.

Some research has focused primarily on the breadth of social networks, while others have posited that the quality or depth of social networks is the key to the positive impact they have on physical and mental health (Fiori, Antonucci & Cortina, 2006). Others have proposed that having multiple roles in one's life is what increases one's sense of integration into one's community or society, and that the outcome of such integration, as Maslow theorized many years ago, is improved mental health and the ability to contribute in a positive way to one's community and develop as an individual (Coughlin & Lau, 2006; Hibbard, 1993; Moen, 2001, cf Fiori, Antonucci, & Cortina 2006). Thus, either the breadth – how many roles or how many ways a person is integrated into a rich network – as well as the depth – the quality of the relationships – are keys to more positive mental and physical health.

Other researchers have looked more broadly at the concept of "social participation." Sugisawa, Liang & Liu (1994) defined 'social participation' as "an active involvement in society and embeddedness in a social system, a way of life that is characterized by social competence and active social interaction in general." In a 3-year longitudinal study in Japan they found a direct effect of social participation on mortality (68% chance of dying for those with social participation vs. those with no participation).

Social participation and its relationship to mortality have also been found in the U.S. (Berkman, 1979, 1983; House, Robbings & Metzna, 1982) and some European countries – e.g., Sweden (Hanson, et al., 1989), France (Groslaude, 1990) and Finland (Jylha & Aro, 1989). In the United States recently, "civic engagement" has become a common term used to describe a variety of types of social participation, which may range from political participation and civic volunteerism to staying informed through media or other means, care-giving, and informal connections with people such as storekeepers, etc. (Martinson & Minkler, 2006).

Such a relationship may be complicated by the particular circumstances in which an older person is living. For example, Wong, Yoo & Stewart (2006) found that older Chinese and Korean elders living in the United States reported changing their lifelong expectation of filial piety (sense of obligation) from their children, and for some, they find themselves unprepared for dealing with aging in a more solitary way. One of the key cultural differences between many Asian countries and the U.S.

is that while parents may have sacrificed for their children at home in their native country, the children may now be more "westernized" and not feel the complementary sense of obligation. In addition, because there are not financial consequences (e.g. inheritances) tied to such filial piety' adult children in the U.S. may not feel the same pressures. However, even in many Asian countries, though, with the major increase in women employed outside the home, the traditional family dynamic of, for example, a daughter-in-law caring for older parents, is shifting away from the model that older persons have grown up with and expected.

Thus, even in their own families, whether in their native country or in the U.S., older persons may experience isolation due to the lack of either physical and/or emotional proximity.

These findings support the conclusion of Sugisawa and colleagues (1994) who concluded that "Examining the linkages between social relations and mortality within diverse sociocultural settings is critical in testing the robustness of the observed effects of networks and support. Consistent replications of certain observations under vastly different conditions will reinforce their validity." Their 3-year longitudinal study of older Japanese found a direct, though inverse, effect of social participation on mortality. Such results can assist both direct service providers, and policymakers, with important information about how to promote and extend not just quantity of years of life, but almost more importantly, quality of life.

Using these theories and outcomes, we developed empowerment program for prevention based care and have been clarified the effects of that. Previous research by some of the authors in the same community examined in the present study found similar results. Specifically, when following a community sample of approximately 1000 older persons, over a five-year period, a newly developed measure of social interaction (the ISI – described in the Methods section below) was significantly and positively related to longevity, even after controlling for age, sex, education, and health status (Anme & Shimada, 2000). In a follow-up study of seven years, it was found that: 1) baseline age and physical function were related to the seven-year mortality; 2) greater social interaction was positively related to reduced mortality; 3) multiple logistic regression analysis adjusted for baseline age, gender, physical function, health status, and ADL indicated that greater social interaction was related to reduced mortality (Anme, Shinohara, Sugisawa, & Ito, 2006).

To clarify the effects of empowerment programs in long-term process, the current study examines these relationships between social participation and morbidity and mortality in some of this same Japanese sample, across an eleven year period, hypothesizing that the greater the degree of social participation, as measured by the Index of Social Interaction (ISI), the lower the mortality rates among older people.

2. Cultural Background

Japan is a country whose people enjoy one of the longest life in the world. According to the survey carried out by the Ministry of Health and welfare, the average life expectancy of the Japanese in 2006 was 85.8 years for women (The longest in the world) and 79.0 years for men (Second longest in the world). Various reasons are thought to contribute to this remarkable gain in life expectancy, including: improved diet; advancement of medical science; establishment of health insurance system which enables in anyone to receive affordable medical care at anytime; and strong social affiliation enhancing the self-value for society, which is perceived to give meaning to life.

Historically, a trait in Japan is to place importance on harmony within the group rather than on individuality. As early as 604 AD, a famous prince named Shotoku wrote, " Harmony is to be accorded the highest reverence." This was even included in the first article in Seventeen Article Constitution proclaimed by Prince Shotoku. In other words, people, especially older people are determined to act in a way which promotes harmony with the group, that is "social affiliation". This social affiliation has been natured by agrarian society where people made a living clinging to the land. Within such a society, water had to be shared and in consequences the villagers helped each other. A person was eliminated for not maintaining harmony.

It is common that people emphasize the need to seek approval from these groups and organizations rather than attempting to accomplish anything independently. Older people are afraid of forsaken by their families and thus, are extremely willing to surpass their own desires to ingratitude themselves with their families. Strong social affiliation may thus induce ambivalent effects on the self-social relationship.

3. Strategy Model for Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community

Empowerment is a process whereby individuals struggle to reduce personal powerlessness and dependency by having increased control over their lives. Also it is an important outcome of community development

According to these theories, we developed the strategy model for empowerment as prevention based care in the community as below (Fig.1).

1) Outcomes: What is the target?
2) Problems: What is the problem?
3) Background: What background effects that?
4) Related factors: What factors related to the problems and background?
5) Strategy: How to change the related factors?
6) Evidence: What is the evidence of the strategy?

Fig.1 Strategy Model for Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community

4) Related Factors	2) Problem	1) Outcome
*promote community based activity *enrich the individual support *enrich the support using group *promote prevention activity *residents' participation for planning *increase the chance for social exchange	*short healthy life expectancy *high medical cost compare to other community *low residents' satisfaction	*prolong healthy life expectancy *reduce medical cost *increase residents' satisfaction *realize healthy community *promote resident-centered community system
	3) Background	
	*agricultural village near a urban city *wealthy community *losing community ties	
5) Strategy	6) Evidence	
*promote prevention by individual and group activities *setting basement for healthy longevity *residents' participation regularly *prevention of stay indoors *investigate requirements and express outcomes clea	*evidence for prevention effects *motivation theory *studies for the effects of social participation *studies for the effects of community empowerment	

Adding that, we selected evaluation items according to starategy model (Table 1), which contains methods, environment, and effects from the view point of micro and macro level.

Table1   Evaluation of Empowerment Program

	Method	Environment	Effect
Micro (Client)	**Contents** *client-fitted program *consistency and flexibility **Frequency, duration, and timing** *duration per one session *frequency per month *length of duration Program for individual or group	**Location** *effective environment *participation with ease *discuss to improve conditions of environment *education & consultation **Family** *cooperation *education & consultation **Colleague** *cooperation *education & consultation **Community** *cooperation *education & consultation	**Better quality of life** *satisfaction *fulfillment **Motivation** *will for life *participation for the society *contribution for the society **Health Promotion** *prevention of disease *lighten the subjective symptom **Prevention of physical decline** *powers of endurance *muscular strength *balance **Recovery** *ability of daily living *instrumental ability of daily living
Macro (System)	**Contents** *client group-fitted program *consistency and flexibility **Continuity** *secure resource *closer connection with community **Accessibility** *access *appropriate time *appropriate quality *appropriate amount **Teamwork** *client-centered care team	**Condition setting** *effective condition setting *participation with ease *discuss to improve conditions of environment *education & consultation **System** *informal group *professional *organization *information *institution *service	**Practical meaning** *more satisfaction *more fulfilment *motivation *ability of daily living *better quality of life *mortality *healthy life expectancy *continue life in the community **Economical effects** *cost-benefit effects *reduce medical cost *reduce long-term care cost **Social value** *investment in healthy life

4. Research Design

Lots of researches have reported importance of social interaction for well being in later life. Social interaction reduces morbidity and mortality. Because of increased rates of physical disability, social interactions attain further importance for people of advanced age.

Social interaction includes social relationships, social ties, and social support plays an important role in maintaining the independence of the elderly in communities. Motivation of the elderly to keep in contact with society is also found to be a critical factor in the maintenance of physical function (Anme, 1991). Older adults may be especially vulnerable to poor social contact due to loss of communication with family and other people in the community.

We developed empowerment programs and investigated the relationship between social interaction and health decline, and to identify sociodemographic characteristics associated with increased vulnerability for low social contact and home confinement within a population of community-dwelling older people. In addition, because social interaction has multiple etiologies, the association of specific health conditions, underlying or concurrent with social interaction are examined. Identifying factors that modify social interaction may be key for more effective targeting of interventions aimed at improving the life quality of older persons (Anme, 1993).

Tobishima is a typical farming community in a suburban area of Japan, with a population of 4,625. Beginning in 1991, The Tobishima Study sought to investigate factors associated with longevity in elders, with the goal of creating a health-promoting program that would maximize quantity and quality of life for residents.

All of the residents were invited to participate, with informed consent, and all agreed. Of the sample in 1994, the 730 persons aged 60 or older were included in analyses that looked at 11-year mortality rates in 2005. Of those 730 persons, 655 were actually answered, for a response rate of 89.7%. There were no significant gender or age differences between the participants and non-participants. At the end of the eleven year period, 237 persons were deceased. Of these, 225 passed away from natural causes or identifiable diseases, 8 were by accident, and 4 were unknown. Only those 225 who were deceased due to natural or disease causes were included in the analyses here.

Three types of independent variables were examined: socio-demographics, disability and health status, and social interactions (see Figure 1). The socio-demographics include age and gender. [Income and education were not reported because two factors were at work here: a) people are very reluctant to report specific income and education, and b) the homogeneity of financial and educational status in this community meant income and education would not have had great variability anyway in this sample. Marital status was also not recorded due to the fact that whether people

were married or single, all elders in this community lived with family members, including children. Fujita (1990) has concluded that in this set of living circumstances, marital status is relatively unimportant.] The disability and health conditions measures included mobility, sensory function (vision or auditory impairment), activities of daily living, and disease status (either with none or with any number of diseases, such as diabetes, high blood pressure, and heart disease).

Social interaction was measured using the "Index of Social Interaction" (ISI). This scale was developed in Japan by one of the authors (Anme) for evaluating social interactions of various types and includes 18 items. Factor analysis revealed 5 subscales: 1) Independence, which includes having a motivation to live an active lifestyle, taking an active approach towards one's life, being motivated to live a healthy life, and having a regular or routine lifestyle; 2) Social curiosity, which comprised reading newspapers, reading books, trying to use new equipment, having a hobby, and having a feeling of importance; 3) Interaction, composed of communication within the family, communication with non-family persons, and interactions with non-family persons; 4) Participation in society, made up of participation in social groups, participation in neighborhood affairs, watching television and having an active role in society; and 5) Feelings of safety, meaning having counsel, and having someone to give support in an emergency (see Table 1). Cronbach's alpha for the subscales ranged from .78-.81.

Total or subscale scores were calculated by adding each item's score rated one point for positive response or zero points for negative response. The mean score of the rest of the items at analysis replaced missing values of items in "Index of Social Interaction". We defined low social interaction as infrequent in-person social contracts (no face-to-face contact, in a typical work place, with families, neighbors, friends, or relatives) and losing interest in social activities (no social role, ignore social circumstances).

The dependent variable was simply whether a person was still alive or not at the 11-year follow up time, and a logistic regression analysis was performed to predict mortality from the ISI score, controlling for age, gender, education, health status, mobility, sensory function, and activities of daily living (Anme, 2007).

5. Social Interaction and Positive Aging

An analysis of each item on the ISI revealed the following: the lack of the following items were each significantly related to mortality: "motivation to live an active lifestyle", "taking an active approach toward life", "being motivated to live a healthy life", "having regular life style", "reading newspapers", "reading books", "trying to use new equipment", "having a hobby", "feeling of importance", "communication within the family", "communication with non-family", "participation in neighbor-

hood affairs", "interaction with non-family" and "having an active social role".

Multidimensional analysis of ISI and mortality. Using logistical regression, an analysis was done to predict mortality after eleven years from the ISI score, after controlling for age, gender, education, health status, mobility and sensory function, and independence in terms of activities of daily living. Tables 4 through 7 show the results of this analysis. "Lack of having regular lifestyle(odds 2.37) " , "being motivated to live a healthy life"(odds 1.87), "having a hobby" (odds 1.72), and "trying to use new equipment"(odds 1.59) were all significantly related to mortality after controlling for the effects of age, gender, disease, moving function, sensory function, and ADL function.

The results of this study for this sample did clearly demonstrate a positive relationship between social interaction, as measured by the ISI, and mortality over a 11-year period. Some of the main factors for predicting mortality were reading books, having an active role, and having a feeling of importance. While it may not be that having an active role translates specifically into participation in social networks or neighborhood affairs, it seems that the need to feel active, engaged, informed, and important, which are all fundamental human needs at any age, may be even more important in late life, providing a motivation to live. Thus, practitioners who want to assist older persons in establishing and maintaining active roles may need to spend some time clarifying what that means for each person.

Sugisawa, et al (1994) found that social participation affected mortality through self-rated health, but NOT chronic diseases or functional health. Most variables had indirect effects on mortality through the factor of self-rated health. They also found that, contrary to Western countries, social participation had a small, though statistically significant effect on life satisfaction after controlling for other factors. However, interpersonal relationships also had a major indirect effect on life satisfaction through health, suggesting that people are more able to stay healthy when embedded in a social network.

Overall, then, it seems that the relationship between social integration, in a wide variety of ways it can be measured, has a complex, but crucial role in increasing not just the length, but the quality of the lives of older people.

6. Enhance Empowerment as Prevention Based Care in the Community

As McAuley and colleagues noted in 2005, "living well in concert with living longer is an important public health goal in our society..." Understanding the role that various forms of social integration and interaction play in prolonging life with quality is important, and acknowledging the importance of cultural and social context for that role is crucial. This study of older persons in one community in Japan clearly dem-

onstrates the centrality of social participation in longevity that comes from having an active role and a feeling of importance in one's life. These results clearly come down on the activity side of the long-lived debate between the "activity theory" and the "disengagement theory" of aging. And, as noted in the 2002 U.N. World Assembly on Ageing the theme was "Towards a Society for All Ages" because people do not age alone, but rather in families, communities, and countries, it is imperative that researchers and practitioners study elders in these contexts, and across time, in order to enhance their lives. Further research in various communities and countries can help further clarify the complex relationship between various types of empowerment program and their relationship to the quantity and quality of life for older persons.

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Welfare Services to Promote Social Cohesion: Are NGOs a Solution?

Ingrid Grosse

Most European countries have developed welfare provision and social rights of high international standard for their citizens during the 20th century (e.g., welfare expenditure as a percentage of GDP, coverage levels for the population by welfare schemes and legal regulations). Despite this outstanding development of generous welfare supply and guarantees, however, most European welfare states are today confronted with wide-ranging criticism from many citizens, politicians and researchers (e.g., Pierson 1994).

One of the main threads of criticism is targeted at the way welfare is organised by public administrations (Rothstein 2001). It is argued that a central failure of European welfare states is that publicly administered welfare is too highly standardised, bureaucratic, inflexible and authoritarian.

Many European countries have therefore increased the involvement of non-governmental providers (NGOs) in the delivery of welfare provision (e.g., the UK, Sweden, Italy, Eastern European countries, the Netherlands). An often expressed hope is for NGOs to be closer to individual citizens and thus better equipped to respond to needs and demands.

Also on the European level, the Council of Europe sees a need to further develop the "European welfare model", which it considers to face "a series of questions and strains". It sees that "governments increasingly find that the best way of facilitating access to social rights is by working in partnership with civil society in order to achieve shared goals of social cohesion". The recommendation of the Council of Europe to its member states is to proceed with this transformation, i.e., to "move away from the omnicompetent state to new concepts of governance through partnership". "NGOs can often play a valuable complementary role alongside official bodies in ensuring access to social rights" (all quotations from European Committee for Social Cohesion – A New Strategy for Social Cohesion 2004).

In sum, European governments and the European Union hope that NGOs have the ability to renew welfare states in "Old Europe". The question, however, is whether these high hopes are justified *per se* or whether there should be added some caveats. Is it reasonable to assume that NGOs can reconcile European citizens with their welfare states? Or is it thinkable that NGOs have their own specific flaws, which will lead to new problems concerning welfare provision for citizens, simply replacing the 'old' problems of publicly administered welfare? In order to discuss potential

strengths but also flaws of NGOs, this paper will examine how NGOs have acted as welfare providers. The aim is to enrich the empirical understanding of how involvement of NGOs affects welfare provision for citizens.

NGOs are defined as formal, private and non-profit organisations. They are thus differentiated from informal associations (movements, networks), public organisations (GOs) and for-profit firms (for a longer definition, see Grosse 2007).

To examine strengths and flaws of NGOs concerning welfare provision, I will focus on aspects of welfare provision based on the concept of social cohesion. The reason for using that concept as a starting point is that social cohesion has gained increased attention in Europe during the last two decades.[1]

Social cohesion is defined by the Council of Europe as "the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation". The Council specifies that social cohesion should be promoted via "the access to social rights, which should be based on the following principles: equality of rights for all […], availability of quality services affordable by all, giving special attention to the needs of vulnerable citizens, avoiding stigmatisation […], sustainable fiscal policies, participation of users."(The Council of Europe 2004).[2]

For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on three aspects of how social cohesion is thought to be achieved:
- Participation of users
- Good quality services
- Welfare equality (i.e., equal social rights to access welfare services that are affordable)

In my opinion, these three aspects cover main dimensions of social cohesion as considered by organisations of the European Union. Furthermore, I think these aspects are useful for discussing welfare achievements, if services are supposed to improve quality of life for the entire citizenry. Affordability and equal social rights are important aspects concerning users of less affluent strata or minority groups, who would otherwise potentially be excluded from using services. Good quality of service is crucial for all users: welfare services which do not meet users' needs and demands may fail to make a difference for users' quality of life. Finally, participation connects users on the one side and public authorities on the other side: it helps to ensure that leaders and public authorities do not fail to acknowledge users' needs and demands and it helps users to develop their demands in a knowledgeable way.

The question is then why many European governments and the European Union regard NGOs to be better equipped than public welfare organisations (GOs) to enhance social cohesion via *welfare equality, welfare quality* and *user participation*. Some theoretical and empirical considerations regarding how NGOs are thought to differ from GOs are of help here.

Differences between NGOs and GOs: Some Considerations

Researchers have identified some general characteristics of how NGOs differ from GOs. Characteristics which are most often referred to in theories or which have been shown to be empirically evident are: 1) *flexible internal organisation*, 2) *freedom of public welfare standards* and 3) *volunteering, donating and work duties* (see, among others, Finlayson 1994, Rothstein 2001, Lorentzen 1994, Hollingsworth and Hollingsworth 1989, Kendall and Knapp 1996, Vamstad 2007, Grosse 2007). I will briefly elaborate on how these characteristics of NGOs could be thought to enhance *welfare equality, welfare quality* and *user participation*.

1. NGOs have a more *flexible internal organisation* of welfare services: while GOs have to comply with public working procedures, documentation and internal regulations, NGOs are less subjected to a hierarchical and formal work organisation.

   This provides NGOs with the opportunity to be more flexible concerning the involvement of users and citizens than GOs. NGOs could, for example, react more directly to criticism from users, allow users to have representatives on their boards or could provide users with veto rights, etc. *User participation* could thus be enhanced by NGOs.

   NGOs are also regarded to be more flexible in changing their operational tasks. This would enable them to faster adjust their welfare services to newly developing user demands. Users would see their demands properly satisfied, which can be regarded as a form of improved *welfare quality*. In addition, citizens who have previously not been service users could be attracted by newly designed welfare services, which would increase the number of citizens benefitting from services. This would imply a more *equal access* to services seen from a societal view.

2. NGOs often experience a *greater freedom from public welfare standards*, i.e., a lesser degree of legal and formal public regulation of their welfare services than GOs. NGOs often do not have to follow all standards of how to provide services (e.g., regulations about tuition fee levels, queueing systems, opening hours, staff/user ratios as well as user influence, etc). In a positive interpretation, NGOs are thus freer to improve their services than GOs. They could use their freedom to provide higher *welfare quality*, more *equal access* and more *user participation* than GOs, which are more bound to legal standards.

   Furthermore, NGOs could use their freedom to differentiate their welfare supply to a greater extent than public providers. The implication for users could be that they have more options to find specialised welfare in line with their individual preferences. Whether more diversified services really meet users' individual needs depends, however, on the overall supply of required specialisations.

3. NGOs have a greater *attractiveness for volunteering and donating citizens* and more often demand *work duties* from users.

Per definition, *volunteering and donating* means a greater participation of citizens in welfare provision, but do NGOs also experience more voluntary work and donations from users? It could be expected that users might be even more inclined to volunteer and donate than other citizens for their welfare service, because users are more interested in enhancing the welfare provision they depend on. Such forms of self-help volunteering are typical, for example, for pensioners, disabled persons and anti-alcohol organisations in Nordic countries (Svedberg and Jeppsson-Grassman 2001). Thus, volunteering and donating by users could be expected to be greater in NGOs than in GOs.

Another difference from GOs is that *work duties* for users seem to be more common in NGOs (Pestoff and Strandbrink 2002, Vamstad 2007). *Work duties* are different from volunteering, because they are not based on a free decision by users but are demanded by NGOs as a non-monetary contribution from users. I will follow Pestoff in regarding work duties as a form of *user participation*: Users who work, irrespective of whether based on a free decision or not, have advantages concerning their influence on how NGOs operate. Users who work have more often contact with managers and staff, which facilitates informal influence. Working users would also gain more insight into day-to-day operations, which increases their knowledge of problems and possible improvements. Due to these advantages of working in a welfare facility, I think one can speak of participation through work duties.

However, *volunteering*, *work duties* and *donations* may lead to a higher degree of *user participation* in NGOs, but these forms of involvement have also effects on *welfare quality* and *equality*. On the one hand, users through their work and donations potentially enhance the quality of services, which could be regarded as a fair advantage for engaged users. On the other hand, not all users have the same amount of extra money. Neither have all users the same amount of spare time, flexible working hours or extra energy for working besides their paid work obligations. If one follows this argumentation, welfare improvements through *volunteering, work duties* and *donations* would lead to less equality of access to welfare.

In sum, researchers regard NGOs in characteristic ways to be different from GOs – *having more flexibility, less public standardisation, more volunteering, donating* and *work duties* – which enables NGOs to generally improve users' *equal access, welfare quality* and *participation*. Thus, the hopes of the European Union and its member states that NGOs could improve social cohesion to a greater degree than public provision could be justified.

However, I think it is not self-evident that NGOs will actually only improve the situation for users. In my opinion, the actual welfare supply by NGOs also depends on the **willingness of the owners** to improve services according to users' demands (Sannerstedt 2001).

Ownership of NGOs differs greatly. Even the few examples I am going to discuss in this paper differ by being owned by churches, housewives' leagues or client associations. This may in turn have repercussions on how willing NGOs are to offer more welfare quality, equality and/or participation. They have, for example, different ideological goals, which can lead to variations in how they configure services, which in turn are more or less in accordance with users' demands. Furthermore, different organisational structures of NGOs – such as cooperatives or foundations – open up for user participation to varying degrees.

Besides the uncertainty regarding how NGOs wish to shape their services, it should not be forgotten that **public authorities** have the power to influence NGOs to a great degree. Public authorities' influence on NGOs is mainly derived from the fact that NGOs are regularly very dependent on *public funding*, turning public authorities into 'masters of money' (Beveridge 2000). Public funding for NGOs is especially crucial for their ability to offer welfare under non-profit conditions, i.e., to offer welfare that is affordable for many citizens. The degree of freedom of NGOs to a large extent depends on how much scope the public is willing to leave them. In principle, *public regulation and monitoring* of NGOs could be considered so tight that it hardly allows any scope for NGOs. The interconnection between public authorities and NGOs would then turn NGOs into *quasi* GOs, blurring the difference between GOs and NGOs.

Due to these variations of leadership among NGOs and varying degrees of interrelatedness with public authorities, it is in my opinion not possible to theoretically assume how NGOs will act in practice and therefore if and how they will differ from GOs. In the end, a closer look at how NGOs have acted as *de facto* welfare providers will supply more information on what to expect of NGOs concerning welfare quality, equality and participation.

The examples of NGOs that will be discussed are child care providers in Sweden and Norway. Due to the narrow selection of countries out of a limited socio-political area and of a specific welfare area, the study will only give examples of how NGOs provide welfare.

Child care NGOs in Sweden and Norway

Child care NGOs have different histories in Sweden and Norway. While NGOs in Norway continuously played a prominent role in the area of child care since the beginning of the last century, they disappeared almost completely during the 1960s and

70s in Sweden (in Norway the share of NGOs never dropped below 40 %, while in Sweden the share dropped to 0 % of all operating day care facilities in 1980). Since the 1980s in Sweden, however, NGOs started to take a larger share of the otherwise mainly publicly run facilities.

Today, NGOs own around 50 % of all day care facilities in Norway and around 20 % in Sweden. Besides NGOs, mainly GOs are active as day care providers, while private for-profit firms play only a minor role in the two countries. When looking at the ownership structure among the operating NGOs, two phases can be distinguished in Norway.

Before the 1990s, NGOs were predominantly owned by NGOs such as the **Norwegian State Church, protestant free churches and the Housewives' League**. These mostly traditionally and religiously oriented day care organisations engaged with great enthusiasm in day care provision right after the first main expansion of national subsidies for day care in 1975. In internal circulars they encouraged their sub-organisations to "seize the chance" of a "golden opportunity to get Christian day care" (Lea 1982; Author's translation). These NGOs dominated non-public provision by owning around 60 % of all NGO-facilities until the beginning of the 1990s (30 % including public provision). It is interesting to note that the predominance of such traditional day care NGOs in Norway resembles the ownership structure in Continental countries such as Germany and the Netherlands rather than in other Scandinavian countries (Rostgaard and Fridberg 1998).

Since the 1980s, however, **parents** (and individuals) started to play a major role as owners of day care NGOs in Norway (see Figure 1, Grosse 2007). In this regard, Norway resembles Sweden: also in Sweden, parent-owned NGOs are a prominent type of operating NGOs since the 1980s; they have 'market' shares of around 30-40 % among NGO providers in both countries (around 10 % including public provision). The strong position of parent-owned NGOs is significant for Norway and Sweden. Even if parent-owned day care facilities also exist in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and other European welfare states, they are rather negligible in terms of market shares.

Figure 1. Norway: Development of child care providers.
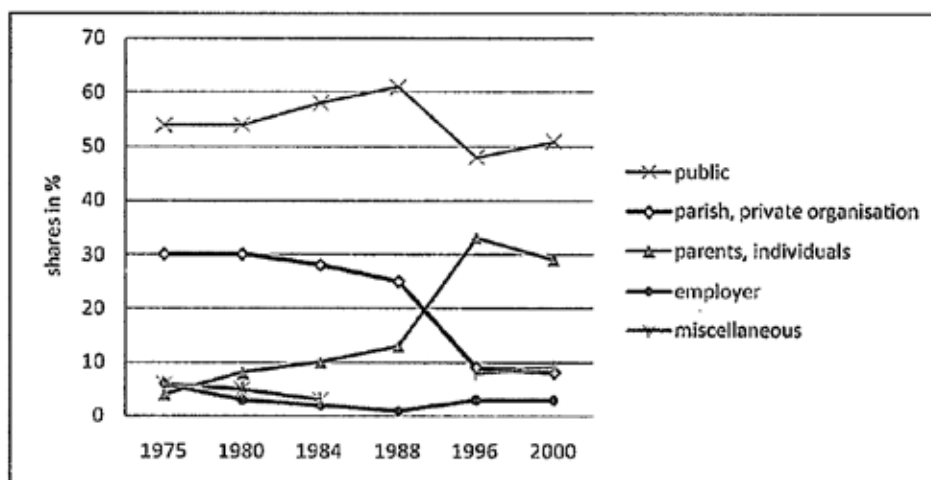
Source: Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)

How then did NGOs provide for day care? Did they open for more participation opportunities for their users than GOs? And did they offer more welfare quality and equality for their users? In order to discuss these questions, I will use the following indicators:

To discuss how NGO provision affects *welfare equality* I will look at tuition fee levels and admission regulations. Tuition fee levels and admission restrictions could affect equality for users, because some citizens may be prevented from becoming users due to the requirements of NGOs. Users may hesitate to choose an NGO with high tuitions for financial reasons. Users may also fail to meet the criteria for admission of an NGO with specialised interests.

To discuss how NGOs provide for *quality services* I will look at quality aspects such as opening hours and staff/child ratios. Quality aspects are crucial for the user, because they might limit the attractiveness of welfare available for citizens if the kind of welfare offered is not sufficient to meet the needs of some user groups.

To discuss how NGOs provide for *user participation* I will look at various forms of how users may be involved in shaping the welfare operation they depend on. Users could be involved, for example, in decision making, i.e., users may be represented on the board of an NGO. Board representation would offer real power to users, because decisions would be difficult to make without the agreement of users. Other forms of user participation are meetings, communication and special activities. Such forms of participation help users to be informed and to be able to express their preferences. In addition, they open up for informal influence opportunities, because users get in contact with managers and staff of a day care facility. As further forms of user partici-

pation I regard volunteering and work duties. Active work involvement helps users to become knowledgeable of routines and details of operations, which helps them to express their preferences to the management and staff of the day care facility.

Due to their historical importance, I will take a closer look at the welfare performance of day care facilities owned by parents on the one hand and, on the other hand, facilities owned by such traditional organisations as the Norwegian State Church, free churches and the Housewives' League. In my opinion it is interesting to examine both traditional NGOs and parent-owned NGOs, because they can be considered as two different types of NGOs. Traditional NGOs are usually initiated by larger organisations which pursue some general goals concerning societal life and which are active in various areas. Parent-owned NGOs, on the other hand, are initiated by users of day care in a grass-root manner, meaning that no central planning precedes the foundation of single NGOs via a larger organisation. Furthermore, they seldom have general societal goals, but are more concerned with meeting their clients' needs as user-providers of day care (Pestoff and Strandbrink 2002, Grosse 2007).

Public welfare organisations (GOs) and public regulations will be used as a standard or a background against which the achievements and/or failures of NGOs can be assessed concerning their ability to enhance *welfare equality, welfare quality* and *user participation*.

Regrettably, information is sparse, but I think that I can present some interesting material regarding the issues raised in this chapter about differences and similarities between NGOs and GOs.

1. User Participation

Theoretically, NGOs have great opportunities to provide for user participation in comparison with GOs (see above). The question is whether NGOs also empirically lived up to these expectations. Did NGOs encourage greater involvement of users in, for example, decision making, regular meetings, communication or activities? Furthermore, did NGOs involve users to a greater degree via volunteering, work duties or donations?

The results are mixed: some NGOs involved users to a larger extent than GOs, while others provided for even less participation than GOs.

In Sweden, all day care providers are fundamentally obliged to collaborate with parents since 1987. The National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) regards that it is the responsibility of the staff to promote collaboration, but provides no details regarding how collaboration should be facilitated. How relevant this obligation is in practice remains unclear (Pestoff and Strandbrink 2002).

More information can be obtained from case studies in which parents were asked about their participation in day care facilities (Vamstad 2007). Day care facilities

studied were owned either by municipalities, parent cooperatives or other NGOs (worker cooperatives).[3] As can be seen in Table 1 below, parents of parent coopera- tives differ from parents with children enrolled in GOs and other NGOs. Parents of parent cooperatives most often report that they are involved in cleaning, repairing and working at the day care center. This high share of involved parents in practical matters corresponds with the fact that parent cooperatives often report having *work obligations* for their members. Furthermore, most parents in parent cooperatives also contribute by *donating* materials and supplies.

Table 1: Sweden: Parents' participation in day care, by type of provider

	Municipal	Parent cooperative	Other NGO
Cleaning and repairs	43.7	94.6	22.7
Donation of materials and supplies	6.2	36.5	13.6
Work at the child care center	4.7	78.4	2.2
N	89	107	48

Source: Vamstad 2007
Note: share of "yes" answers of parents, %

User influence is likewise most often reported by parents in parent cooperatives: most of them have the experience of meetings with real power to decide on the op- eration of the day care facility. Again parents with children in GOs or other NGOs do not report the same level of influential involvement in their day care facilities (see Table 2).

Table 2: Sweden: Parents' participation in day care, by type of provider (share of parents participating)

	Municipal	Parent-cooperative	Other NGO
Meetings with power to decide	30.2	79.7	8.9
Meetings without power to decide	25.6	17.6	37.8
Written proposals	9.3	67.6	15.6
Informal talks	75.6	58.1	13.3
Information meetings	52.5	91.9	68.2
Parties	63.8	87.8	86.4
N	89	107	48

Source: Vamstad 2007
Note: share of "yes" answers of parents, %

Summarising the material from Sweden presented here, parent cooperatives seem to differ from other NGOs and GOs in terms of user involvement. Their parents are more often involved in all aspects of participation than parents connected to GOs and other NGOs. Thus there seems to be a difference between the special form of

user-owned parent cooperatives and all other forms of providers.

In Norway, regrettably, no similar case studies of user participation have been made. Instead, I will describe legal regulations and related issues in order to highlight possible conflicts over user participation in day care facilities of NGOs.

National regulations of day care stipulated that day care providers had "to develop their activity in close connection to children's parents" from 1975. Parents even won the right to be represented on the boards of day care facilities, but without having a majority (other representatives are from the municipality and owners; Day Care Acts 1975, 2005). Regulations were binding for NGOs and GOs alike.

Based on these regulations, it could have been expected that parents had a strong influence on operational matters. However, the stated right of parents to influence day care facilities, which was introduced in 1975, conflicted to some extent with the simultaneously stated right for day care owners to operate their facilities according to their convictions. In practice, this led to conflicts between clients and NGOs. On the one side, parents started to complain about the strong Christian orientation of some day care facilities, which they did not share, and claimed their right of influencing the education of their children. On the other side, NGOs owned by religious and traditional organisations claimed their right to shape their day care according to their convictions.

A political struggle unfolded between the Christian Peoples' Party and the left-wing opposition over how to amend the Day Care Act. The political struggle resulted in securing parents' influence on most facilities run by GOs and NGOs as the left-wing opposition had demanded. However, day care facilities with an explicit Christian orientation won the right to be exempted from taking parents' objections into consideration. The argument for introducing exemptions was that "there may be a need for a wider degree of freedom for some day care providers which were established with a more direct religious target group. Many parishes of the State Church, private organisations and other parishes provide day care which, in addition to a social orientation, is intended to teach clearly Christian content." "If parents apply for places in day care facilities with such statutes, the limitation on operational principles no longer exists, which is implied by 'in collaboration with children's homes'" (Ot.prp.nr. 75 1981-2; Author's translation). In other words, NGOs were allowed to disregard parents' wishes, if they had an explicit Christian orientation. These exemptions have again been confirmed in 2005 (Day Care Act 2005). Religious and traditional NGOs thus gained far-reaching freedom from public regulations. Contrary to theoretical expectations, however, they did not use this special freedom to enhance user influence on their facilities, but rather in order to limit otherwise granted rights of users.

In my opinion, the struggle highlights problems with assuming that NGOs per se will act as safeguards for more user influence to a greater degree than GOs. On the

contrary it shows that NGOs that often have more freedom from public regulations than GOs may use their freedom in order to limit users' influence.

User Participation: A Summary

The findings of this section show that it is neither useful to assume that NGOs act homogeneously as promoters of user participation, nor that GOs act as adversaries. NGOs differed from publicly regulated GOs as well in providing for more participation as in providing for less participation. While traditional NGOs seem to have been less inclined to allow for parents' influence on their services, parent-owned NGOs surpassed all other providers in engaging parents.

This marked difference could be rooted in differences of ownership. Traditional NGOs have been founded in a top-down manner of larger organisations, e.g., churches. Since such NGOs are incorporated into larger organisations, they are to some degree confronted with expectations from their parent organisations. They usually have wider religious goals, which may reduce their willingness to respond to secular user demands.

By contrast, parent cooperatives, which are founded in a grassroot manner, are only accountable to their member users. Their unique characteristic is that owners, members and users are the same persons. Frictions between owners and users are therefore hardly to expect (Possible conflicts can only originate between owner-users or between users on one side and the employed staff on the other side). Users have direct and easy access to the management, which helps to secure real decision power for users. Furthermore, users may be more inclined to donate and work in an organisation that they own and have influence upon. The special owner-user relation of parent-owned NGOs could thus be argued to be the main reason why they are outstanding in terms of user participation.

A further reason for a high degree of involvement in parent-owned day care facilities may be the small scale of such facilities. A comparison with Scandinavian housing cooperatives may illustrate this argument.[4]

Although users and owners in housing cooperatives are on an equal footing and have similar rights and opportunities to exert influence, users in such cooperatives are mostly passive: for example, only a minority of users attends meetings and votes on decisions (Bengtsson 1998). The passivity of users in housing cooperatives may be a consequence of the large scale. Housing cooperatives have thousands of users, which renders personal acquaintance with all users and decision makers impossible. Likewise, delegation of power to representatives on upper levels of the organisation gives users only indirect influence and indirect access to decision makers.[5]

In contrast, in such small organisations as parental day care, everyone is personally acquainted with all users and decision makers. Furthermore, users do not delegate power, but decide themselves.[6]

2. Welfare quality

Staff/child Ratios, Opening hours, Child age, Curricula

What is high quality of day care? One simple definition of quality would be that costly day care is of higher quality than less costly day care. Day care with higher staff/child ratios, longer opening hours and younger children would then be of higher quality (than such with lower staff/child ratios, shorter opening hours and older children).

Day care with higher staff/child ratios, longer opening hours and younger children is usually more expensive than other forms of day care (Blom-Hansen 1998). This is mainly due to higher expenses for staff. Day care with higher staff/child ratios is usually more expensive, because it involves a larger number of employees. Likewise, day care for younger children, i.e., children under the age of three, is more expensive, because requirements for staff/child ratios are higher than for day care for older children. Longer opening hours usually also demand more resources, because salaries for regular staff members are higher than for irregular staff members and, in addition, unsocial hours allowance is higher, too.

However, it is problematic to establish the meaning of quality by objective measuring methods only. Users' subjective demands should be taken into consideration, too. Parents' preferences are especially important when considering curricula, because curricula are difficult to rank with the help of objective measuring. Therefore, the quality of day care from a parents' demands perspective will be taken into consideration as often as possible.

Sweden

In Sweden, NGOs again had only limited freedom concerning their choice of how to set up their day care services. Regulations on staff/child ratios, in force since the 1960s, were demanding. Furthermore, financing for short-time day care and older children became less and less available from the 1960s onwards. This had the effect that, in order to obtain public financing, day care providers were forced to offer a certain quality level of staff/child ratios, opening hours and services for younger children. In combination with a general queueing system for children for both GOs and NGOs, variation can again be said to have been restricted. One could argue that these regulations have partly contributed to the fact that NGOs differ so little from GOs concerning child age, opening hours and staff/child ratios (Knutsen 1990, Råd och anvisningar 1963, nr 163, Socialstyrelsen anser 1978, nr 2, Rostgaard and Fridberg 1998, Skolverket. Barnomsorg, skola och vuxenutbildning).

Curricula, however, seem to differ between NGOs and GOs. GOs predominantly follow the guidelines of the National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen),

which comprise a mixture of different pedagogical approaches and activities. NGOs, on the other hand, often offer specialised curricula with an emphasis on arts, outdoor activities or pedagogic approaches such as those of Montessori or Waldorf (Pestoff and Strandbrink 2002). In this regard, one can indeed speak of quality differences between GOs and NGOs.

What is the view of parents on the quality of GOs and NGOs in Sweden? Parent surveys indicate that parents have few complaints about quality, be it in GOs or in NGOs. Generally, Swedish parents are fairly satisfied with day care provision (Ds 2001:57). As a study indicates, quality aspects such as the number of children's groups or pedagogic approaches hardly play a role for parents' choice of day care facilities. They seem to choose day care facilities predominantly according to how close they are to their homes, their first impressions of a facility, a good reputation or simply availability (Sundell 1995). Exemptions, however, are parents of parent-co-operatives. They state that choosing a parent-cooperative was based on their special interest in being involved in such a form of day care provision. Furthermore, they also regard pedagogic approaches as crucial reasons for joining a parent-cooperative (Sundell 1995).

In sum, the results for Sweden suggest that GOs and NGOs are rather similar concerning the quality level of day care: They provide day care with similar opening hours, child age groups and staff/child ratios. Nor seem parents to perceive GOs or NGOs as different alternatives, although NGOs often offer special pedagogic approaches. The only exemptions are parent cooperatives, which many parents prefer to all other providers, because of their interest in special pedagogic approaches and a special form of organisation.

Norway

In Norway, NGOs had a different situation with less regulation until 2005. Regulations on staff/child ratios, opening hours and child age groups were less demanding than in Sweden. This situation may have influenced the large variations between GOs and NGOs concerning opening hours and attending children's age (see Figure 2).[7]

As can be seen in the graph, GOs offered longer opening hours and included to a higher degree younger children in their day care provision than NGOs. NGOs, on the other hand, first offered predominantly short-time day care for older children. This picture started to change around 1990, when NGOs began to extend their services towards longer opening hours and younger children. In the mid-1990s then, NGOs got ahead of GOs concerning provision for younger children and longer opening hours; today they provide slightly more full-time day care for younger children than GOs.

Figure 2. Norway: GOs' and NGOs' opening hours and age of children
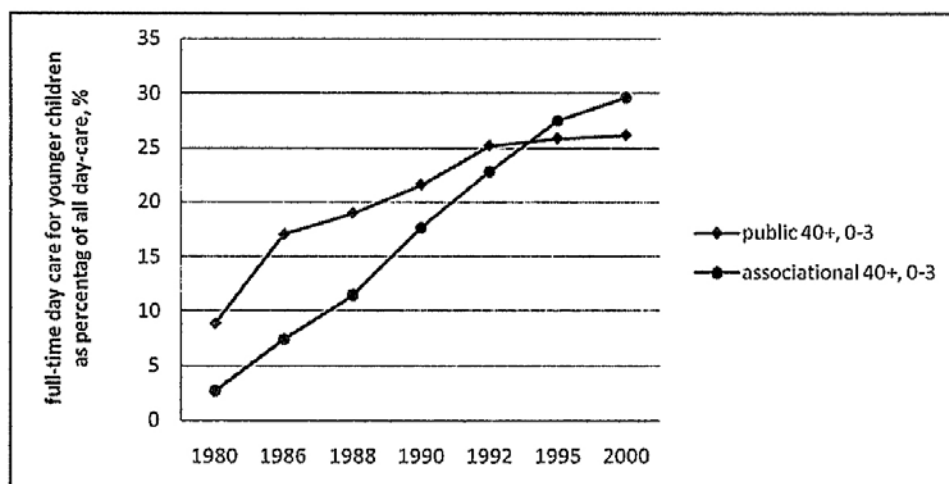
Source: Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

It should be noted that the narrowing of the gap between NGOs and GOs occurred without legal regulation of opening hours or child age groups. Generally, the development of child care in Norway has been a constant shift towards longer opening hours and the inclusion of younger children since the 1980s. While in 1980 only 6 % of all day care was provided as full-time day care for younger children, the share of this form of day care had more than quadrupled to 28 % in 2000. This indicates a homogeneous pressure from parents on all providers to extend their opening hours and child age groups.

Parents' increased demands for long-time day care for younger children could also have been the reason for the rise and fall of various types of NGOs, because not all NGOs increased their opening hours and admitted younger children.

As has been mentioned above, the position of NGOs on the day care 'market' changed in the decades between 1980 and 2000 (see also Figure 1). While traditional NGOs – such as housewives' leagues and churches – ran around 65 % of NGO-led facilities in 1980 (30 % including public facilities), their share dropped to 16 % in 2000 (8 % including public facilities). Other NGOs – owned by parents and individuals – stepped into their place and saw their shares rising from 15 % to 60 % of NGO-led facilities (30 % of all providers).

The decrease of traditional NGOs could be interpreted as a result of their unwillingness to follow the trend towards long hours and younger children in day care. They still offered only about 15 % of their places in form of this new kind of day care provision in 2000, while on average NGOs offered 30 % (see Table 3 and Figure 2).

Table 3: Norway: Younger children with full-time day care as percentage of enrolled children by ownership, %

	Public organisations	Associations					All providers	Enrolled children, total
	Municipalities, counties, state	Private organisations[2]	Parishes, denominational organisations	Employers	Parents	Individuals		
1990	22	13	7	32	37	26	20	139,350
1995	26	8	10	43	28	41	27	188,213
2000	26	16	13	41	29	35	28	189,837

[1] *younger children* 0-3 years old, *full-time*: 40+ hours per week
[2] including the Housewives' League
Note: The categories of public statistics partly changed over time
Source: Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)

On the other hand, the increase in market shares for parent- and individually owned NGOs could be a result of their largely extended hours and provision for younger children. Around 30 % of their day care places offered long opening hours and were for young children, which was on par with the average for NGOs (see Table 3 and Figure 2).

Thus, it seems that NGOs that were not willing to follow the trend towards long hours for younger children eventually saw themselves reduced from a prominent to a marginal position on the day-care market. This development seems to indicate that the relative success of NGOs was driven by an increased demand by parents for long-time day care for younger children.

Another reason for the rise and fall of various NGOs could have been their different offerings of specific curricula. As I described in the former section, NGOs owned by churches often had an explicit Christian orientation of their day care, against which many parents had objected. This contradiction between offered curricula and parents' demands for influence could have been a reason for parents to choose other day care providers than traditional NGOs. It is thinkable that parent-owned day care could have been especially attractive for such parents. Thus, the transformation of predominant day care NGOs could also have been influenced by parents' demands for a change of curricula.

Welfare Quality: A Summary

Considering the whole time span examined here, I think it is possible to conclude that NGOs on average did not offer more quality to parents than GOs. This is especially the case when considering staff/child ratios, opening hours and child age groups.

Nevertheless, it could still be argued that NGOs offered greater variation of quality in otherwise rather standardised public provision. NGOs more often offered special-

ised services concerning curricula, but also opening hours and child age groups. Due to these variations, parents had more opportunities to choose specialised day care according to their liking. For example, parents who demanded special pedagogic approaches may have found a better alternative in parent-owned NGOs than in public provision. Likewise, parents who searched for a distinctively Christian education of their children may have been more satisfied with church-owned than public day care. In this sense, NGOs could be argued to have used their greater freedom from public regulation to enhance welfare quality for users.

This argumentation, however, depends on circumstances in which parents really have the opportunity to choose among several day care providers. This could be so in the case of good day care supply by various different NGOs. Historically, however, this has not been the case in Norway, where traditional NGOs dominated 30 % of day care supply during the 1980s, a period of general day care shortage (Figure 1, Blom-Hansen 1998). Complaints by parents indicate that some parents had been critical of the day care offered by traditional NGOs, but had nevertheless been forced to rely on them for day care. This shows that specialised NGOs may fail to enhance the quality of services for users if other options are limited (see also the previous section). This is in contrast to hopes that NGOs will provide more quality than GOs.

Another hope expressed at the beginning was that NGOs will offer higher quality to users, because they can act more flexibly than GOs regarding user demands. Contrary to expectations, traditional NGOs seem to have been particularly inflexible in adjusting their services to parents' demands. They were the least inclined of all providers to extend their opening hours or to admit younger children. They also insisted on their right to shape their day care according to their convictions, potentially against parents' wishes. It seems that traditional NGOs accepted a decline of their market position rather than adjusting their services in accordance with user demands. This shows that NGOs, although having greater freedom than public providers, may act contrary to hopes for more quality of services by NGOs.

Parent-owned NGOs, on the other hand, had reacted early to demands for longer opening hours and younger child groups. They even offered more of such day care than public providers. Here it is therefore possible to speak of a flexible reaction to new user demands, which would be in line with expectations of superior quality of services of NGOs.

3. Welfare Equality

Tuition Fee Levels

In Sweden, the *National Board of Health and Welfare* (Socialstyrelsen) and the *National Agency for Education* (Skolverket) assumed that NGOs usually charged higher tuition fees than municipal providers until the 2000s. Day-care NGOs were relatively free to set their tuition fee levels, because only non-binding recommendations were given from the *National Board of Health and Welfare*. The recommendations stated that parent fees may be set at a level which "did not prevent parents from applying for day care" and which were "commensurate with parents' income" (see, for example, Råd och anvisningar 1963, nr 163; Socialstyrelsen anser 1978, nr 2; Author's translations). However, fee levels were not monitored and NGOs were not obliged to strictly follow regulations.

In 2003, mandatory maximum levels were introduced, which were progressively related to the incomes of parents (the so-called *maxtaxa*). Recent studies show that NGOs managed to adjust their fees and afterwards did not differ from GOs concerning tuition levels (Skolverket 2003:231; 2005:261).

In Norway, no recommendations for tuition levels existed until 2005. Until then, NGOs charged higher parent fees than municipal providers. In 2002, for example, parent fees for an average full-time place at a day care NGO corresponded to 125 % of municipal day care fees (NGOs: NOK 3400 , GOs: NOK 2700; Innst.S. nr 250 2002-2003).

NGOs first lowered their tuition levels with the introduction of mandatory maximum levels in 2005 (the so-called *maxtaxa*). Since 2005, NGOs charge tuitions from parents at parity with GOs (Rauan 2005). However, no income-related or sibling discount of fees is demanded by law. As a result, NGOs usually do not provide for such discounts, while municipal providers regularly do (Rauan 2005).

In sum, as long as NGOs were free to set their tuition levels, they tended to charge higher fees and offer less reduction for actual means than GOs in Sweden and Norway.

User Admission

In Sweden, NGOs had limited opportunities to influence user admission, because they were obliged to admit children according to their place in municipal-wide queues since 1976 (SFS 1976:381, 396).[8] One could say that the incorporation of NGOs into these queueing systems turned NGOs into *quasi* public providers with regard to user admission.

Despite the high degree of admission regulations in Sweden, clients of NGOs differ in some regards from clients of GOs. Parents of children attending NGOs

are more often of Swedish origin and have higher education levels. For example, only 3 % of children whose parents were born abroad attend NGOs compared to 10 % of children with Swedish parents. Further, only 3 % of children with non-academic parents attend NGOs compared to 18 % of children with academic parents (Skolverket 2000). This indicates a selection process, which however originates in user, not in provider choices. Due to the good availability of child care since the 1990s, parents often receive a place in the facility they prefer. Parents' preferences can therefore explain the differences between users in GOs and NGOs.

In Norway, NGOs were free to choose among clients according to their own preferences. This was in the first place due to the fact that municipal day care plans were not enacted until 2005. Until then, NGOs had great freedom concerning user admission. But even after the introduction of child care plans, NGOs could be exempted. The "variety and particularity" of NGOs should be taken into consideration by municipalities which monitored the application of day care plans (Child Care Act 2005).

Regrettably, there are no studies showing whether NGOs used their freedom to select among clients, but it can be assumed that NGOs that committed themselves to strong value orientations would tend to follow their own goals also concerning whom they wanted to have as clients of their facilities (see also above on how such NGOs insisted on their right to develop curricula against the wishes of parents).

Welfare Equality: A Summary

It is noteworthy that in both countries NGOs tended to charge higher tuition fees than GOs as long as they were not publicly restricted (concerning user admission the picture remains unclear). This is the only clear differences between NGOs and GOs that was apparent in both countries. In this sense, it can be said that NGOs offered less equal access for users than GOs, because users of less affluent strata may have avoided choosing an NGO due to higher tuition fees.

Conclusion

The question raised at the beginning was whether the hopes of European states and the European Union are justified that NGOs could improve social cohesion via providing more *equal access* to *higher quality* services and more *user participation*. Such hopes were supported by earlier research which attested NGOs' more flexible internal organisation, more freedom from public standardisation and higher degrees of volunteering, donating and work duties. The findings, however, are mixed.

NGOs and GOs

It was seldom the case that NGOs as a whole differed from public providers in either country. The only clear difference between NGOs and public providers was that NGOs charged higher tuition fees as long as they had not been subjected to public regulation. This indicates that, contrary to expectations, NGOs provided less equal access than public providers.

Concerning the *quality* of services, NGOs and GOs were rather similar. Only in Norway, GOs for some time offered more quality in terms of longer opening hours and younger child groups, but this difference disappeared as a consequence of an improvement in the provision by NGOs.

Finally, neither could *user participation* be said to have been higher in NGO-led facilities than in publicly regulated GOs.

This lack of differences between NGOs and GOs is partly due to strong public regulation of day-care provision by NGOs. Especially in Sweden, public regulations were rather detailed and comprehensive. Regulations were issued, for example, concerning length of opening hours, staff/child ratios and admission of children. More recently, regulations have also included tuition fees. Norway followed in most aspects rather late in 2005 with the only exception of parent influence on day care: parents relatively early gained a right to be represented on the board of a day care facility, which gave them more influence than parents are entitled to in Sweden.

Public regulations on day care limit the freedom of NGOs 'to make a difference' and can therefore be argued to be a reason for similarities between NGOs and public providers.

Another reason for similarities could be demand pressure from parents. Parents' demands for longer opening hours and day care for younger children had an equalisation effect on day care provided by NGOs and GOs as the example of Norway shows. However, the influence of parents was limited concerning different tuition fee levels: they were first lowered by NGOs when they became publicly regulated.

Based on a comparison of average provision by NGOs and GOs, it could be concluded that NGOs seldom make a difference concerning *quality* and *user participa-*

tion. The only difference seems to be that they tend to charge higher tuition fees and thus offer *less welfare equality* than public providers. The hopes of European governments and the EU of improving welfare provision via NGO involvement do not seem to have been realised when comparing average provision.

Nevertheless, I think it would be premature to conclude that NGOs provide 'just the same' welfare with less equality. NGOs differed widely from each other and to some extent offered welfare of high quality and strong participation by parents.

Differences between NGOs

The two predominant types of NGOs are on the one hand parent-owned NGOs in Norway and Sweden and on the other hand traditional NGOs, founded by organisations such as the Norwegian State Church, free churches and the Housewives' League in Norway. These two types of NGOs differed to a large degree concerning the *quality* of welfare and the degree to which they involved *users*.

Traditional NGOs provided day care that was not appreciated by all their users and that eventually led to their decline in Norway. They maintained, for example, short opening hours and a focus on older children, despite parent demand for longer opening hours and care for children under the age of three. Furthermore, religious NGOs did not change their curricula in cases of parents' complaints, but proceeded with shaping their curricula according to their own convictions. Therefore, the *welfare quality* of traditional NGOs is regarded as comparably low.

Traditional NGOs also limited *user influence* on their day care operations. They sought and gained legal exemption from the stated right of parents to influence the day care given to their children.

Parent-owned NGOs, on the other hand, provided day care of high *quality* and a high degree of *user participation*.

In difference to traditional NGOs, parent-owned NGOs reacted flexibly to arising parent demands in Norway. They soon prolonged their opening hours and offered day care also for younger children. Parent-owned NGOs also taught curricula which were appreciated by parents, as evidence from Sweden shows. The *quality* of day care provided by parent-owned NGOs can therefore be regarded as high. In this regard, parent-owned NGOs excel in comparison with traditional NGOs and to some extent also GOs.

Likewise, *user participation* is far greater in parent-owned NGOs than in facilities of other providers. They provide for a high degree of influence for users as well as high degrees of social activities, donating and work participation.

In sum, traditional NGOs did not live up to the expectations that NGOs would improve *welfare quality* and *user influence* due to their abilities to react more flexibly and to provide less standardised welfare than GOs, while parent-owned NGOs clear-

ly acted in accordance with such expectations. It could be concluded that improving *welfare quality* and, especially, *user participation* can not necessarily be achieved by involving NGOs *per se*, but by involving specific types of NGOs.

Notes

[1] This can be seen, for example, in the adoption of a *Strategy for social cohesion* by the Council of Europe, the creation of a standing Committee for Social Exclusion by the European Commission, the recurrent usage of the term in European official documents and the development of indicators to measure social cohesion by Eurostat.

[2] Eurostat provides another definition: "Social cohesion relates to the degree to which individuals and groups within a particular society are bound by common feeling of consensus, share common values and goals and relate to one another on a co-operative basis."

It specifies: "In the promotion of social cohesion the following core concerns are: a) the extent of inequalities in terms of income, health and other living conditions as it affects different groups, for example, older people, children, women, migrants, long-term unemployed, people with disabilities, etc.; b) the effective reduction of inequalities through the formal systems of social protection, education and health; and c) the trends in social participation; i.e. the development in the extent to which citizens contribute more directly to the construction and consolidation of social cohesion through their participation in economic, political and social life " (Eurostat 2001, quoted by Fraisse et al. 2004).

[3] The studies were made in two larger Swedish cities: Stockholm and Östersund (Vamstad 2007).

[4] Scandinavian housing cooperatives are different from most Continental housing cooperatives in having continuous collective ownership of apartments. All users, i.e., tenant-owners, are members of the cooperative and have democratic decision powers.

[5] Housing cooperatives have at least two decision levels above the closest neighborhood level (a municipal, a regional and to some degree even a national decision level).

[6] The comparison is flawed for various reasons, but I will use it to point out one possible reason for differences in user involvement between day care and housing (technical and financial levels of knowledge are, for example, further differences between user-owners of day-care facilities and housing cooperatives).

[7] To my knowledge, there are no studies on staff/child ratios which differentiate between GOs and NGOs.

[8] The criteria for these queueing systems were mainly based on waiting time and parents' work situation. In addition, they also provided for special rights for children with disability problems and siblings of already attending children.

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Part II Future Workshop – A Method for Empowerment

Governance and Collaborative Planning Practice, The Change in Urban Planning Methods – Examples from Germany

Sabine von Löwis and Ingo Neumann

Abstract

During the last four decades, role and power of the state has changed and a piece-meal shift from urban government to urban governance could have been observed. Simultaneously there has been a communicative turn in planning theory and practice. Strategic urban planning practice has transformed itself deeply from master planning to collaborative planning approaches. Numerous communication and workshop methods have emerged to develop and design urban environment together with the public.

In the following, Future Workshops will be analysed in the framework of a descriptive comparison of empowerment workshop methods, primarily developed as government tools in the 1960/70th to improve planning processes and participation in democratic decision making. The main questions discussed here are whether such empowerment workshop methods are still suitable in governance contexts of today and how these strategic urban planning tools can be applied for empowering citizens in urban governance processes. Thus issues of empowerment methods will be analyzed concerning time and phase within strategic urban planning processes. Aim, purpose and the intended results of the method and target group and stakeholders involved are discussed. The article is structured into five sections. The term 'empowerment (workshop) method' is explained in the first section and criteria for describing and distinguishing various empowerment workshop methods are formulated. One of these empowerment methods is the Future Workshop, developed by Robert Jungk as a government tool in the 1960th. Today the Future Workshop is a common tool in strategic urban planning practice (cf. chapter 2). Traditional informatory workshops and discussion forums are often used and more familiar than Future Workshops. They are used to inform citizens and provide an opportunity to

discuss concrete solutions of experts. Chapter 3 aims at a descriptive comparison of empowerment workshop methods. In Chapter 4 we combine the results of Chapter 2 and 3 focussing on the following questions: With whom, for which dimension of involvement and in which policy stage Future Workshops are more appropriate? Conditions and circumstances of the application in strategic urban planning practices are discussed. This clarifies the use and shows pitfalls and (dis-)advantages of Future Workshop in urban governance contexts. In the final conclusion (cf. chapter 5) we summarize the appropriateness of Future Workshop and other empowerment methods as strategic urban planning tools in the light of urban governance.

1. Governance and Collaborative Planning Practice, the Change in Urban Planning Methods

With the shift from government to governance the role and power of the municipalities has changed. Hierarchy has been successfully challenged by the introduction of market mechanisms. Governance themselves has changed to governing via a variety of stakeholders (Rhodes 1997, 2007). In governance contexts citizens have to be empowered to be able to be a part of the governance process. This means to be able to deal with politicians and the administration but also to be capable of acting in cross-actor coordination. Empowerment does not only mean the participation of the individual citizens but also the integration of the citizenship in a collaborative planning process which coordinates the organized public with stakeholders, lobbies and interest groups.

The empowerment strategy "[…] is steeped in the belief that there is something inherent in the values of local government that makes it an appropriate vehicle to bring coherence to local action. The sheer scope and scale of local government, its multi-functionality and capacity for coordination across a wide spatial and functional territory combined with its democratic base and relationship with citizens, whether individually or as communities of place, interest and identity render it the most appropriate repository for community leadership, and through this, the achievement of 'joined-up' local governance." (Sullivan 2005: p. 13)

Since the 1970th in contemporary democratic societies there has been a rising number of methods in the urban planning context dealing with the empowerment of citizens to help them improve the quality of their living environment. Today the application of appropriate empowerment methods, developed as government tools in the 1970th, has to be seen in a new perspective. In a governance perspective the power relations within society changed. Politicians are only one group of many other decision makers. This results in a reduced influence by the state. Workshop methods can give less powerful people (individuals or the organized public) a voice in the political arena and thus change the power structure towards their advantage. Empow-

erment methods should not only activate citizens in the neighborhood. They may also help to ensure that citizens are involved in public and private decision-making processes. Since the communicative turn in the planning theory and practice in the 1980/1990th "planning through debate" (Healey 1998: p. 234ff.) of collaborative planning is a common practice. Today collaborative "[…] planning is an interactive and interpretive process, focusing 'deciding and acting' within a range of special-ised allocative and authoritative systems but drawing on the multidimensionality of 'liveworlds' or 'practical sense', rather than a single formalized dimension. [...] Formal techniques of analysis and design in planning processes are but one form of discourse. Planning processes should be enriched by discussion of moral dilemmas and aesthetic experience, using a wide range of presentational forms [...]" (Healey 1998: p. 247). Meanwhile it belongs to standard skills of urban planners to be able to design communication processes (Rösener and Selle 2005). Different methods of communication are used at all levels of urban development. They address all kind of time and spatial scales, from developing a housing area for the near future to the development of future visions for a whole region. With the communicative turn a new understanding of empowerment methods has emerged. Such empowerment workshop methods have two main reasons: (1) to bring urban planning closer to the people and (2) to bring the people closer to the local decisions and actions. Today empowerment workshop methods are used to improve communication with stakeholders and the public in general. That is, with the citizens as individuals and citizens' initiatives, as well as with lobbies and common-interest groups forming the organized public. The organized public as well as the local administration and the local politicians recognize that citizens have rich experience and knowledge in daily practices which may contribute to good solutions for a planning problem. To im-prove urban planning communication there are many good reasons to use participa-tive methods (Bischoff et al. 2005: pp. 21):

  - to get people involved reveals a lot of information about the issue to be planned for;
  - it helps to aknowledge early in the process where hindrance and opposition may take place;
  - conflicts may be avoided through involvement and participation;
  - it may accelerate the process;
  - it activates and mobilizes people; and
  - it develops identification with the product of the planning process.

The empowerment workshop methods discussed below in general are one or a se-quence of workshops or informal meetings in the context of strategic urban planning processes. In these workshops people come together and meet in a conclave atmo-sphere to be devoted to a selected topic relevant for urban planning (cf. Lipp and

Will 1996: p. 13). It is not just an informal happening or a gathering for the citizenship (e.g. a district party) but it is a work meeting. Workshop means working like a craftsman or an artist in an atelier. Empowerment methods are not just workshops with a few participants but may also be big group events such as Open Space Conferences, 'Planning for Real' Workshops or Future Search Conferences.

Urban planning deals with a number of interests within space. The top down approach of making a plan and implement it as planned has proven to be false. Planning acquires knowledge, interest and creativity of people who will later use the area currently developed. But not only those will use the area but also others affected by it as economic, social, political or ecological stakeholders. The participants of empowerment workshop methods are citizens, people concerned (e.g. of deprived neighbourhoods or of districts with special development needs) and other stakeholders. A stakeholder analysis is to be done to define these people. Already the German Building Code defines a long list of stakeholders that have to be involved in the planning process. Their interests have to be balanced. Empowerment workshop methods are much more than an open session of the common council for individual citizens, interest and advocacy groups. Most often local politicians and employees of the municipality are involved and have to be involved too.

Important for empowerment workshop methods is the overall time budget. The duration for a single event is usually from one to three days up to one week. Some empowerment workshop methods require not only single events but a sequence of events that may happen regularly from week to week or month to month with an overall duration of several weeks or almost several months. They should be different from daily or weekly routine meetings or "Jour-fixe". Important is the work in a context outside the daily chore and the routine work of the participants.

Generally Gothe differentiates between process-related, project-related and big-group events (Gothe 2006) when talking about communication and participation related events. This differentiation refers to time frame and size of the empowerment workshop method. An empowerment within a project-related event is mainly reached for a certain time while the project is running. An empowerment in a process-related event activates people over a longer period of time, while big-group events empower and motivate people for a single big event.

Besides the issues which may improve a planning process and a planning product, there are political issues which may be encouraged by communication and participation processes. Bottom-up initiatives put the hierarchical top-down model of decision making into question. Furthermore civil society is asked to develop a consensus on issues in the development of societies, which is relevant for the urban planning context. Eventually the empowerment workshop methods support democracy and add another element to the democratic system. Finally they produce responsibility at the local and individual level. An important element of empowerment workshop

methods is the level of involvement. Skelcher distinguishes seven stages of involvement in local public services with an increasing power of the citizens from 'bureaucratic paternalism' (1) to 'decisions devolved to citizens' (7). 'Information provision' (2), 'seeking opinions' (3), 'discussion of proposals' (4), 'citizen exploration of issues, goals and choice (5) and 'joint –decision- making' (6) (Skelcher 1993: pp. 14). Only the last three stages (5-7) have strategic and structural implications to power relations. That means citizens exert influence to the definition and specification of urban policies and the application of resources. Citizens gain power to decide which issues are important and who has access to decision-making.

A typical differentiation of involvement used in spatial planning literature is the distinction between information, participation and decision-influencing methods (Bischoff et al. 2005). The focus is on the way of engagement of people in the process. While information is a rather passive communication strategy, participation and decision-influencing methods better get people involved. The term "information" refers to providing and to receiving information. "Participation" refers to get third parties involved in the planning and development process of a certain project. Decision-influencing methods indicate the collaboration and team-work of individuals with direct or indirect decision competence within planning and development projects. Another differentiation uses the items information, consultation and decision-influencing (Bischoff, Selle, Sinning 2005: p. 10, Austrian Society for Environment and Technology 2007: p. 9).

Empowerment workshop methods in the urban context are used as an information meeting and as a civil society tool to take into account interests of less powerful people. Empowerment workshop methods may propose a new power relationship between political institutions (state, organized public) and the individual citizens to reach a new political culture and a civil society. They are intended to provide opportunities for political influence next to the conventional democratic ways like elections and representation in interest groups. Alongside the goal of empowerment knowledge creation and the acceleration of collective learning within the municipality are significant aspects of a collaborative planning process.

In conclusion, important elements of empowerment workshop methods described in this article are: (1) the work in a group of persons and/or stakeholders concerned with one topic of strategic urban planning practice (2) for a period of time outside the daily chore and the routine work of the participants, (3) moderated by a facilitator (4) with specific tools and techniques for the purpose of empowerment and commitment and the goal of consultation and decision-influencing. The extent to which the intended empowerment can be achieved remains questioned.

The policy process and the involvement of citizens in the policy process do have different dimensions. Philipps and Orsini (2002: p. 9) differentiate eight dimensions similar to the reasons mentioned above for participating in a planning process. The dimensions are:

- The *mobilizing interest* of allowing a public space and encouraging citizen to develop positions.
- The *claims making* which allows the individual to express their interests, positions and values.
- The *knowledge acquisition* allows the sharing of knowledge.
- The *spanning and bridging* supports the communication and exchange across a broad span of society.
- The *convening and deliberating* enables direct participation and dialogue to exercise citizenship skills and horizontal bonds.
- The *community capacity building* allows for building social capital.
- The *analysis and synthesis* collects and reports the results of citizen involvement for further use in policy-making.
- The *transparency and feedback* demonstrates the citizen involvement in decision-making processes.

Those dimensions are relevant in different stages of the policy process (c.f. Table 1).

Table 1. Dimensions of Citizen Involvement in Stages of the Policy Processes

	I. Problem Identification	II. Priority Setting	III. Policy Formulation	IV. Passage of Policy Instr.	V. Implementation	VI. Evaluation
Mobilizing Interest	Very important					
Claims Making	Very important	Very important	Very important	Very important		
Knowledge Acquisition	Important		Very Important		Very Important	Very important
Spanning & Bridging	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important	Very Important		
Convening & Deliberating	Important		Important			
Community Capacity Building	Important				Very important	
Analysis & Synthesis			Important			
Transparency & Feedback				Very Important		Very important

(Source: own illustration according to Philipps and Orsini 2002: p. 16)

Communication in strategic urban planning practices is characterized by a number of qualities. Communication and empowerment workshop methods can be used in different ways. In the following chapter the Who, the What, the Why and the How of Future Workshops in the urban planning context will be addressed. In the following sections the same will be done for other event types which finally will lead to a comparison.

2. Application of Future Workshops in the Urban Planning Context

The Future Workshop developed by Robert Jungk in the 1960ies was intended to open decision-making processes to the public reaching a grassroot democracy. It is characterized by a very structured process, creative tools and instruments. Future Workshops are applicable when creative and manifold solutions are possible and required and when there are almost open frame conditions and little constraints.

In a Future Workshop citizens work together on a joint, desirable and possible future. The opportunity to realize the aspired future is verified or tested. Future Workshop is an event type to collect ideas and to solve problems for a special issue (Albers and Broux 1999: p. 11). The phases of the Future Workshop are very typical for the method (Jungk and Müllert 1989): First of all there is a critique phase consisting of a topic related appraisal of problems and negative experiences. Second, in a phantasm or utopia phase, critical points are turned in a positive direction and utopias are developed. Finally there is an implementation phase where utopias are reviewed in terms of their realization.

The three steps follow generally as Jungk proposes them but may vary concerning the aim, the time frame, the participants and the qualification of the moderator. Related to this the balance between the intuitive-creative and rational-analytic methods may diversify.

Future workshops are used in many urban and regional planning contexts from small scale to larger scale developments, which may be the improvement or development of a schoolyard or the revitalization of an urban neighbourhood.

Relevant participants in urban planning context are citizens of the city related to the topic and issue of planning. This can be children, young adults, women, senior citizens. Bischoff et al. (2005) state that Future Workshops are applicable for all individuals. Especially academics as well as children and young adults are suited for the method since they have an easier access to methods and tools for creative problem solving. If the aim is to involve discriminated citizens, there needs to be a careful preparation of the Future Workshop.

The Future Workshop was originally developed for citizen groups with limited resources who wanted "a say" in decision making processes. It is a technique meant to

shed light on a common problematic situation, to generate visions about the future, and to discuss how these visions can be realised (Apel 2004: p. 2). It enables citizens or inhabitants of a special district or a special group (e.g. children, women, migrants) to interact with each other. And it is a stimulation tool to brace the citizens to solve problems in their district/neighborhood autonomously. It is used for many reasons, as for example (Bischoff et al. 2005; Ködelpeter 2003):

- certain solutions and ideas for a problem or project,
- long-term perspectives for the work of citizen groups or other organizations (e.g. visioning, Leitbild development),
- social and political creativity in different action fields at different levels (local to global) (e. g. Local Agenda 21),
- overcoming disinterest of citizens,
- strengthen non-organized interests (e. g. children, youth, elderly).

Future Workshops are suitable especially for small scale areas (e.g. district, residential area). It is used for working on solutions for buildings to the development of open space areas, developing new urban sites and renewal and revitalization of existing neighborhoods. It can also be used for the planning of a landscape conservation area (Green Centre in the Main Valley).

The Future Workshop has developed to a planning instrument and method frequently used to increase creativity in a planning process. Looking at the application concerning time and phase in the planning process, the Future Workshop can be a rather project related or a process related method if the developed solution is implemented. If it is not it may stay a project related empowerment method with no consequences for the further process of implementation.

The aim and purpose of the Future Workshop is to come to a creative solution for a certain planning issue in a certain place. The purpose very much depends on the context, the workshop is applied in. While the dominant target group in the past were citizens, not being able or having difficulties to involve in decision making processes, today the Future Workshop is open to everybody from child to pensioner, from academics to artists, from the shop owner to the stockbroker.

The relevance of Future Workshop for the decision making process is rather low, since the Future Workshop has turned out to be a method to develop creative ideas that will not necessarily be implemented but used for further planning processes. This notion very much depends on how the Future Workshop is organized within the planning process and within the decision making process. For that reason the Future Workshop is a flexible instrument, which may have strong influence or rather low influence depending on the process.

Reflecting the Future Workshop as contribution to the empowerment of people within a new governance context of a multiplicity of networks and stakeholders

involved, the method allows for the identification of the problem, the setting of priorities and the formulation and design of the decision. Beyond that the Future Workshop can be applied for the purpose to design, implement and evaluate the decision and concept made.

3. Different Empowerment Workshop Methods in Strategic Urban Planning Practices

Besides the Future Workshop, different informatory and drafting workshops are established methods in the strategic urban planning context. All of them conduct the participation processes in a structured and efficient way and combine impulse-oriented information with creation of new ideas and solutions away from well-trodden paths. Consultation oriented empowerment workshop methods like the Roundtable and Future Search Conference are a combination of drafting and informatory empowerment workshop methods (cf. chapter 3.1). Planning Cell, 'Planning for Real' Workshop and Open Space Conference are more drafting empowerment workshop methods, which are oriented on participation and networking (cf. chapter 3.2.). Planning Cell / Citizen Jury and Strategy Workshop are more decision-influencing empowerment workshop methods (cf. chapter 3.3). Problem solving empowerment workshop methods, like Synectics Workshop and Mediation Workshop, are a further field to empower people within a workshop (cf. chapter 3.4). In Synectics Workshop analogy-oriented creativity methods are used to find innovative solutions. A Mediation Workshop is intended to reconcile conflicting interests of different groups and stakeholders.

Each of the following descriptions of empowerment workshop methods is segmented in five parts. To get a first idea on how they are used in strategic urban planning practices, each empowerment workshop method is introduced by a short description of examples at district, local or regional level. In the following concrete examples showing the typical (and untypical) attributes the method is described. First the application of the method with regards to time and phase within the planning process will be illustrated. Afterwards objectives of the method as well as target groups and stakeholders involved are discussed. The description finishes with the discussion of the relevance of the method for decision making processes.

3.1 Consultation oriented empowerment workshop methods

3.1.1 Roundtable for Environmental Questions

Roundtables used to be meetings where different stakeholders, experts, politicians and administrators of the municipality talk about an issue (a problem or a conflict), clarify controversial questions and try to find a common solution. Affection by a

project or a conflict coming to surface, moderation of impartial facilitators and equal footing of all participants are important characteristics. For Roundtable to work well and produce binding results, all groups of stakeholders affected by the issue are to be represented by the same number of persons entitled to vote, regardless of their actual / political strength. In the following a variation of the Roundtable distinguishing it from more traditional use of the Roundtable Workshop method mentioned above is described. The following description opens the mind to a new and important aspect of empowerment, namely the connection of empowerment and education / learning. 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' ("Runde Tische für Umweltfragen") was organized as a model project from August 1995 to May 1996 in five small cities in Rhineland-Palatinate. The model project was funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Advanced Training of Rhineland-Palatinate, carried out by an educational provider ("LAG anderes lernen") and supported and accompanied by the Centre for European Studies at University of Treves (Dahm and Neumann 1996).

A. Application Concerning Time and Phase within the Planning Process

'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' is a sequence of at least 15 meetings taking place once a week during one semester (Dahm and Neumann 1996). A number of open working methods are applied to involve the participants and reach a consensus. In contrast to more traditional Roundtables intending to coordinate the decisions of the stakeholder, the intent of the 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' within the strategic urban planning process is unclear. Starting point of the model project was the debate whether methods and concepts of socio-political educational work are capable to close the gap of (high) ecological awareness and (lack of) ecological behaviour.

B. Aim and purpose

Traditional Roundtables aim to influence the local political decision process. The initial focus of 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' is twofold: Ecological education and political discourse. 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' combined the idea of learning and studying in adult education with the idea of empowerment. Education about political work and urban planning processes in the sense of "learning by doing" as well as empowerment in the sense of qualifying the participants for political work and enlarging their (cognitive) capacity to be responsible for (environmental) challenges in their city. The aim of this new type of educational course is to forward the formation of civil society through an "ecological discourse" and to establish a new education culture. Information and participation is more important than attendance of citizens to the political decision making process or finding of innovative new ideas. Political goal of the 'Roundtable for Environmental

Questions' is a public statement for environmental (or social) problems which is created by the participants in team work and presented in the local parliament. The participants define the topic on their own.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved
In the 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' not representatives but rather individual citizens eager to learn more about urban planning process and political work on the local level are the participants. Usually the participants are middle-class intellectuals with an educational background. Experiences of the model projects show that these Roundtables are appropriate for a homogenous group (e.g. middle-class intellectuals, children and women) but that it is difficult to mix different target groups. Experts are only involved if the participants need this for their work. Different creativity methods are to be applied as well as role playing, excursions or interviews with politicians, experts or stakeholders.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes
The relevance depends on the preparation before starting the 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions'. Sometimes the mayors are open for an integration of the results into the local decision making processes. But the results will not automatically be integrated in the process. Although it has no official standing in the municipality the mayors are more or less interested in the results. In Hermeskeil the facilitators and the participants worked well together with the mayor and the local administration by creating and implementing a local tree statute ("Baumsatzung"). In Grünstadt the Roundtable surfaced the problem of reusing a dead and abandoned railway station and opened a discussion on changing it to an ecological railway station. Now, 10 years later, the station is reused, the building and the station forecourt are reconstructed with ecological standards and an integrated ecological spatial and traffic planning concept has been developed in partnership with the municipality and the Deutsche Bahn AG (as the building owner) (Axthelm 2004: pp. 16). The 'Roundtable for Environmental Questions' had a good initiating function.

3.1.2 Future Search Conference

Future Search Conference is a participatory, democratic strategic planning method that seeks to accelerate responses to changing environments and develop cross-sectional collaboration (Bryson and Anderson 2000: pp. 147-148). Mission, vision, and goal are very unclear at the beginning of the conference.

In 2005 a sequence of two Future Search Conferences was held in Ludwigsburg to develop ideas for a city development concept. Scenario Conferences are similar to Future Search Conference but based on impulses for scenarios given by scientists.

At the German-Polish border a Future Conference was organized 2003 to promote the cross-boarder cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Scientists from Germany and Poland respectively presented scenarios of different fields (demographic change, identity, economic development and regional development) in different sessions with citizens, stakeholders, politicians and researchers from both countries. A co-statement was held by a representative of an administration and/or an organisation of the two municipalities. Afterwards a discussion about important cross-border projects was initiated.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process

Future Search Conference are task-/ project-focussed. People tell stories about their past, present and desired future. Through dialogue they discover their common ground. Only then do they work out concrete action plans. The Future Search Conference is a sequence of different events during a three days meeting. It starts with thinking about the past in mixed groups (phase 1), analysing the present and external trends in homogeneous stakeholder groups (with shared perspective on the task) (phase 2), developing visions of the future again in mixed groups (ideal future scenarios) (phase 3) and identifying common ground (phase 4). In the last phase concrete actions are planned (phase 5). In Scenario Conferences the discussion about the past, the present and the future will be supported by foresight scenarios visualizing possible futures prepared in a scenario workshop by administration and politicians. In Görlitz/ Zgorzelec a co-statement was held by a representative of an administration and/ or an organisation of the two municipalities. Afterwards a discussion about important cross-border projects was started together with the stakeholder and the citizenship (Friedrich and Neumann 2003: p. 84).

B. Aim and purpose

Future Search Conference and Scenario Conference are big group events that enable people to cooperate in complex situations, including those of high conflict and uncertainty. "The method seems to inspire people to find common ground and a future focus and to agree on joint action." (Bryson and Anderson 2000: pp. 149) The aim is to create a sense of togetherness and thus to facilitate the collective search for possible new solutions. Both workshop methods rely on mutual learning among stakeholders as a catalyst for voluntary action and follow-up. People devise new forms of cooperation that continue for months.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

Future Search Conference is suitable for large groups. The method typically involves homogenous groups of 6 to 8 persons (or up to 40 to 80 people) in one room and about 300-500 in parallel conferences. At a Future Search Conference the partici-

pants start by working together in the homogenous groups. During the process these groups are systematically reshuffled – each group thus makes contact with the other groups. People from diverse backgrounds use them to make systemic improvements to their communities and organizations. It brings people from all walks of life into the same conversation - those with resources, expertise, formal authority and need.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

Future Search Conferences and Scenario Conferences are consultation-oriented big group events. Commitment of different groups and the participation of these groups (to bring them to action) are the main purposes. But only a limited number of external stakeholders will be involved: those who are responsible for implementation. And the role of managers and politicians are not well defined (Bryson and Anderson 2000: p. 157). Although there is no change in power relations citizens get the possibility of political influence inside a stakeholder arena and besides the conventional democratic ways (e.g. elections).

3.2 Participation and Networking Oriented Empowerment Workshop Methods

3.2.1 'Planning for Real' Workshop

'Planning for Real' Workshop ("Perspektivenwerkstatt"; in English also called Community Planning Weekend) is an urban planning event requiring one long weekend. It refers to long preparation time of some months to half a year. It is an alternative form to develop ideas for a planning problem and usually used to involve a number of interested people to develop an idea for a place, zoning plan, a building. 'Planning for Real' Workshop method was developed in the USA and has been very successful in the English speaking world. It is an integrative and participative planning method. In Germany the 'Planning for Real' Workshop has been used to plan squares in Essen or Berlin.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process

The 'Planning for Real' Workshop is project related. It addresses a certain planning object and issue looking at solutions for a transportation problem, a conversion / brownfield site, housing projects. It has a rather informative character. In a long preparation phase a group of specialists, stakeholders, interested people in advance develop the program of the 'Planning for Real' Workshop Weekend, collect relevant information, the organizational details, involve as many interested people as possible. Two to three days are then used for an intense working session with working groups, site visits, and planning sessions. The situation, problems and conflicts and solutions are discussed and developed. A number of open working methods are applied to involve the par-

ticipants and get to a consensus solution. The initial focus is creative visioning with elements of realization proposals.

B. Aim and purpose

The aim and purpose of the 'Planning for Real' Workshop is to find a solution for a planning project and to integrate as many people in the solution finding in order to develop a planning concept widely accepted. The results are lists of relevant problems, master plans, detailed sketches and overall views on a site, specific proposals for areas of the planning issue, action programs, recommendations for strategic partnerships or organizational developments and improvements. It is important to publish the results of the workshop to the participants immediately after the 'Planning for Real' Workshop.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

The 'Planning for Real' Workshop is initiated by mayors, urban planners, land owners, housing associations and urban stakeholders having certain planning projects in mind. The aim is to involve as many people interested and concerned as possible. About 100 people are involved in the 'Planning for Real' Workshop. About 15 to 20 people form the preparation group. Experts and citizens are equally relevant and involved. To involve people from different social backgrounds as well as a variety of stakeholders, different methods are to be applied.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

The relevance of the results for the decision making process depends on the skills of the relevant local stakeholders to use the results for further steps of involvement and integrate the results to the relevant planning and decision making processes. The results won't be automatically integrated in such processes. The initiators and participants are to take into consideration the time after the Planning for Real Weekend, to take the commitment and ideas of the involved people serious. A project-related 'Planning for Real' Workshop may be the starting point of a longer participation and involvement process.

3.2.2 Open Space Conference

Open Space Conference developed out of a big structured conference and was designed by Harrison Owen, an organisation consultant. It is characterized by no control and an open design and has the atmosphere of a "big coffee break", people working self-organized on different issues. Only a place, time frame and topic are given.

Example of an Open Space Conference was the conference in Rostock to develop and improve the neighbourhood Groß Klein.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process
The conference is to last no longer than 3 days and at least 2 days. There are around 4 rounds of one and a half hours per day in small working groups. The basic condition of the participation is voluntariness. The people involved are to feel responsible and enthusiastic about the topic.

   The course of action of Open Space Conference begins with the decision about the framing topic of the conference. The conference begins and ends with a plenum session with all participants to develop a corporate feeling. The participants get the chance to introduce a topic of interest to work on in a certain room. In the evening all come together for an information exchange. The results of the sessions are to be recorded in minutes.

B. Aim and purpose
Aim and purpose of Open Space Conference is to come to pressing topics, to prioritize them and to decide upon further steps of action. The main target is to come to a joint learning process. On the one hand a number of new ideas and on the other hand creative ideas and a learning culture are to develop. People are empowered to develop ideas and a corporate feeling about the discussed topic. The success of Open Space Conference depends on the realization of the ideas.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved
The number of persons can vary from 8 to over 2000 people. Each person gets the opportunity to propose and to discuss topics, there is no moderator or other leading person, who controls or directs the discussion. The participants go to whatever topic they regard to be interesting and attracting.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes
Open Space Conference can be used in the founding phase of an organization or in a phase of change. It leads to a cultural change and supports restructuring processes. It makes sense to arrange Open Space Conference in front of the decision making process to develop creative ideas and to give people the opportunity to express and articulate their ideas

3.3. Decision-influencing Oriented Empowerment Workshop Methods

3.3.1 Planning Cell

Planning Cell ("Planungszelle") and *Citizen Report* are two integrated participation techniques developed from Peter Dienel in the 1970th. He defines the *Planning Cell* as a "group of citizens who have been randomly selected and they are granted paid leave from their workday obligations for a limited period of time in order to work out solutions for given, soluble planning problems with the assistance of advisors on procedure" (Dienel 1978: p. 74, translation and citation: Garbe 1986: p. 222). The *Planning Cell* is a standardized serial of participation workshops to plan or discuss certain issues. There is an awarding authority which pays for the *Planning Cell*. Examples are the Citizen Jury Upper Neuterostreet Graz (Obere Neuterogasse Graz) and the citizen expertise in Hannover to improve the public transportation. The Citizen Report has been applied in various fields besides urban planning. One context is the urban planning, but Citizen Reports have also been used in housing, transportation, environmental politics, social politics, health care, media politics (Dienel 1997: p. 280 f). Since the Citizen Report was developed in Germany it has also been applied in many other countries.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process
The process of developing the Citizen Report lasts about one week. The citizens are asked to find a solution for a certain question, so it rather is a creative process. The application is characterized by a tight timetable and program. There are blocks with professional information, discussion, expert input and valuations. The blocks change repeatedly in the course of time. The results are written in a report which is published. In a further process the results are implemented and a monitoring about the implementation takes place.

B. Aim and purpose
Aim and purpose of the Citizen Report is the participation of citizens in issues relevant for them. Citizens are asked to find a solution for a certain question posed. Behind the *Planning Cell* stands the general idea to bring the political and administrative system closer to the citizens. The conventional participation bodies as parliaments, mayors, etc. are questioned concerning the optimal solutions and decisions. It is to empower and educate people on the one side and improve the political and administrative decision system on the other side by involving citizens to find and to evaluate decisions.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

25 citizens are chosen by chance. They are chosen from the area they live in and must be at least 18 years old. They are freed from the work or other obligations they have. They are to be critical analysts of a given problem. Professional authorities are also involved to present information about the issue as basis for the citizens to build their opinion. The choice of the participants is to represent almost all types of citizens within society.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

The results of the Citizen Report are usually taken serious by the awarding authority. The *Planning Cell* can be used in various stages of a decision making process. As a number of different citizens come together and discuss opinions and valuations, the Citizen Report can be used to prepare decisions. There are some issues where the *Planning Cell* serves the decision making process better than traditional procedures. Dienel (1997) also argues that *Planning Cell* can be used for a referendum. Basically the *Planning Cell* is currently only used in preparation for decision-making processes. In Erlbach (Saxony, Germany) a Citizen Report was developed on the topic of dealing with demographic change in a rather rural community. The results are to be basis for decisions in the local political process.

3.3.2 Strategy Workshop

Strategy Workshops provide a framework to think about stakeholders and collaboratively develop a robust strategy (Eden 1996: p. 45). Next to Strategy Workshops in the strict sense two other types of Strategy Workshops are relevant and important for different policy stages. One is the Scenario Workshop used to create scenarios together with local stakeholders at the beginning of a deliberate scenario planning process (Neumann 2005). The other is an Evaluation Workshop applied annually for the evaluation of implementation. Scenario Workshops are often used in organizations and enterprises (e.g. Ringland 2002, Heijden 1996, Godet 2001) and less common in the urban context (Neumann 2005). In the strategic urban planning practices it was applied for example in the cities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec at the German-Polish border to develop a common sense and understanding between the stakeholders on the past, the present and the future of a transnational "Europastadt Görlitz/ Zgorzelec" (Friedrich and Neumann 2005). It is different from the Scenario Workshop method used in urban planning in Denmark where the meetings include a dialogue among citizens, policy-makers and business-representatives and experts about possible future developments in the urban area (Andersen and Jaeger 2001: pp. 53). In this context Strategy Workshops are deliberately closed shop collaborator workshops used to find a commitment, form identity and build trust among local

key stakeholders as preconditions for joint action. Possible irritations coming from individuals are not always very welcome and useful in urban governance. For this reason individual citizens and representatives of the press are rarely participants.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process

Although Strategy Workshops are single workshops they are process oriented and a part of a collaborative planning process in order to develop a robust strategy. Before creating scenarios the Scenario Workshops is one of the first steps in this process to exchange experiences and expectations of the local key stakeholders. In this meaning scenario planning is organized as a communicative process on the local level to develop a common sense and understanding on the past, the present and the future of the city as a pre-condition for inter-organisational learning and joint action.

B. Aim and purpose

In general Strategy Workshops advance a common strategy and joint action. Scenario Workshops in particular support consensus – oriented collaboration of local stakeholders by talking about the key challenges, the key decisions and the key projects of the past, the present and the future. The scenario planning process aims at managing the future and the unexpected by changing the mental models of the decision makers. Common trends and weak signals are discovered to be prepared for future changes in the local environment. With the creation and application of scenarios in the communication and decision making process the scenario planning process accelerates (inter-) organizational learning. At the end of Scenario Workshops the stakeholders know what is important for joint action in the present and the future. This is a starting point for a sequence of different Strategy (and Evaluation) Workshops.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

In Strategy Workshops the involvement of the stakeholders and decision makers are important. Thus only the organized public and not the individual citizens are potential participants. Therefore a stakeholder analysis is an important first step for developing a robust strategy (Freeman cited in Eden 1996: p. 45).

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

In the Scenario Workshops only key stakeholders are involved. The selection of the participants aims at coordinating the different interests of the most important policy-makers of the city to find a common strategy and joint action. This leads to the creation of shared knowledge and the acceleration of inter-organizational learning. Scenario Workshops are useful in a policy stage, where structuring and formalizing is important and where irritations are not helpful.

3.4. Problem Solving Empowerment Workshop Methods

3.4.1 Synectics Workshop

Synectics Workshop is a problem solving empowerment method where creativity methods are used to find new innovative solutions. The methods use for instance analogies to find solutions. Synectics originally developed in 1944 by William Gordon (1961) is the creativity process of discovering the links that unite elements apparently disconnected. Synectics believes that success in problem solving is improved by using non-rational thoughts coming to rational solutions. The process involves making the strange familiar and the familiar strange. The creative output increases when people become aware of the psychological process that controls their behaviour. In Synectics Workshops emotional and irrational components have to be understood and used as creativity tools.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process
Synectics Workshops are project related. There is a clear rational problem but no answer to the problem and an innovative new solution is needed. Synectics is a structured and much formalized creativity technique with duration of 1-2 days. It does not aim at finding the best fit analogy to a problem, since any suitable analogy can be chosen and further alienated in order to free ones mind and to broaden ones horizon. The core of Synectics Workshops is the "force-fit" when results of the alienation process are transferred to the original problem to find a creative solution.

   In the Synectics Workshop there are four phases (with 9-10 sub categorizations) (Neumann 1997: glossary pp 40). In the first phase (Problem analysis and exploration) the problem is defined and analyzed to make the strange familiar. In the second phase (Incubation) the participants shall depart from the problem through analogies. The familiar is supposed to become strange. Operational mechanisms incorporating direct analogies drawn from areas as nature, technology, history, politics, mythology, art and others are used to pull the problem solver away from the problem and to overcome its bias. The direct analogies are transformed to personal and symbolic analogies. At the third phase (Illumination /Synthesis) the alienation is transferred back to the original problem statement ("force-fit"). In the final phase (Elaboration and Verification) their partial structures are tested with regards to their transferability to the original problem. Different partial solutions are combined to a comprehensive total solution.

B. Aim and purpose
The Synectics Workshop approach is most appropriate for very unclear, abstract situations. That is, when the problem has little or no apparent structure. In the process, participants are urged to leave the mental confines of the everyday life. Some of

the types of analogy used are personal, where the members regard themselves to form pieces or parts of the solution.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

Synectics Workshops are used to empower people by finding innovative ideas (Neumann 1997). Synectics Workshop were held for example in 1996 in Kaiserslautern with female employees and unemployed women (employees represent their interests – within the company and regional) and in 1997 in Primasens with employees of shoes industry and works councils of the shoe companies in Western Palatinate. Stakeholders and experts who are project-related for the issue are invited. The Synectics Workshop needs a trained leader for effective performance. Finally, the method to a great extent depends on the participants — their knowledge, open-mindedness and ability to use analogies. The Synectics Workshop approach to creativity requires considerably more training and practice than most other methods. A consultant or facilitator who is expert in leadership of Synectics groups is necessary. A guideline in composing a good Synectics Workshop is to include persons with moderately diverse backgrounds concerning their work and educational experiences (Van Gundy 1981).

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

Advantages of a Synectics Workshop are the possibility to unlock rigid thinking patterns and the structure that it provides to the creative process. Besides, the sub consciousness is systematically included in the creative process. Synectics Workshops are rarely applied in municipalities, because innovative solutions are less important in strategic planning practices and it seems to be too complex and difficult.

3.4.2 Mediation Workshop

The Mediation Workshop was developed in the 1970ies in the USA to coordinate conflicts without the court of law. The conflicting participants get the chance to develop a solution of the problem on their own. It is a voluntary method with the support of a third person which is neutral and fair-minded. The conflicting parties develop and decide about the solution of the problem on their own. In urban planning it is used to mediate environmental conflicts related to waste deposits or objectionable uses as in the case of the Frankfurt (Main) Airport extension.

A. Application concerning time and phase within the planning process

The Mediation Workshop is usually project related and needs a precise object for negotiation. A certain issue and problem occurs and mediation is strongly needed. It is necessary, that the conflicting participants are willing to find a solution and there

is space for a possible consensus. It then is an informative, participative and cooperative process at the same time. The approach is to visualize and develop strategies to implement and realize the vision. The mediation process starts with a preparation phase to find a mediator, selection of the participants and the definition of the game rules of the process. It must be guaranteed that all the information and professional knowledge is put on the table to allow the whole range of possible consensus. In the implementation phase, the conflicts are extracted, topics defined, interests which lay behind the positions taken are made visible. The possible range for decision making and action are phrased and creative solutions and ideas are searched for. Finally in a decision phase a decision is made and the results are implemented and recorded in some form of contract or agreement.

B. Aim and purpose

The aim and purpose of the Mediation Workshop is to solve a problem by the conflicting partners and not by a third person as a court. The result is to be a vision and solution for the future and not past related. The solution is to be advantageously for all participants. The process has to be fair and the solution competent, meaning realistic and feasible.

C. Target group and stakeholders involved

The number of people involved can vary from 10 to 100, depending on the themes and the concernment of the people. If the group of people is rather big, the process ought to be divided in different workshops. Essential is a mediator, who is neutral, reliable, confidential and accepted by all participants. The person ought to have experience in methods of communication, negotiation and mediation. Usually such a process is mandated by the local administration in the case of environmental mediation processes.

D. Relevance within the decision making processes

The mediation usually does not play a serious role within the decision making process since it runs parallel to the traditional formal administrative and decision making process. The involvement in the decision making process therefore often is not clear and must be clarified in advance. Usually the results have a recommending character which ought to be taken serious.

3.5 Résumé of the Methods Discussed

The methods discussed above show all sorts of characteristics of participation and empowerment methods. First of all the issues dealt with are addressing current questions of societal development, dealing with pressing challenges of development or

even future oriented questions of where to go in the years to come. The issues dealt with are at very different scales such as a single building, a square to even a city, which extends itself across a border between two states. Relative to the issues and scale dealt with, the number and the types of stakeholders vary from representing all different kinds of stakeholders, which have a stake in the place and the issue to a much selected number of participants. This may lead to big or small groups, to single one workshop or conference events or a series of parallel working sessions lasting each one or more days. The methods may be relative to the issue, a single project or a longer lasting process. All methods work with different (moderation) techniques to gain creativity and the knowledge of the citizens and stakeholders involved, to help them giving voice to their ideas, values and problems. Usually a facilitator of the process is needed as a moderator or organiser of the method since the event itself usually needs quite some time of careful preparation and post-processing.

The participants may profit from the participation in such a process or project event. Sometimes they need to be prepared to fulfil their role adequately. It finally enables citizens to participate more knowledgeable in further processes of participation and urban governance. So the effect is often a bigger awareness of the possibilities to solve societal problems in an urban governance process. In urban governance contexts citizens often have to be prepared not only in their skills but as well mobilized and sensitised to problems in their neighbourhood and / or organized as a common interest group (for example to rebalance power structure). The gain of participation and empowerment may be bigger in longer lasting processes compared to project oriented methods of empowerment. Empowerment has to be seen as a collective learning process.

The influence within a political decision making process varies as the methods vary. The importance for a decision making process depends on the initiation and the participating stakeholders. When the workshop was set up by some local government or other political decision makers the relevance of the output of the method for the further decision making process is high. Is the method applied independently from decisions to be made within the local community and mainly used to get new insights or creative solutions for a certain problem, the chance is low to be adequately incorporated in decision making processes.

Some of the methods have been developed in the past to be explicitly a form of participation and involvement of citizens. Some of them have lost that relevance and are rather creative methods within an established political system.

So the small overview about different methods shows a rich and manifold pool for citizen involvement and empowerment. Within the variety of methods presented the Future Workshop is one which was established to allow empowerment quite some time ago in the 1950ies and might have been one of the initial impulses for the

development of many more empowerment methods.

Noticeable is the fact that many of the methods have been originally developed to enrich the political participation process and to allow taking responsibility for society, not only through political institutions but also by individuals and organised interests of the civil society. Nowadays the methods are also used only for gathering creative ideas independent from empowerment processes.

4. The Future Workshop Compared to Other Empowerment Workshop Methods

In this section the relevance and relation of the methods including the Future Workshop are discussed and evaluated on the background of political decision making processes. The focus of the comparison is on the relationship between citizenship and administration, politicians and other organized stakeholders. The dimensions of involvements in the strategic urban planning practices and the use and usefulness of empowerment workshop methods in different policy stages are further issues of comparison. The results of empowerment methods may be usable at different stages of the policy process. Some of them are more useful in advance to scan the relevant issues and some of them are more useful in the stage of finding a solution. To be more precise on that, the following chapter discusses the stages in which the prescribed methods can be applied within the political decision making process. All of them have a strong potential to give input to the policy process.

4.1 Involvement through Empowerment Workshop Methods

The involvement of the different target groups depends on dimensions of involvement and on policy stages. Future Workshops can be applied to mobilize and activate citizens in a governance process. A relation to politicians, administrations and other potential stakeholders is rather low. Neither experts nor stakeholders and decision makers attend the Future Workshop. The participants in a Future Workshop are specialised on the topic to be dealt with. The Future Workshop aims at enabling the citizens to solve a certain problem in their close context (e.g. neighbourhood).
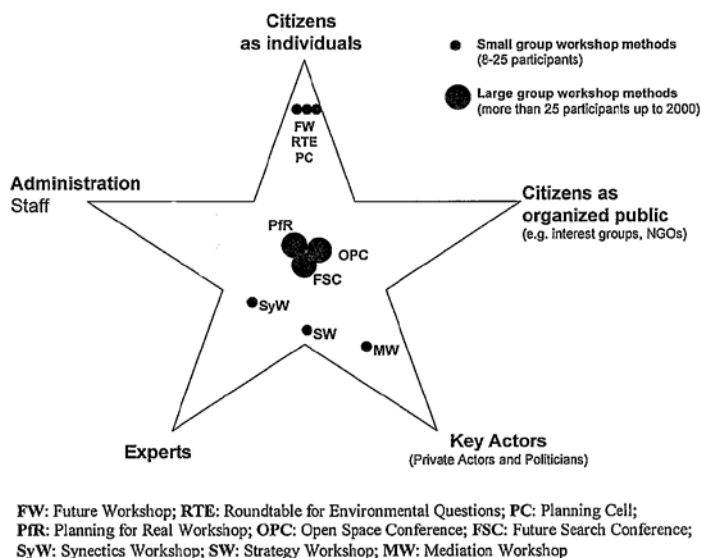
The methods Planning Cell and Roundtable for Environmental Questions have the same aim. But invitation or consultation of experts, administrative staff or stakeholders are possible and welcome. In difference to Future Workshop and Roundtable for Environmental Questions the Planning Cell allows citizens to be involved not only in the development of ideas and enable them to realise their plans, but to be part in the whole decision making process.

Future Search Conference, Open Space Conference and Planning for Real Workshop and other big group workshop methods or so called Large Group Interaction

Methods (c.f. Bryson and Anderson 2000) bring in a much broader variety of stake-holders, citizens and experts to interact and cooperate on a certain problem and solution. The main issue of the citizens in these big group workshop methods is to discuss and find solutions which might be taken by politicians for decision making. Open Space Conference for example can be used very early in the process to get people involved. Open Space Conference "[…] is most useful when mission, vision and goals are very unclear and very simple framing and analyzing tools are needed" (Bryson and Anderson 2000: p. 146). Similar but less extreme concerning mission, vision and goals and the sophistication of problem is the Future Search Conference and the 'Planning for Real' Workshop, which is project related. It is initiated to activate citizens and stakeholders to develop a solution for a planning problem. It alleviates the development of ideas and needs in later stages of the process. Politicians and administrations incorporate the ideas in the decision making process and implement them adequately. The method has some potential to empower the participants for a longer period of time.

In contrast to big group workshop methods the strategy and/or problem oriented workshop methods are aligned for 8 to at most 25 participants. In Strategy Workshops like for instance Scenario Workshops and other strategy oriented workshop methods (e.g. Strategic Option Development and Analysis (SODA) (Eden 1989) or Strategic Choice (Friend and Hickling 1987; 1997)) mainly experts and organised stakeholders are involved in the process and not the individual citizen. The main goal of these workshops is to develop a robust strategy together with all important stakeholders and decision makers. So the number of participants is limited.

Figure 1. Involvement of target groups in different empowerment workshop methods

FW: Future Workshop; RTE: Roundtable for Environmental Questions; PC: Planning Cell; PfR: Planning for Real Workshop; OPC: Open Space Conference; FSC: Future Search Conference; SyW: Synectics Workshop; SW: Strategy Workshop; MW: Mediation Workshop

In Synectics Workshop the focus is on finding a solution for a problem requiring a creative and unusual solution. This includes stakeholders and also citizens strongly concerned by the issue to be dealt with. It very much helps to reveal ideas and knowledge of the participants, but does not so much empower for a longer lasting empowerment process. It is very useful to support the development of ideas in the design and formulation of policies. As far as the participants are concerned the Mediation Workshop varies relative to the conflict to be mediated. But for participants the level of empowerment is quite high since a solution supporting everyone's interest ought to be found. Since the mediation process happens beforehand and instead of a judicial process, the relevance of the result is quite high for the participants, even if they will not be involved in a decision making process.

Looking at the Future Workshop, the potential for empowerment is middle range compared to the other methods described. It allows empowering people to solve a problem within their environment and to come to solutions for implementation. But it does not necessarily mean that the results are factored into the political decision making process since the relevant stakeholders, such as politicians and administrative staff are not involved in the process.

4.2 Empowerment Workshop Methods and Dimensions of Involvement

Relative to the issue, aim and purpose and also the participants of the described methods different dimensions of involvement can be achieved. The following table gives an overview of the methods discussed and illustrates to what extent they contribute to different dimensions of citizen involvement.

Table 2. Methods and dimensions of involvement and relevance for policy stages

Method		Dimension of Involvement
Future Workshop		**Mobilizing Interest** **Claims making** **Community Capacity Building**
Consultation empowerment methods	Roundtable for Environmental Questions	Mobilizing Interest Knowledge Acquisition Community Capacity Building Analysis and Synthesis
Consultation empowerment methods	Future Search Conference	Mobilising Interest Claims Making Knowledge Acquisition Spanning and Bridging Convening and Deliberating Community and Capacity Building
Participation empowerment Methods	'Planning for Real' Workshop	Knowledge Acquisition Spanning and Bridging Convening and Deliberating Analysis and Synthesis
Participation empowerment Methods	Open Space Conference	Mobilizing Interest Claims Making Spanning and Bridging Convening and Deliberating
Decision influencing empowerment methods	Planning Cell	Mobilizing Interest Knowledge Acquisition Convening and Deliberating Analysis and Synthesis Transparency and Feedback
Decision influencing empowerment methods	Strategy Workshop	Knowledge Acquisition Convening and Deliberating Community Capacity Building Analysis and Synthesis Transparency and Feedback
Problem solving empowerment	Synectics Workshop	Knowledge Acquisition Community Capacity Building Analysis and Synthesis
Problem solving empowerment	Mediation Workshop	Convening and Deliberating Transparency and Feedback

The Future Workshop mainly mobilizes citizens and encourages them to develop positions to policy problems (mobilizing interest). Claims can be made during the Future Workshop in a creative way (like in Synectics Workshops). This allows the participants to express their interests, positions and values. The Future Workshop enables to develop a feeling for togetherness through joint action. It strengthens the social capital of the city (or the district). But it is suitable to only a limited extent to share and acquire knowledge. There is not enough possibility to exchange data or

information or to get information from outside. Only the experiences of a mostly homogenous group of participants (e.g. children, women, immigrants) are available. The Future Workshop does not promote communication and exchange of a variety of societal groups (like Future Search Conference, Open Space Conference or other big group workshop methods). Consequently the spanning and bridging dimension of involvement is undersized both in the citizen oriented workshop methods like Future Workshop, Roundtable for Environmental Questions and Planning Cell and in the collaborative stakeholder oriented strategy and problem solving oriented workshop methods on the other hand. The participants of a Future Workshop develop solutions and steps for implementation, which may also support the Community Capacity. But this may not have a serious impact on the decision making processes since the participation of politicians and administrative staff in the process is limited. Therefore strategy and problem solving oriented workshop methods are more appropriate.

4.3 Empowerment Workshop Methods and Relevance in Policy Stages

Depending on the stakeholders involved and the dimensions of involvement the relevance of the methods and the results of methods within the decision making processes vary. In the following the policy stages will briefly be described.

1. Problem Identification

The first policy stage of decision making in strategic urban planning practices is usually the identification of objectives once a problem is identified or a political program is established (Quade 1975: pp. 46ff). This could be an important stage for several empowerment strategies. The variation of ideas and opinions, coming from the citizens is useful but experiences show that the involvement is very difficult at the early stage.

2. Policy Stage: Priority Setting

This policy stage involves the identification of the issues on the political agenda within other competing interests and issues. „Others than opportunities for advocates to make claims, providing they are well organized and well resourced, there are few possibilities for individual citizens to identify and articulate policy problems (Phillips and Orsini 2002: p. 26)." Empowerment workshop methods like Future Workshops are less adequate for this stage. In this policy stage Strategy Workshops particularly Scenario Workshops are an important tool for identifying problems and selecting future concerns. Although strategic reasoning and hidden agendas may influence the responses of stakeholder groups the mere listing of concerns as expressed in values and subsequently the deduction of criteria helps to expose inconsistencies and to avoid hidden agendas.

3. Policy Stage: Policy Formulation and Design

In this stage the policy goals, alternative options and preferred policy instruments are chosen. Four dimensions of citizen involvement are especially important at this stage: (1) acquiring experiential and technical knowledge; (2) being inclusive of who is heard; (3) convening and deliberating; and (4) analyzing and synthesizing the knowledge obtained from citizens so as to inform decision-making. Experts give an important impulse for policy formulation and design. Most of the empowerment workshop methods are grounded in this policy stage. They are used to pick up creative ideas from the citizens and the organized public or to find innovative ideas for unsolved problems (e.g. in the Synectic Workshop).

4. Policy Stage: Policy Instruments

This stage first is characterized by politicians and the (private) decision-makers. Submissions are made for public participation. It then offers an opportunity for participation when legislation, regulations, budget estimates, or other policy instruments are debated in the City Council. In this stage the media are likely to be most interested in the policy process, prompting a reaction from citizens. The transparency of the citizen involvement process becomes a particularly important dimension as citizens who participated in or observed the process at earlier stages query, how their inputs are being used to come to actual decisions.

5. Policy Stage: Implementation Evaluation

Within this stage the implementation is realised by the politicians activating the relevant services, administration, private enterprises or even the civil society when involved in the goal setting and solution finding before. For instance the Future Workshop is one of the methods appointing participants of the workshops with implementation steps.

6. Policy Stage: Evaluation

Furthermore the results of the empowerment methods can be applied to evaluate the decision made and the implementation of it. The results of the empowerment methods in form of reports, strategies or others can be used to measure to what extent the decisions are implemented. The empowerment methods do not explicitly allow evaluation with the exception of Strategy Workshop (namely the Evaluation Workshop) and the Planning Cell. In Hannover, the Planning Cell and Citizen Report for improving the public transportation (üstra) set up a citizen committee testing and measuring the implementation of the goals set in the Citizen Report. This is possible for all empowerment methods using strategies, working steps or similar instruments structuring the implementation. As it needs a lot of resources it will not be realisable in any case.

The table 3 below shows in an overview the focus of the methods related to the policy decision making process.

Table 3. Participants involvement and policy stages

	I. Problem Identification	II. Priority Setting	III. Policy Formulation	IV. Passage of Policy Instrum.	V. Implementation	VI. Evaluation
Future Workshop	Citizens		Citizens		Citizens	
Roundtable f. Envir. Questions	Citizens	Citizens (Experts)	Citizens (Experts)	Citizens (Politicians Key Actors)	Citizens	
Future Search Conference	Citizens, Admin. Organized Public Experts				Citizens, Organized Public, Admin., Experts	
'Planning for Real' WS	Admin.	Politicians	Citizens Admin. Organized Public Experts	Politicians Key Actors	Admin. Org. Public Experts	
Open Space Conference	Citizens, Admin. Organized Public Experts					
Planning Cell	Admin.	Politicians	Selected citizens	Politicians Key Actors	Admin., Org. Public Experts	Citizen Committee
Strategy Workshop	Admin. Staff Key Actors	Scenario WS: Admin. Politicians Key Actors	Admin. Politicians Experts	Admin. Politicians Key Actors	Admin.	Evaluation WS: Politicians Organized Public Admin.
Synectics Workshop	Admin., Experts, Organized Public		Admin. Staff Politicians Experts	Politicians Key Actors	Admin. Key Actors	
Mediation Workshop	Admin. Key Actors			Admin. Politicians Key Actors	Admin. Org. Public Experts	

The dominance of using empowerment workshop methods is on the policy formulation and design stage. The second and the fourth stage "selecting of concerns/ priority setting" and "policy instruments" are less appropriate for empowerment workshop methods. Future Workshops can be applied and used in all stages depending on the involved stakeholders and especially on the involvement of administrative staff and politicians. So the main focus of the Future Workshop lies in the third stage of policy design and formulation.

5. Conclusion

From Government to Governance

Unlike planning practices of the 1960/70th, the use of empowerment methods today has to be seen in the light of collaborative approaches of strategic planning practices and in the context of urban governance. The role of the state has changed from the decision maker to the facilitator of joint interpretation and action. Hence simultaneously with the shift from government to governance we observe a shift from informatory and consultation oriented to more networking and joint decision oriented empowerment workshop methods. Therefore arguing and debating is more important than to give information to explain a formalized plan itself or to give individual citizens the possibilities for consultation to improve comprehension of a formalized plan. But the necessity to involve the (individual) public in political decision making is hardly disputed in the literature (Rosener 1978). There is controversy, however, over the desirable structure of and procedure for empowerment and the role and authority of the public to take part in the decision making process (Renn et al 1993).

   In the literature on urban governance the relationship between collaboration, participation and empowerment often remains unclear. "For some people, however, collaborations also carry ideological connotations associated with participation and empowerment […] Participation generally means inclusion of stakeholders in the decision making processes that affect them. For some, this is a pragmatic expedient which increases the chance that outcomes from the collaboration will be substantively better and more politically feasible than otherwise. Thus community groups are invited to participate in local collaborations and industry representatives and pressure groups are invited to participate in policy making. For others, the main concern is an ideological belief that stakeholders should be involved. In the extreme this means empowering such stakeholders to take a central, rather than peripheral, role in the collaboration, including having direct authority for spending its budgets" (Huxam 2000: p. 340). In governance contexts the danger of symbolic policies and a rhetorical use of the term empowerment is obvious (Wilson 2000). "The lack of

movement can be ascribed to two factors. One is the absence of clarity in under-standing exactly what empowerment as a concept means and what forms it might take in the public sector. The other is the problem of those with more power trying to empower those with less power." (Skelcher 1993: pp. 15-16) This characterizes a major problem of participation with the aim of empowerment since there will be always conflicts between the elected representatives of the state.

Empowerment and the Relation to Collaborative Partnership of Local Stakeholders

In this context an important question is whether the shift from urban government to urban governance inevitably leads to a democratic deficit and to closed shop meetings? Many of the workshop methods applied in public participation processes in collabora-tive urban planning practices address different issues in the planning process. None of these guarantees a successful participation, better planning process or better results. Neither Future Workshops nor Strategy Workshops (as two extremes) are the most appropriate empowerment workshop method for all situations.

The question of appropriate empowerment workshop methods has to be posed to-gether with questions of inter-organizational relationships in local and regional devel-opment partnerships (Geddes 2008), identity formation (Beech and Huxham 2003), power relations and trust building (Vangen and Huxham 2003; Huxham 1996, 2000). Empowerment does not only mean the participation of individual citizens but much more the coordination of the organized public together with stakeholders, lobbies and interest groups. Organizing citizens to access (inter-organizational) collaborative gov-ernance processes is one important task on the way to empower citizens. Single citi-zens can confuse a collaborative partnership relation. This is important in some policy stages but may constrain trust building and identity formation in other stages. Thus explicit membership where the parties 'know and agree on who is involved and in what capacity' is a key definitional element of collaboration (Roberts and Bradley 1991).

Skelcher describes two strategies for empowerment and involvement (Skelcher 1993: pp. 16-17). The first strategy aims at reducing disempowering processes break-ing through the disempowerment cycle. For this reason essential prerequisites to any involvement strategy are the rebuilding of existing relationships among citizens and the establishment of relationships with groups that had been excluded in the past. The second empowerment strategy focuses on facilitating empowerment. That means to identify citizen needs and ways to involve citizens in different policy stages. Who ought to be involved in different stages, which empowerment workshop methods are appropriate and how can citizens be involved in strategic urban planning practices in the context of collaborative urban governance are three important questions that need to be answered as a prerequisite to empower people.

In the context of urban governance empowerment has different meanings. First it means to enable citizens or inhabitants of a special district to interact with each other. In this meaning the Future Workshop is an effective empowerment tool because the participants of the Future Workshop can enlarge their (cognitive) abilities to act for the benefit of their neighborhood autonomously. Future Workshop is a stimulation tool to brace the citizens to solve problems of their district on their own and thus to boost social capital and support the civil society of the city / district. Second empowerment can also mean to authorize citizens/inhabitants to take over tasks regarding their district that the local authorities used to be responsible for. Third, the meaning of empowerment is to legitimate citizens or to give them a power of attorney to do something instead of the local authorities. But the participants of the Future Workshop are neither authorized nor legitimated by the local authorities. Nevertheless in preparation of Future Workshops this criterion has to be taken into account if the Future Workshop claims to be a decisive method within a governance context. A fourth meaning of empowerment is the delegation of the authority to decide on district challenges. In a democracy only the elected politicians not any individual participant of a Future Workshop can decide. So the delegation of authority to decide is only (partially) useful. Last but not least, empowerment means to potentiate citizens to wield power of the city / district development. To give more power to the citizens is the original meaning of empowerment. In governance contexts however the change of the power structure and distribution is not achievable through a single workshop. Power and power distribution are very stable phenomena which are strongly connected with the network relations of the stakeholders. Power (distribution) can - if ever - be changed only in a long term (collaborative planning) process inside the stakeholder arenas. So in this respect the Future Workshop is not very effective to change the power structure and distribution. Within urban governance, empowerment is only one of three key strategies for "joining-up" locally. Endorsement and enticement are the other two. "Each strategy contains a particular vision of joined-up' local governance and what should shape it (Sullivan 2005: p.10)".

Context-specific Use of Various Empowerment Workshop Methods

In the context of governance the requirements for empowerment workshop methods are very high. Empowerment requires various workshops and workshop methods for different target groups and different policy stages. Empowerment workshop methods can be located within other forms of communication, participation and collaboration methods in the urban planning context. An empowerment workshop as such can be a method to come to a certain result. It then is a singular standing-by-itself event. A workshop can also be part of a whole process standing in line with many other methods and being part of a whole event design. It can be differenti-

ated between a workshop to start a process (start-up-workshop), to bring different interpretations about the past, the present and the future of the local stakeholders involved (Scenario-Workshop) and a workshop to develop a vision (vision workshop), a 'Leitbild' (Leitbild-Workshop) or even a (interim) result (interim-result workshop; finalizing workshop).

In the context of governance the Future Workshop like other empowerment workshop methods is applicable only for special aims, circumstances, efforts and the coordination of specific target groups. For the application of the different methods the specific situation has to be kept in mind. The methods have to be established in an urban planning process to get access to urban governance. Different empowerment methods ought to be combined. In Görlitz/ Zgorzelec for example a Scenario Workshop was combined with a Future Search Conference and a Planning for Real Workshop (Friedrich et al. 2005).

In the governance context arguing and debating is more important than to give information to explain a formalized plan itself or to give citizens opportunity for consultation to improve a formalized plan. But informatory or consultation oriented empowerment workshop methods do not lose their meaning in urban governance but get a new role in the planning process. In collaborative approaches of strategic urban planning practices today not the plan itself matters but the planning process. Practical experiences with demography workshops used as trainings for local decision makers show the importance of informatory or consultation oriented empowerment workshop methods especially for formalizing a partnership and structuring inter-organizational learning as a pre-condition of improvising open learning.

The counterpart of informatory workshop methods on the one hand and drafting empowerment workshop methods (like Future Workshop) on the other hand are Collaborator Strategy Workshops (Eden 1996). Strategy Workshops play an important part in formal strategic planning processes (Hodgkinson et al. 2006). They rely on discursive rather than analytical approaches to strategy formation and they typically do not involve individual citizens but rather reinforce elitist approaches to strategy development. Hodgkinson et al. (2006) conclude that strategy workshops are important vehicles for the emergence of strategy. Involvement through Strategy Workshops is a main precondition for joint interpretation and for a change of the collective mind and thus for collective learning and joint actions.

In the context of inter-organisational learning empowerment workshop methods can be seen as strategic episodes which possibly lead to endogenous strategic change (Seidl et al. 2006) and have the potential of refocusing on the inter-organisational relationship. So empowerment workshop methods could be an intervention approach to support endogenous strategic change and to accelerate inter-organisational learning among stakeholders.

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Future Workshop to Empower the Disabled – Examples from Germany

Carsten Rensinghoff

Example 1:
Future Workshop About the Situation of Brain Injured Adults in a Society for Integrative Work With the Disabled

1. Aims of the Research

In the spring of 2007 the author got the inquiry to hold a seminar about brain injury for the staff of a society for integrative work with the disabled in Hannover, Germany. The aim of this course should be to get more sensibility and to be experienced in dealing with brain injured adults. The phenomenon brain injury of different aetiology apparently is a new topic for the professional institutions for the disabled. The topic of the brain has not been penetrated much. Therefore the management of the institution was looking for a lecturer who had the experience of a brain injury. This experienced brain injured person was found in real life in the author of this article. The author received a severe brain injury after a road-traffic accident in 1982.

2. Documentation of the Future Workshop

The future workshop was held on Wednesday November 26, 2007, 9:00AM to 12:00AM. The participants were the staff of the special day facility for the handicapped, the gemeinnützige Gesellschaft für integrative Behindertenarbeit mbH (GiB), which is an ambulant facility for the handicapped and included social workers, community service workers, volunteer workers and educators.

Initial phase

The participants of this future workshop knew each other already, so they didn't need to get to know each other. The two days before this future workshop the author had given the participants information about brain injury by showing a film (MUNDZECK 1988) and reading an article with statements by brain injured young adults in a self-help group in Cologne (KEUERLEBER 2005). In the film a 14 year old girl had received a severe brain injury after she fell from her horse. It is shown how difficult the rehabilitation after a severe brain injury takes, in a stationary institution as well as in the society. The statements of the self-help group in Cologne

were from an interview for a radio station. All members of this self-help group are at an early age at which they usually could go to work, but the society has sorted them out. Isolation is the severe result of it. In these interviews the ones who are affected told the listener about their experiences.

An effective preparation for the future workshop was a self-awareness exercise. This was done by a breakfast with one hand, as a brain injured with a hemiplegia has to do it. The further task was that a right hander had to use the left hand and left hander had to use the right hand.

Criticism phase

Collecting the critical points

In this phase the participants named the following problematical issues. What are the critical points in the life of a severely brain injured person?

> problem using the short-term memory; admission; motivation; massive change in opinion; lacking in drive; behavioural disturbance; to understand conflict situations; depression; communication difficulties; misunderstanding; outburst of rage; having no control; aggression; provocation; to understand the feeling; rapid tiredness; excessive/too little demands; patience; isolation; self-awareness; relationship at eye level; understanding; empathy (personal and situational); time

Evaluation

The future workshop participants were requested to give five points for the critical points they found most interesting, important or exciting. Which are the most important, interesting or exciting critic points in the life of severe brain injured?

O points: communication difficulties; to understand the feeling
1 point: depression; outburst of rage; having no control; relationship at eye level; time
3 points: to understand conflict situations; misunderstanding; self-awareness; understanding
4 points: rapid tiredness
5 points: provocation; patience; isolation
6 points: motivation; massive change in opinion; behavioural disturbance; aggression; lacking in drive
7 points: admission; motivation; excessive/too little demands
8 points: empathy (personal and situational)
10 points: depression
11 points: massive change in opinion
12 points: problem using the short-term memory

Categorisation

The task was now to categorise the namings with the most point (>= 5 points). How can we summarize the critical points into categories?

1. short-term memory
2. admission; motivation; massive change in opinion; depression; empathy (personal and situational); patience
3. lacking in drive; behavioural disturbance; massive change in opinion; aggression; depression; provocation; isolation
4. excessive/too little demands

Imagination: A Utopia Phase

Brainwriting

After producing a positive atmosphere by playing the negative/positive game (i. e. you have to find the negative form of a word, e. g.: freedom – war; warm – cold etc.) the participants had to do a brainwriting to the categories of the criticism phase. There were no limitations on their thoughts. They could have their heads in the clouds.

Ad 1: microchip implant; orientation help (TEACCH); to activate the sense and symbols; cost-free medical system

Ad 2: a lot of different projects; pleasure and love; understanding; cost-free medical system

Ad 3: drugs without side effects; society without rules; society without violence; having wings; motor activity without body; cost-free medical system

Ad 4: challenge; curiosity; alternatives; experiments; to abolish requests; respect; right to a pension before going to school; cost-free medical system

Categorisation of the best ideas

Now the participants had to categorise the best ideas which they have chosen one step before. As they categorised their criticisms they also had to categorise the ideas.

- orientation help (TEACCH); to activate the sense and symbols
- cost-free medical system: right to a pension before going to school; drugs without side effects; microchip implant; orientation help (TEACCH); cost-free aid; infrastructure for handicapped persons
- drugs without side effects; a lot of different projects; pleasure and love; respect; having wings
- society without violence; society without rules; to abolish requests (separate impulse)
- challenge; alternatives; curiosity; respect; experiments

Realisation and practice phase

More precisely ideas by translation

The participants had to translate the ideas for the practice. The participants had to come back to reality. So they had to find realistic terms for the incredible ideas.

- to collect ideas: How? Where? What? With whom? Biographical work
- public relations work; enlightenment; confrontation with handicap; index with medical practitioners; enlightenment about medicinal application
- further project-ideas, which gives fun for everyone
- tolerance; fun and joy; media and seminar work about: "What is violence?"
- freedom; atmosphere without anxiety; to build up confidence; to offer security

Demands

In small groups the participants made demands to improve the situation of the brain injured. The question was, "How do we realise the translated ideas?" What are the demands for that?

Individual orientation as a fundamental principle for becoming anxiety free and safe; producing individual structures for an individual location for personal development and for many actions

understanding as esteem of the person as a foundation for authenticity and genuineness, realised by biographical work and observation to scrutinise the own behaviour and the opinion

more public relations work and confrontation in the general public

tolerance! = acceptance, respect, courage, best education in the field of emotional and cognitive intelligence and being personally responsible/ being thoughtful to others!

more qualified for project work, more money for material and a better interior design!

Project outline for one demand

The plenum had to discuss a project outline for one demand. Therefore, they had to pay attention to the five "W" questions. One demand was selected and the participants produced a project outline for that.

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tolerance! = acceptance, respect, courage, best education in the field of emotional and cognitive intelligence and being personally responsible/ being thoughtful to others!

What should be done?
A society without violence should be achieved!

Who will do this and with whom?
Community service workers and volunteer workers!

Who should help them?
These persons will be named later on!

When will the project start?
December 3, 2007!

Where will the project start?
Conference room, 1st floor!

Highlights

At the end of this future workshop the participants had to give highlights.

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astonished; understand; content; animated; active; well structured; compact; very interesting; something new; new experiences; feeling good; I'm dying to see how it goes; expectant; very interesting and also I'm dying to see how it goes; today it was interesting; interesting; I'm dying to see how it goes; thoughtful; positively surprised; looking for a new project; I'm dying to see how it goes; engraved; feeling enriched; astonished; new impulse; new experience; new experience; feeling amused; I'm looking for a sense; I'm dying to see how it goes; tensed and surprised; interesting; I reflect myself; much information

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3. Discussion

As you can read at the beginning of this article the author himself is handicapped. The new information technology made the work easier for him to record the namings given by the participants. For this case he has written the terms of the participants directly in the laptop. These terms were seen transmitted via the beamer. So this is a good way for the participation of the handicapped as a presenter of a future workshop, as well as a participant in it.

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Example 2:
Documentation of the Future Workshop: What happens after rehabilitation? from March 20, 2001

1. Introduction

This future workshop took place in a neurological rehabilitation centre for children and youth in Bremen, Germany. Seven boys and five girls after a severe brain injury participated in this future workshop. The average age was 21.3 years.

There are two reasons for carrying out a future workshop which deals with the situation of children and young persons after the in-patient treatment:

a) Concerning the methodology: On February 28, 1982 I had a severe traumatic brain experience after I was knocked down by a car. As I was a prospective teacher for the special educational needs teaching profession I visited several future workshops of the German union of education and science (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft). These future workshops were very helpful and were a benefit to my personality. Also future workshop is a method which is profitable for people who have received a severe brain injury.

b) Concerning the choice of subject: After I had a lot of bad experiences as a prospective teacher for the special educational needs teaching profession which ended finally in the dismissal, I came into contact with other severely brain injured people who were in a similar situation. We wanted to find out a way of getting out of this trouble.

I selected a short workshop because future workshops, even while they create a lot of fun, are exhausting. A frequent and fast feeling of tiredness is one of the neuropsychological deficits we have acquired after the brain traumatic occasion. The short workshop is limited to 180 minutes and that could be well managed by severely brain injured children and young persons in a neurological rehabilitation centre. If it would be necessary we would be able to take a longer time, for example, in case of the impairment.

The presented documentation of this future workshop was held between 7PM and 9:30PM. The participants were, even for this late sort of time, very committed and creative. The management of this kind of time was a problem because the participants have completed a long and hard working day, including therapy. Also, they had things to do, which could not be done at another sort of time, e. g. private telephone calls to family and friends who lived far away, washing hair etc. That is the reason that a few participants left the future workshop for a short time.

2. Preparation of the Future Workshop

Invitation

Dear _____,

I invite you to the future workshop "What happens after the rehabilitation". The event will take place:
- on March 20, 2001 from 7PM-9:30PM
- in the leisure room

It would be nice if you would participate in this future workshop.

Here is some information about the future workshop method. A future workshop is a social problem solution method. A social problem will be solved in three phases:
- In the trouble and criticism phase the problem/topic will be critically prepared. We will constitute the present situation.
- In the imagination and utopia phase the present situation will be achieved by using social imagination and creativity. A wish horizon will be developed.
- In the realisation and practice phase the wish horizon will create demands and

projects giving a better life for severely brain injured young people in society. We will clarify the potentials of action.

The Participants

Male, aged 30 yrs.;
Male, aged 27 yrs.;
Female, aged 15 yrs.;
Female , aged 16 yrs.;
Female, aged 15 yrs.;
Male, aged 17 yrs.;
Male, aged 34 yrs.;
Female, aged 20 yrs.;
Male, aged 22 yrs.;
Female, aged 24 yrs.;
Male, aged 20 yrs.;
Male, aged 15 yrs.

The Beginning

We did not need any special action, e. g. to become acquainted with each other, because the activity took place in an in-patient area.

3. The Trouble and Criticism Phase

Introduction in the Trouble and Criticism Phase

In this phase the participants should take stock by pointing out the critical points of the present situation. These points will be used in the following phase. For that all anxieties, troubles, fear, problems and criticism should be put on the table. At the end of this phase the group has got the main critical points. To reach the goal of this phase, the group has to look out for attention factors:
- no discussion in the plenum
- exemplarity – no abstraction
- reference to the theme is NECESSARY
- all comments must be visualised

Collecting Criticism in the Plenum

For that action the participants sat around a table. They wrote their critical points and questions on DIN A4 sheets of paper. For the following work steps the papers were spread out over the floor.

Concerning the topic of the future workshop the following critical points and questions were abbreviated written down:

> Rehabilitation in the society -> especially the acceptance of the friends
> * Guenter: I go to Lilienthal (this is a total institution for handicapped persons in Germany - CR) and live together with strange people! * it will be a problem to find friends after the rehabilitation * no place to work: big problems at school * to enter training for an occupation * no place of work * no place to train * problems in living alone * finding new hobbies * never driving a car * I'm not accepted by people * problems at school * rehabilitation continues always * not able to go places* unsure what life will bring * insecurity * dissatisfaction

Evaluation

The participants were requested to give four points to those critical points they found most interesting, important or exciting.

> 1 point: * finding new hobbies
> 2 points: * never driving a car * rehabilitation in society -> especially the acceptance by friends * to enter training for an occupation
> * unsure what life will bring
> 3 points: * problems in living alone * problems at school * no place to train * dissatisfaction
> 4 points: * rehabilitation continues always * insecurity
> 5 points: * I'm not accepted by people * not able to go places
> 6 points: * it will be a problem to find friends after the rehabilitation
> 9 points: * no place to work: big problems at school

Categorisation

The last task of the trouble and criticism phase is to categorise the pointed namings. The participants reached an agreement about the following categorisation:

> <u>Category 1</u>: * unsure what life will bring * insecurity * dissatisfaction
> <u>Category 2</u>: * rehabilitation in society -> especially the acceptance by friends * it will be a problem to find friends after the rehabilitation
> <u>Category 3</u>: * no place to work: big problems at school * to enter training for an occupation * no place to train
> <u>Category 4</u>: * problems in living alone * finding new hobbies * never driving a car * I'm not accepted by people * problems at school
> <u>Category 5</u>: * rehabilitation continues always * not able to go places

4. Imagination and Utopia Phase

Introduction in the Imagination and Utopia Phase

After pronouncing all of the critical points, the participants have to shake off this criticism little by little. This happens by being positive, figurative, highly imaginative and utopian. This will be the way to get new and wild ideas. The attention factors are:
- free play of imagination: everything is possible, everything is practi cable, everything is permitted
- openness: everything has to be picked up and has to be developed further
- to react positively to everything: money and might are unkind to everything
- reference to the theme is NOT NECESSARY.

Getting A Positive Atmosphere

To get a positive atmosphere and to surmount or to outgrow the participants have to play the negative-positive game. They are to name the opposite word of what is named: E. g.: war – freedom; rain – sun; dirty – clean.

Break

The participants can use the break for their revitalisation, e. g. in the form of to smoke, to eat, to drink or to walk. By strengthening in this way they are able to carry on working.

Brainwriting to the Categorization

This work step consists of making free associations. The participants had to give their ideas, concepts and thoughts a clear way without any restrictive measure. In contrast to brainstorming the participants have to write down their ideas concerning the critical categorizations given in 5.4.

<u>Category 1</u>: * no imaginative idea available
<u>Category 2</u>: * I want to spend my life with Eminem! * I want to be the boss of an accounts department * I want to help many people * I want to have no difficulties finding new friends * now I'm 34 yrs. old and finally I want to live * I have God
<u>Category 3</u>: * after the rehabilitation I'm more intelligent! * getting a good final examination at school * I want to be a positive share holder
<u>Category 4</u>: * ten free wishes * I want to be captain of Star Trek, to be one of the 10 richest men * three or more free wishes * I want to be the most beautiful, richest, healthiest young man, * money, boys, sun * to be able to perform magic
<u>Category 5</u>: * I want to go to school using the bicycle * performing magic, no war – peace, I want to be a millionaire * motor mechanic * school for me * to work with cassette recorders, CDs, video, radio * to sprint to my workplace without stopping * D2 tickets for mo bile phone * to fly in a plane to my workplace

Couple Selection of the Best Ideas

Every participant looked for a partner. Each couple made a decision for one to three of the most favourite ideas.

Five couples decided the following most favourite ideas:

* health (named three times) * I want to live * physically and psychologically fit (was added) * I want to find friends for my whole life * to fly in a plane to my workplace * to be the richest man in the world * to perform magic * three free wishes

Categorisation of the Selected Ideas

The participants have to categorise the favourite ideas by using the domino principle: similarities underneath, differentiations side by side.

Category 1: * health * I want to live
Category 2: * I want to find friends for my whole life
Category 3: * to fly in a plane to my workplace * to be the richest
    man of the world * to perform magic * three free wishes
Category 4: * I want to go to school using the bicycle * good entry
    into employment (training for an occupation)

5. Realisation and Practice Phase

Introduction

Step by step the participants have to come back to reality. The goal is the elaboration of project outlines or first practicable steps. Therefore, the fascinating ideas will work the way towards reality. The attention factors are:
- all comments must be visualised
- abbreviated
- reference to the theme is NECESSARY
- to be concrete

To Summarise by Using Transmission

The whole group has to transmit the fascinating ideas. The participants have to find interpretations or other expression for the ideas:

Category 1: * to be fit for work
Category 2: * to be on holiday
Category 3: * to finish school
Category 4: * to create an idea about the professional future * to make
    a career for oneself

Demands

It has gone on fairly late and that is the reason why some participants went to bed. The other participants who hold out, Thomas, Svenja, Holger, Kathrin, Rebecca, Orhan, made demands:
- sport
- mental fitness by:
        reading
        solving a riddle
        visiting cultural events (theatre, cinema)

always thinking positive
learning a lot
learning from other people and helping

Highlights

Finally, the participants have got the chance to give their opinions, emotions, feelings etc. about what happened in the future workshop. Everyone could choose if he wanted to give a feedback. From the above mentioned participants, who still took part, we received the following anonymous highlight reactions:

- I feel well!
- On the one hand I feel well! On the other side I feel bad!
- I feel well because I will discharge soon and I have thought about
  my future!
- It was very interesting because I will also discharge soon!
- It was not interesting for me!
- I am well pleased!

References

KUHNT, B., MÜLLERT, N. R., Moderationsfibel Zukunftswerkstätten, Münster, 1996.

Comment:
We can see that using the method future workshop in different fields of social work is an effective way of solving a problem including social problems.

Future Workshop from the Citizen's Point of View – Examples from Italy

Cecilia Cappelli

Introduction

Why I Chose this Methodology

I have been using the method of *Future Workshop* (Jungk, Mullert, 1996) in order to discover the need of services offered to the citizens because it has some unique characteristics:

1) it allows a deep insight aimed to the solution of specific problems
2) it provides a better understanding of clients' appreciation of the service it avoids stereotyping
3) it allows participants to make use of their know-how and emotions in a pleasant working atmosphere

It has always been rather difficult to gather groups of citizens and ask them to dedicate several hours to the task of discussing their opinions. We always closed our sessions later than scheduled. The most common question at the end of each session: "when would we repeat this experience?" compensated me for all my work. I have learned many things from this experience. It has made me become aware of new problems and needs of services that the study groups I am part of had never thought about.

I have often proposed this method – which is not very well-known in Italy – as an alternative to or in combination with quantitative methods of study. Whenever the outcome of analysis seemed not clear enough for a quantitative investigation with questionnaires I proposed to use the method of the *future workshop* first. Generally my clients were available and had much courage in the practice-phase, which is part of the method. Those responsible for the services answered frankly to criticism and proposals for improvement expressed by the participants and clarified what – according to them – was feasible and what was not.

What follows is a summary[1] of three research initiatives I carried out for the Municipality of Prato within the framework of the Quality Project (nursery school and URP service) and the conference of Mayors of the Province of Prato (Services for the Disabled). The aim shared by all three projects was to improve the quality of the services offered to the citizens taking into consideration their needs. It is clear that the quality of services depends on several elements.

- the system for the monitoring of the needs of the collective group
- the identification of political priorities and responsible institutions
- the ability to put strategic decisions into practice
- the definition of a system for measuring and controlling
- the system of values of reference

The latter are tantamount for the definition of what a collective group considers quality to be, taking into account that quality is not an absolute value but rather the result of a negotiation between several subjects. This is the reason why – as an adviser for quality of public corporations - I have always proposed methodologies aimed at finding needs based on the hearing of the opinions of the citizens and of the operators in charge of the services. I believe, in fact, that it is only in departing from taking into consideration the problems and needs of the stakeholders that we can reach efficiency in improvement. This is why I continued to promote the method of *Future Workshop* which allowed the discovery of new and interesting paths.

The results obtained from the application of this method can be classified in two typologies:

a) results obtained during the survey
> 1. Growth of the participants' consciousness regarding their rights and duties linked to the use of the service under analysis;
> 2. Realistic indications for an improvement of the services;

b) results obtained after the conclusion of the survey
> 1. Improvement of the consciousness of those responsible for the services and the overcoming of stereotypes;
> 2. Application of a few proposals for improvement expressed by the participants;

The Timing of the Method

All applications of *Future Workshop* described on the following pages lasted for approximately six or seven hours. The division into the different phases of the method varied according to the time needed by the participants. Especially the phase of the initial presentation has shown considerable differences in its duration. This depended on the level of participants' knowledge. I always tried to respect the rhythm of the participants conceding more time to the phase of good understanding whenever it seemed necessary to me. Only when the atmosphere seemed to be appropriate I went on to the next phase for it was always the pleasantness of the situation which determined the efficiency of the survey.

Three Experiences of Research

Case 1: Nursery Schools

Aims of the Research

Two *Future Workshops* that have been carried out with some parents of children attending the nursery schools of the Municipality of Prato can be framed in the "Quality" project of the municipality (Negro G and Suso B La qualità totale nella pubblica amministrazione. 1998).

The aims were the following:
- to point out the clients' approval of the service under analysis
- to identify areas which need improvement
- to acquire information for the drawing up of the charter of the nursery schools

We chose to describe here only one of the Future Workshops in order to provide an example for the work we carried out.

Documentation of "The Nursery School of our Dreams" Future Workshop

From 13 April 2002, 8.30 am to 6.30 pm
Leader: Cecilia Cappelli
Assistant: Sara Lazzeri (Municipality of Prato)

The Participants:
- Gender: 13 women, 2 men
- Level of education: 12 with university degree or A-level, 3 middle school
	Parents of children attending public nursery schools with classes of medium to large size (2-3 years), with large percentages of first enrolments
- Experienced in the use of the nursery school from previous children
  (approximately half of the group)
- Users of other educational services (4 participants)

1. Initial phase
The presentation of the participants was informal and took place in a friendly atmosphere. Already in Initial phase the parents cared to underline their satisfaction with the service of the nursery school and declared not to have many criticisms.

2. Criticism phase
Contrary to the initial declarations the criticism expressed by the parents was consid-

erable[2] even though it was always accompanied by proposals for improvement. Most of the proposals of "Utopian" phase were in fact put forward at the same time as the criticism, the former being a logical consequence of the latter.

In the course of the second phase two voting sessions had to be carried out for after the first it was not possible to identify clear priorities. The result of the second vote showed that four major points were cause for concern for the parents:

- unsatisfactory relation between parents and the personnel of the nursery school
- absence of regulations (or of their correct application) concerning sanitary problems of the children attending nursery school
- absence of concern for different opinions and different ways of thinking of families belonging to different cultures
- structural problems of some of the nursery schools

3. "Utopian" phase

As it is foreseen by the method, the points of criticism with the most votes were then transformed into a positive form:

A. We must improve the relation between parents and the nursery school.
B. We must be able to manage sanitary problems.
C. It is necessary to face different cultures.
D. It is necessary to improve the nursery schools' structures.

*For a better preparation to the carrying out of this phase the leader read two fairy tales by Gianni Rodari (*Rodari G., 2007, Favole al telefono, Einaudi Ragazzi*) which were much appreciated by the parents. After that we started the group work implementing the list of proposals which had been partly formulated during the second phase.*

In this phase one vote was sufficient in order to identify the priority proposals:

1) To organize a "school day" with parents and children in presence of nursery school teachers in order to get a first impression of how the children's school day could look like;

2) To postpone the hour of closure and keep the nursery school open also during the summer months; moreover the entry and exit time of the children should be more flexible;

3) To equip every nursery school with the necessary didactic material and not ask the parents to provide them;

4) To bring different realities in contact organizing "typical" days with exchange of experiences and with the participation of the parents;

5) To create continuity between the time spent in the nursery school and the return home to the family (supporting the service of "helping parenthood"). To encourage the exchange of experiences of children and parents concerning stories, songs and

plays in order to favour meetings between different cultures;

Once more the importance given by the parents to the relation between themselves and the staff in the nursery school and also the other parents becomes clear. Their request to participate in the life of the nursery school attended by their children is pointed out. Therefore they ask for an exchange of experiences in order to contribute to the continuity between the two realities.

4. Practice phase

New Participants:
- The person in charge of the service for Childhood Education and Culture Pedagogical Coordination Board
- Pedagogical Coordination Board

After the leader had listed to criticism and proposals for improvement an intense debate between the parents and those responsible for the nursery schools took place. The latter – before entering into details about each single issues – presented the service and the different functions of every person in the corporation.

   They immediately pointed out that the six proposals voted by the parents were coherent with the interventions for development planned by themselves. In detail, the initiatives programmed and planned by the pedagogical coordination board for the nursery schools were the following:
- Much attention will be dedicated to the "parenthood": the role of the coordinators as facilitators in the relationship between parents and the nursery school was emphasized, trying to encourage the teachers to reflect about the ways how to deal with diversity. The aim is to create a service that corresponds to the needs of the parents.
- In regards to the proposal to organize a "try day" for the children, the coordinators were hesitant and pointed to some difficulties in its realization. However, they informed the group that a description of a typical day in the nursery school will be put on the web and that it should be a daily task of the educators to inform the parents of how their children spent the day. Therein lies the reason for a much differentiated information and documentation situation in every single nursery school. It would nevertheless be interesting to introduce socialization activities with the parents (in some institutions activities have already been organized with the participation of the parents). The latter can, in any case, present their proposals and projects to the pedagogical coordination board.
- Much attention has been dedicated to the training of the educators. The quality of the service can be guaranteed only through the training for didactic methods, and cannot be imposed by regulations. However, a lack of training in keeping relations open can be ascertained. This leads to problems in communication with the families.

- The coordination board much appreciated the parents' proposal not to interfere during the children's activities. For the educators the result is often more important than the process through which it is achieved.

- Concerning the problems linked to the structures of the nursery schools, several interventions of maintenance are planned in the short term.

- With regard to the didactic material it is stated that with the new organization of attribution of the budget to every single nursery school , all problems of this kind should be solved. In fact, the details of the equipment with didactic materials will be decided in cooperation between the educators and the central offices in May in order to be able to use them by September.

Observations and remarks

The atmosphere in first three phases has always been characterized by the participants' readiness to collaboration. The willingness to contribute with constructive criticism has been evident since the very beginning of each session, when criticism was immediately followed by proposals for improvement and solutions of the problem. Even during the lunch break the atmosphere was pleasant and the participants expressed their approval of the initiative.

Only in the fourth phase of "presentation of the proposals and analysis of feasibility" the atmosphere changed partially[3], and a few polemics came up. However, those responsible for the service could counter the polemics through the argumentation of their interventions.

The presence of persons responsible for the nursery schools had the effect on the participants to be more critical than they had been before in presence of the leader of the survey and her assistant. It seemed that the parents used the harsher tone in order to be taken seriously and get more attention.

Moreover, contrary to what was stated at the beginning of the survey, there were several points of criticism addressed to the institution which probably gained strength during the confrontation between the different figures present in the discussion. There is no doubt that the differentiated modalities of management in single nursery schools contributed to the accentuation of critical voices putting the stress on the most delicate issue of the problem: the difference in treatments with equals public services.

Results Related to the Improvement of the Service

1) The survey led to improvements related to the composition of the working groups in the most criticized nursery schools.

2) It helped establish the basis for the standards of the performance of the service in order to remove the differences found in the various institutions.

3) Moreover, it helped identify the guiding lines for the writing of the charter of the service "Nursery Schools" which was completed in January 2004.

Case 2: Public Relations Office (URP) of the Municipality of Prato

Aims of the Research

In the year 2003 the public relations office (URP) multi-corporation[4] of the Municipality and the Prefecture of Prato has launched a campaign of quality control of their own services and the possibilities for their improvement (Susio, Barbieri 2002). The aim was to strengthen the role of the URP as an institution of reference which gives hearing to the citizens. Moreover, this initiative was intended to lead to the formulation of the charter of the services.

With the aim of identifying the factors employed to measure the quality of the service the following surveys have been carried out:

  a) on the citizens using the URP (external customers)
  b) on the operators of the URP
  c) on the consultants URP of the three constituting corporations(URP internal customers)

With regard to the citizens two typologies of investigation were carried out, one qualitative (Future Workshop) and one quantitative (customer satisfaction analysis).

Documentation of "the URP Service of our Dreams" Future Workshop

From 29 November 2003
Leader: Cecilia Cappelli
Assistant: Sara Lazzeri

The Participants:
Gender: 6 women and 4 men
Level of education: medium-high
Professional situation: 4 employed, 2 unemployed, 1 housewife, and 3 retired

1. Initial phase
The presentation of the participants was informal and took place in a friendly atmosphere. The participants talked about their job experiences, about their personal interests and free time occupation.

2. Criticism phase

The criticism expressed contained 14 points which were categorized into three major areas. The group agreed on the identification and the classification of the criticism and therefore no voting was necessary.

The three major areas are the following:

1. Lack of clarity concerning the aims, functions, role and typology of the URP service;
2. Lack of efficiency of the information campaigns and consequently a waste of money;
3. Efficiency in providing information but inefficiency in solving the problems presented by the citizens;

3. "Utopian" phase

Many proposals were formulated contemporary to the criticism for the group thought it necessary to contribute immediately to the improvement by expressing constructive criticism. One voting was sufficient in order to identify three major priorities:

1. To strengthen the role of the URP in the function as problem solver
2. The function to provide information is considered positive and satisfying; however, in order to protect the citizens, the correctness of the information must be assured also in case of a conflict of interest between the three corporations;
3. To identify the person responsible for the procedure who is able to solve the problem when the URP doesn't achieve a result.

4. Practice phase

New Participants:
- those responsible for the communication services of the Municipality of Prato, Prefecture, Province of Prato
- the person responsible for the URP service

The analysis of the proposals put forward by the citizens participating in the survey has shown their very advanced vision of the URP service.

In fact, they have a very clear idea and distinguish the two functions of the URP: the providing of information and the problem solving function. From the citizens' point of view the origin of the inefficiency in the problem solving lies in the bad functioning of the communication with and between the offices within the corporations. Rightly, the citizens identify this as the main problem of the URP service. Therefore, although the participants appreciate the functioning of the URP's first task, they nevertheless claim that the second, still unsatisfactory function be improved and more efficient.

Those responsible felt the necessity to clarify their own roles and competences and above all the aim of the multi-corporation service through a regularly repeated information campaign (it has to be remembered that there has been no information and advertising campaign since the opening of the URP).

Results Related to the Improvement of the Service

1. Organization of an information campaign about the services offered by the URP and the publication of a booklet with information distributed among the population;
2. Multiplication and widening of the services offered by the URP;
3. Definition of quality standards for the URP services.

The charter for the URP service, on the other hand, has not been published because of the high degree of organizational complexity of this corporation that has the task to communicate and collaborate with three very different corporations (Municipality, Prefecture, Province).

The definition of standards was possible only for the function to provide information whereas the setting of standards for the task of the solving of problems is still to be done because it requires the inclusion and collaboration of the organization of all three corporations.

Case 3: Services for the Disabled

Aims

This research was commissioned by the Conference of the Mayors of the Province of Prato in order to identify the needs of the services for the disabled in their territory of action (Donati 2001). Since no surveys of this kind and on this type of users had ever been carried out, we aimed, above all, at creating an explorative survey , based on listening the users of this service. In order to do so we proposed a methodology that employed only qualitative techniques. The latter was considered more appropriate for the achievement of our aim. This research has thus been based on the hearing of the disabled persons attending the Day Centres and Residential Centres, of their family members and of the educators who work at the various Province of Prato centres.

The results allowed us to outline the current situation of the services for the disabled and to draw a list with the strategies for improvement:

- improvements of the existing services based on the needs expressed by the disabled, their families and the operators in this sector;
- identification of the lines of the planning for new services based on the needs

expressed by citizens who use and workers of the services;
- provide indications for the new program of the social services of the year 2002 to the conference of the Mayors;

Documentation of "the Day Centre of your Dreams" Future Workshop

From 25 May 2002
Leader: Cecilia Cappelli
Assistant: Annalisa Margheri

Information about the participants:
- Number of participants: 16 (8 women, 8 men)
- The participants came from four day Centres in the Province of Prato

1. Initial phase
The presentation of the participants was informal and took place in a relaxed atmosphere of collaboration. The participants talked about the Day Centres and Residential Centres they attended[5], about the activities they carried out there and also about their family life.

2. Criticism phase
17 points of criticism have been listed and through voting the following priorities could be identified:
   A. Not enough trips are organized and a bigger bus is needed / lack of busses;
   B. Lack of personnel / this year we are not going to the seaside because we are too many and the educators too few;
   C. Why are we not paid for our work?
   D. I do not like to stay in the house in winter, I would like to go out.
   E. We are always sitting in the centres, but we would like to go out.
   F. We need new furniture in our Centres (chairs, etc.).

3. "Utopian" phase
22 proposals have been identified and also in the third phase one voting was sufficient in order to sum them up the four priority proposals:
   A. To go out more often (also on foot)
   B. To do more trips for free
   C To have musical instruments
   D. To have free access to swimming pools

4. Practice phase

New Participants:

- the person responsible for the *handicap* project and the person responsible for socio-therapeutic job of the local sanitary department of Prato
- those responsible for the Day Centres

Criticism and the proposals are read out loud and what follows is a discussion between the users of the centres and those responsible for the social services[6].

No holidays/Lack of personnel

Person responsible for the social services

She asks for a more detailed explanation of this problem concerning the lack of personnel; How come the users think there is a lack of personnel? How do they experience this problem and why do they think that more personnel are needed?

Educator of a Day Centre

She explains why the users of the Day Centres where she works cannot go to the seaside this year. This year there are more users than usual attending the Centre and therefore the personnel currently working at the Centre is not able to take all of them on holiday. The situation has worsened and this is why there can only be 2-day trips. Moreover, the educator points out that part of the hours worked during such a holiday trip are not paid to them (what is paid are only the regular 8 hours, the rest is voluntary work).

Person responsible for the social services

Concerning the payment of the holidays she states that it is fair that those who can afford it pay for it. There is a repayment for the holidays of 200 Euros by the municipality. Everyone pays for his holidays, why should you not pay as well?

Disabled

He asks why the work carried out by the disabled is not paid?

Those responsible for the social services

They collect information on the type of work carried out in the corporation and ask if it is an ongoing activity, how the day is organized and if the people in the Day Centres are doing always the same type of work. They try to come to a conclusion about whether their work can be considered a proper working activity and therefore be paid. They analyze the possibility to design a project for those users who effectively work. For the current year it was already too late but in the following year it would be taken into consideration.

Problem of the canteens: payment and quality
Person responsible for the social services
She answers that everyone pays for his meals and it is only fair that it be the same for the disabled. Concerning the quality she suggests to talk to the operators. If the catering service does not provide satisfying quality the service can be changed.

Disabled
She comes up with the problem of the swimming pool. "Why did I have to interrupt my sessions at the swimming pool? From this year on I couldn't go anymore because of lack of personnel."

Person responsible for the social services
She answers that she will gather information about this issue and everything will be done to help the disabled person go swimming again.

Problem of the bus: means of transport are scarce and the small size of the busses does not permit the group to go out all together
Responsible of the social services
They ask for information about the trips, about the number of people, the destinations of the trips. Their answer is that it is not possible to equip every cooperative with the necessary means of transport.

The solution put forward is to negotiate the renting of appropriate busses for the trips with the local association of the public transport.

Lack of personnel
Person responsible for the social services
She is surprised to hear that there is a lack of personnel. The relation operators-users is one to five. Why do the users think there is a lack of personnel?

Disabled
The disabled answer that it is not possible to carry out certain activities, e.g. go on holiday because of the lack of accompaniers.

Educator
She explains that the complexity of the types of users has risen (persons with psychological or self-injuring problems, aggressive persons or persons in wheelchairs) and it is therefore more difficult to follow every single user appropriately with the same number of operators.

Disabled

He mentions that his wheel chair is not functioning anymore.

Person responsible for the social services

She answers that it is possible to change the wheel chair after some years and she also provides an address where this could be done and where the disabled could ask for information.

Mobility Problem

Educator

In the Day Centre where she works no sports are offered to the users because of the lack of space (the structure of the building does not permit the establishment of a gym). Moreover, they cannot go to other gyms either because there is no means on transport.

Person responsible for the social services

She asks why they do not use the public transport?

Educator

She explains that there are 14 users and travel all together with the public means of transport has become problematic.

Person responsible for the social services

It is suggested to collaborate with the associations of the voluntary service and to set up a plan with other gyms in order to organize sports activities.

Problem to play music

This discussion was linked to the organization of activities set up in collaboration between different cooperatives where the users can refer to various cooperatives (theatre group, music group, sports activities). It is proposed to initiate joint projects and to sit down together in order to discuss about it.

Observation of the behaviour of the disabled during the survey

They followed all the phases of the surveys with unpredictable interest. The atmosphere has always been characterized by the readiness to collaboration. We wanted their effort repaid by a nice day spent together and their reactions confirmed that we were successful.

There is no doubt that the educators had well informed and chosen the participants who have always been comfortable in their role. They clearly showed their interest in an initiative that created the opportunity to be heard and their needs to

be taken into consideration. The disabled much appreciated the valorisation of their opinion.

Even though it was a difficult task, also during the voting they all showed attention and made a serious effort. During the first voting on the criticism they needed much support whereas during the second voting they were much more autonomous and their capacity of learning became evident.

Generally this experience was interesting and emotionally loaded for the disabled and also for those carrying out the survey. The latter got the confirmation of the great validity of the method they had used.

Results Related to the Improvement of the Service

- Those responsible for the social services reacted to all individual situations described by the disabled and intervened during the discussion.
- New projects of socio-therapeutic job for the users of the Day Centres have been initiated.
- The Conference of the Mayors of the Province of Prato planned an additional bonus in 2003 for those social cooperatives who would present joint projects.

The research has been published in 2002 and the methodology applied in the research was much appreciated by the person responsible for the social services of the Region Toscana who proposed to promote it also at regional level as "best practice".

Conclusions

The three examples presented in this document were targeted at citizens in very different situations as well as very different services but the method of Future Workshop has always demonstrated perfect applicability.

Its application, aimed at the improvement of the services, is proved by the examples described above even though it would be necessary to repeat the survey in order to verify the efficiency of eventual modifications. Another field of application could be the management of the social responsibility of the enterprises. Personally I have never experienced this area of application, however, there is no doubt that is would be a possibility. In fact, whatever be the instrument of social responsibility chosen by the enterprise (SA8000, Social Report, etc.) in all cases the hearing of the stakeholders would be necessary and the future workshop would be ideal for this purpose.

I used the method of Future Workshop also with high school students, with teenagers at risk, with unemployed enlisted at the job centre and with elder people living in old people's homes. I was always able to obtain concrete and well documented results.

Particularly with teenagers this method proved to have educational functions, for it teaches them to express criticism in a constructive way, to listen to others, to recognize equal dignity to all opinions expressed and to solve problems in a democratic way. When friends from Sweden presented this method to me they underlined its democratic character based on the respect towards the opinions of all participants and on the principle of the voting.

The message this method aims to communicate is that criticism helps to solve problems if it is expressed with respect for the others. This helps the teenagers overcome their age-typical attitude (criticism as an end in itself). However, also adults appeared to need a guide in order to re-discover values sometimes forgotten and they responded positively to the recreational activities offered by the method between the criticism phase and the utopian phase.

In fact, the criticism puts pressure on the participants of the survey and creates a feeling of uneasiness even though the people are often not aware of it. This is why they respond instinctively well to the reading of fairy tales or to singing or playing together before passing on to the utopian phase. Moreover it gives the opportunity to the participants to "dream" of their ideal service and then to accept the confrontation with what can be effectively implemented. The citizens are offered a neutral place for the confrontation with those responsible for the social services where both have the opportunity to learn from the other, as long as they are able to maintain a correct form of communication indispensable for the solution of the problems.

In my experiences there has always been a virtuous circle that permitted the development of the dialogue and discussion including all the participants, departing from the willingness to listen. It is evident that the selection of the participants is essential to the success of the survey. However, it is the method itself that pushes towards a constructive collaboration. Moreover, the duration of Future Workshop leads to a self-selection of the participants based on the conviction of its usefulness.

I would like to conclude that – from my point of view - the strength of Future Workshop cannot be reduced to its technical aspects, but is determined by the values its promotes and in which I profoundly believe. Its application allowed me a professional growth, but above all it created the unique and precious opportunity to listen to the others and we cannot but learn from this experience.

I believe that there exist "ethic" researches which are based on transparent techniques to conduct surveys and I think that the method of Future Workshop is one of them. My education was based exclusively on quantitative and statistical aspects but then I learned to appreciate this technique as an occasion of exploration of problems and proposals which could otherwise remain undiscovered in a strictly quantitative investigation. Its integration with quantitative surveys also works extremely well, as we discovered in the course of the research on the URP service where the results of Future Workshop served as the basis for questionnaires.

Finally, I would like to use this occasion to thank all my customers who made the realization of Future Workshop possible by taking part in Practice phase with frankness and honesty. I would like to underline, moreover, that it was with great pleasure that I authorized the publication of these results hoping to spread this method in which I sincerely believe.

Notes

[1] In the three researches various techniques of investigation have been used (focus group, questionnaires, Future Workshop) which were integrated with each other. Here, however, I am presenting only the documentation concerning the realization of Future Workshop.

[2] All names of nursery schools indicated by the parents have been erased.

[3] We would like to add that the fourth phase lasted much longer than it had been planned. For this reason only part of the group was able to assist at the end of the survey.

[4] Prato is the only case of a URP multi-corporation. Here, the citizens can refer to only one counter for information and the solution of problems concerning three different public corporations.

[5] The opinions of disabled people were collected with different methods, taking into consideration their capacity of concentration. In the case of people attending Day Centres we used the method of Future Workshop because their handicaps were not as serious as those of the residents of the Residential Centres with a low level of concentration, where we applied only focus groups.

[6] We are presenting in detail the discussion between those responsible fort he public service, the disabled and the educators of the Day Centres because it seems a good demonstration of the validity of the method also in presence of the disadvantaged.

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Future Workshop for Empowerment in Eldercare – Examples from Sweden

Ulla Åhnby and Cecilia Henning

Introduction

The following chapter focuses on the Future Workshop method developed by Robert Jungk and his colleague Norbert Müllert with the aim of creating a dynamic and pedagogical method for supporting people in development and change work (Jungk & Müllert, 1996). This chapter briefly describes the Future Workshop method, its origin and building blocks and how to work with the method.

   The chapter then continues with a series of project reports in which we have used Future Workshop as a method to promote participation in development and change work affecting senior citizens and eldercare staff. Finally we connect the Future Workshop method with the concepts of *empowerment* and *social pedagogy*. We present two kinds of results in this chapter. First, evaluations from the participants, second, our own reflections on the outcome of Future Workshop as a method for development and change with seniors as key participants. Our role as *leaders* of Future Workshops could best be described as facilitators. In this chapter we change our role into that of *researchers* as we in the final section reflect on the outcome by comparing different projects.

Future Workshop

A Method for Development and Change

Future Workshops are described as a democratic and pedagogical method to encourage people to meet in a creative and constructive way with the aim of working together on common problems and concerns. The method has also a clear ideological core. Verner Denvall and Tapio Salonen (2000) describe the method as follows:

> *"A future workshop is founded on a well-reasoned basic view on how a meeting shall be managed, how processes become democratic and have a clear ambition to support participants so that they have an opportunity to formulate ideas and act together" (p. 19).*

The founder of the method is the German public debate participant and futurologist Robert Jungk (1913-1994). Being of Jewish descent and living in Germany, he was forced into several years of exile. Jungk's major interest was in social issues, and after the end of the Second World War he took an active part in various ways in the reconstruction of Germany. Lack of participation was, according to Jungk, a major problem. To promote debate and commitment, he wrote several books and was a frequent lecturer. As a lecturer and pedagogue, he was anxious to start a discussion with his audience instead of having the usual one-way communication. According to Jungk, people shall have an opportunity to affect their situation, and it must also be permitted to be visionary. It is also important that people get support in the work they engage in. Besides his interest in social issues, Jungk was interested in studying how people worked and organised in groups. His commitment to social issues, his thoughts and ideas about group work and his way of lecturing later grew into the Future Workshop method (Jungk & Müllert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000).

Together with his colleague Norbert Müllert in the 1960s he developed the Future Workshops method built on basic democratic issues and a clear pedagogical structure. The method offers opportunities for citizens to be active and participate in political processes and social change in an imaginative and stimulating way. As mentioned above, Jungk insisted that those who were affected by change should also work out ideas and take part in implementation of the ideas. According to Jungk, the method has a few clearly identifiable building blocks; these are *social imagination, counterforce* and *generative planning*. The first building block, *social imagination*, refers to the importance of people getting together and under democratic forms being allowed to be visionary and dream about the future. He invented the concept "socionaut", by which he meant that people together create their future by sending signals to each other. The second building block, *counterforce*, refers to the fact that we humans have both the strength and the capability to create opportunities. If these opportunities are organised, they can be a counterforce to various social changes that humans face. With his last building block, *generative planning*, Jungk wants to introduce a "user perspective". He thinks that when people face change in any way, they should not only have the opportunity to jointly discuss, identify problems and form ideas about the future, but also have real influence (Jungk & Mullert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000).

From many years' experience of working with Future Workshops, Denvall and Salonen (2000) describe six dimensions which, they argue, form an ideological basis for development and change work. The six dimensions are also included in the Future Workshop method. The dimensions are as follows:

The view of the individual is about stimulating and supporting people to take responsibility. Future Workshop has an ideological foundation which takes into account people's ability to think, create and take responsibility for both their own lives and their surroundings. Limitations to taking responsibility are on a societal level and not with individuals. A certain amount of freedom is also required to be able to take responsibility.

The view of human development indicates that we humans develop in fellowship with other people and by how we act. Societies and humans change constantly and shape together their development and change. To dare to test new alternatives, we need to have courage and an opportunity to be creative.

The view of collective creation argues that humans are social creatures, growing and fulfilling themselves in encounters with other people. This interplay with others generates insight and energy for a kind of collective creative ability.

The view of the interplay between critique and vision implies that to create something new and to dare to exceed limits, we need both a critical and visionary attitude as well as a connection between critique and vision. A narrow-minded critical attitude can easily lead to destructivity, and there is a risk that visions not grounded in everyday life will not be taken seriously.

The view of democracy refers to people being citizens and as such involved in issues and decisions affecting them. In a democracy, people are not seen as onlookers but as participants, and there must be common arenas for discussions where all are equally valued.

The view of the future is that the future is something that we together can influence, and there is also an opportunity to choose different futures.

According to Denvall and Salonen (2000), the Future Workshop method is built on experience from change work with a democratic approach and on theories about communication, organisation development and leadership.

Phases of a Future Workshop

Robert Jungk describes the Future Workshop method in three phases, *critique phase, fantasy phase* and *implementation phase* (Jungk & Müllert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000; Åhnby, 2000a; Åhnby, 2000b).

Participants invited from various work/sectors get together for one or two days to

work on a common topic. Followers of Jungk include also preparation work and follow-up as separate phases in the Future Workshop and consequently define five phases.

Preparation phase

This phase of preparation and planning takes place before the start of the Future Workshop. Every workshop has its specific topic, which is defined in this phase. Based on the topic, individuals or groups are invited as participants. In this phase there are a number of practical issues to address, such as, who should conduct the Future Workshop, who should participate, how to formulate the invitation, what premises to use and the date and duration of the workshop.

Critique phase

This phase begins with a problem inventory against the background of the topic of the Future Workshop with the method of brainstorming to elicit critical keywords or concepts. The concepts are written on a flip-chart and the sheets are posted on the walls. In the next step, each participant ticks off three to five of the concepts he or she considers the most critical or problematic. In this way a "bottom list" of negative concepts is produced. After that, the participants meet in smaller groups, in which people from various groups are integrated, to debate whether there is any pattern to be found in the critique and whether and how the concepts are coherent. The aim of this phase is to bring forth all the irritation and the complex of problems linked to the topic.

Fantasy phase

In this phase, participants ad-lib creative and imaginative alternatives in a free and uninhibited manner. To begin with, the method is the same as in the critique phase, i.e., to produce keywords/concepts by brainstorming, but here, the participants must be positive and imaginative. Each person ticks off concepts that he or she considers the most positive, thus contributing to a top list of positive concepts. Group work in this phase means working on a "visionary draft" of how participants wish to view the future against the background of the topic. The visionary drafts are presented in the forms of painting, collage, role play, etc. The aim of this phase is to liberate the participants from traditional thinking about what is possible or what is right or wrong. No limitations are allowed.

Implementation phase

On the basis of what has emerged in the critique and fantasy phases, the participants discuss and develop various topics that are felt important to work with. Each par-

ticipant then chooses the topic he or she is most interested in. The next step is for the participants to form different topic/working groups in order to draw up concrete action plans for the further work and make clear *who* should do *what*, *when* and *how*. The aim of this phase is to link perceived problems to good ideas and visions and to put forward concrete proposals for further action.

Action and follow-up phase

The topic/working groups continue working up to a follow-up about two to four months after the workshop, when all participants meet again. On this occasion the working groups report to each other about what they have worked with so far. This day can result in other constellations and collaboration.

   The Future Workshop is documented, and the material is handed out to all participants.

Examples of Various Projects with Future Workshops

Below are brief reports from a number of different projects in which we, authors of this chapter, have been involved, either the two of us together or one of us. We present results from implementing Future Workshops in different contexts like urban areas, rural areas or elder housing alternatives. The descriptions of the results from the Future Workshops are based on the very careful documentation that was made by a secretary during each workshop.[1]

The Project "Local Strategies for the Welfare of the Elderly", Eskilstuna[2], May 1997

The background of this project was a fear that cuts in the public sector would impair the quality of eldercare. One aim of the project *Local strategies for the welfare of the elderly* was, together with home help service staff, to develop an approach to quality assurance having its foundation in consideration for and understanding of how the individual senior citizen leads and, above all, *wants* to lead his or her life. Another aim was to work out strategies for coordination of formal and informal resources in a local context. Departing from a local perspective, in this context a residential area, was crucial since the ideology of eldercare development is focused on aging in place, normalisation and integration. A third aim was, from the perspective of managers and administrative officers, to design methods for *case management* linked to a user-centred approach and to find forms for collaboration in the local context.

   The project can be described from a *research part* and a *staff development part*. The research part included an inventory of needs and problems in two local environments, one urban area and one rural area. The staff development part involved work-

ing out new approaches and working methods together with home help service staff and the housing company. These staff groups took part in the Future Workshops together with representatives of other organisations and various volunteer organisations as a part of their continuing professional development. Two Future Workshops have been realised in the project, one in the residential area Fröslunda, which is an urban area, and in the Stora Sundby village, a rural area. The methodological starting points of the project were a participatory approach, a qualitative data collection and a so-called "bottom-up" perspective.

Future Workshop at Fröslunda[3]

The topic of the Future Workshop at Fröslunda was *Better everyday life for the elderly in Fröslunda*. For two days, 28 people came together to discuss ideas and proposals for an improvement of future housing for senior citizens in the area. The participants represented a variety of organisations such as the municipal housing corporation, home help service, primary care, various pensioners' organisations and other voluntary organisations, the tenants' association and local police officers. In the critique phase a great deal of criticism was put forward, especially concerning a recently discontinued meal sitting and alternative housing as well as the lack of daily activities for the elderly. In the fantasy phase, especially a new meal sitting was discussed, a sitting that might be arranged in collaboration between the local social services department and voluntary organisations with committed senior citizens. The three working groups that were created in the implementation phase were to go on working with "meal sittings, social rehabilitation and alternative housing", "acts of friendship and collaboration across generations" and "forming an alliance between the church and other interested parties". At the follow-up, yet another group was formed to work with "security issues" in collaboration with local police. One outcome that we would like to emphasise is the fact that a new day centre has opened with a new meal sitting and premises for teamwork. In connection with a visit in 1999 by our international partners in a later EU project, a study visit was made at the meal sitting. The senior citizens who had been active in the project presented the day centre and reported from the Future Workshop and what it had meant for the positive development in the area. They were very proud and emphasised the fact that it was the senior citizens in the area who had led the development process.

Future Workshop at Stora Sundby[4]

Just as in the Future Workshop project described above, the topic was to *create better everyday life at Stora Sundby* together with various stakeholders. Sixteen persons took part representing roughly the same groups as at Fröslunda. The critique presented here primarily concerned lack of organisation of public transport and a

badly functioning mobility allowance organisation. Also noted here was a lack of housing alternatives. The need for acts of friendship as well as the lack of contacts across generations was also expressed. The fantasy phase offered an opportunity to buy a minibus, plan new modern flats adapted to the needs of senior citizens and, after calling on politicians, a functioning transportation service. Working groups were to attend to "transportation", "alternative housing" and "activities". On of the outcomes of this Future Workshop is the retaining of a senior citizen activity in the village, called "Buns and books", which was undertaken by the local library and which was allowed to continue in spite of being threatened with closure. Senior citizens could listen to readings while enjoying coffee and buns. This was considered a very important activity, and the pensioners defended their local library, which was close to the recreation centre. The protests against the planned closure of the district library that were the outcome of the Future Workshop saved the library, which was allowed to continue after the politicians had changed their minds (Bolvig, Henning, Karp & Åhnby, 1999).

Future Workshop with Eldercare staff in Eskilstuna

As a result of the project "Local strategies for the welfare of the elderly", several Future Workshops have been held with eldercare staff in various units in the municipality of Eskilstuna. The initiative came from the staff themselves, and the Future Workshops were carried out in the framework of various EU Objective 4 projects. Some of these Future Workshops will be presented below.

Fröslunda home help team, May 1998

In one Future Workshop, Fröslunda home help, a team from home help services participated.[5] The team was previously divided into three teams, each with its own group leader and each in its own rooms. After a reorganisation, the three teams were combined into one. Twenty-four persons, home help assistants, personal benefit advisors and managers within eldercare took part in the Future Workshop. The Future Workshop presented below is a pedagogical method in the framework of an EU project, through which financing for various training efforts has been applied for. The topic of the Future Workshop was *How shall we develop our work and involve the senior citizens?*

One outcome of the inventory in the critique phase was the participants' dissatisfaction with their salary and too much holiday work. Another cause for dissatisfaction was the fact that staff have no time to sit down and talk with the elderly due to a tight schedule. From the keywords/concepts part of the critique phase, the participants saw a pattern around the concepts schedule – working environment – stress – users. In the fantasy phase it appeared that the most positive was that work

was unrestricted and full of variety with opportunities for continuing professional development and nice fellow workers. People appreciated working in smaller groups and receiving gratitude from the elderly.

Working groups were formed in the implementation phase for the further work, and everybody was committed to working to involve the elderly. Examples of groups are "*Eating together*", "*Sewing room*", "*Gambling den*", "*Study circles*" and "*Garden patch*".

Activity in the group "*Eating together*" started right away with an opening ceremony in the room placed at their disposal. The menu was planned together with the elderly, and the aim was for the elderly eventually to have more responsibility and involvement.

"*The sewing room*" planned to buy a sewing-machine and invited the elderly to bring clothes in need of repair or refashion. In a leaflet designed to attract visitors, they wrote "*Hi, all pensioners with clothes to repair. Bring them here without despair, and you can walk in all weathers foul and fair.*"

The aim of the "*Gaming den*" was to provide various games and to organise quiz competitions, bingo and other activities. Help from volunteers to organise activities and to serve refreshments, coffee, etc., would be appreciated.

The group "*Study circles*" initially invited elderly people with home help service. They discussed literature and planned study visits to learn from others.

The group "*Garden patch*" planned to purchase flower boxes and to plant rose bushes and flower bulbs for the coming spring.

Voices from the participants:

"*It's been good, now it feels as if something positive is happening. Not a day too soon. I hope everything is successful. There are doubts about time and money and whether the schedule works, I'm hoping for the best*" (Future Workshop Fröslunda home care, 1998).

Hemlaås sheltered housing[6], November 1998

Hemlaås is former "old people's home" which before the project started had two wards with mixed accommodation, i.e., people with and without dementia in the same ward, and group accommodation with eight places exclusively for those with dementia. Small rooms and poor standard made Hemlaås a not very attractive accommodation. Changing the purpose and developing Hemlaås to accommodation for people with dementia was a political decision, and the topic of this workshop was "*How can we together turn Hemlaås into an attractive accommodation for those with dementia?*" With project financing from the EU, staff were involved in the change work, and the Future Workshop method was used to initiate the change process. By

the democratic working method, all staff had an opportunity to be involved from the very start. In the critique phase, criticism focused on small lavatories and shared toilets, inadequate training of staff, few full-time jobs and insufficient collaboration between day and night staff, and too great a mixture of tenants with different needs. The fantasy phase produced a living with few tenants and a cosy atmosphere as well as a high level of staff competence. In the implementation phase, working groups were formed to continue the change and analysis work. To retain and develop competence in the team, key persons were selected to be coordinators in the working groups. The topics in the working groups were "*Food*", "*Working hours*", "*Healthcare*" and "*Environment*".

The "*Food*" group discussed where food should be cooked (at a catering centre or locally), making changes in the dining room, having more varying hours for different meals and promoting better collaboration among various staff groups especially in connection with major meals.

The group "*Working hours*" was to revise staff time for the tenants, forms of collaboration between working groups and duties like cleaning and activation.

The group "*Healthcare*" was to allow staff the use of a sauna and a pool, fitness training and other physical and mental training, including training during working hours, e.g., one hour per week.

Tasks for the last working group, "*Environment*", were to work with the physical and the mental environment, discuss certain reconstruction needs and look over outdoor and indoor environments.

At the follow-up a few months later, participants largely concentrated on discussing an action plan for continued professional staff development, since this workshop was the beginning of an EU project that mainly focused on professional development.

Some of the comments in the evaluation were:

"*Good to meet all staff, kitchen, night and day staff*", "*Overnight stay during the Future Workshop was good, you get to know each other better then. It has been very instructive. I think I have grown a little as a human by being in various groups.*" "*Fun, rewarding, instructive, above my expectations. I look forward to the next meeting. I appreciate my job conditions more, I feel involved. This is something of a boost for my job.*" (Hemlaås Future Workshop, 1998).

Lagerbergsgården sheltered housing, February 1999

Lagerbergsgården is sheltered housing[7]; the participants were a group of twelve staff working in two wards with seven places each for patients with dementia. Clients live in their own flats of 40 m^2 and have joint access to a kitchen. The newly renovated

and modern flats have a very high standard. The physical housing environment offers the best conditions imaginable for efficient high-quality care. In spite of such favourable outer conditions, care work is heavy and stressful, leading to feelings of being dead tired and never able to meet people's needs. It is not uncommon for serious discord and aggressiveness to occur. There are an increasing number of younger clients, and conflicts between younger and older pensioners can often arise. In the application for EU financing for the development work, emphasis was put on the importance of involving all staff concerned in the change work from the start in order to make it as efficient as possible. To begin development work, a residential Future Workshop was carried out during two days. The critique phase revealed that staff saw more obstacles than opportunities. Among other things they pointed out that night staff resources were too scarce and that it was wrong to retain the "principle of aging in place"[8] in the housing. In the fantasy phase, Lagerbergsgården was housing with night staff, round the building there was a fence with a gate and there was a wish that the principle of aging in place should not be applied at any price. In the implementation phase, working groups were to be created based on the topics that had emerged in the critique and fantasy phases of the Future Workshop. In this workshop, the continuing work focused on professional development, and the working groups decided to go on working on further specifying the individual training needs that had surfaced. Each group had a key person to function as coordinator. The task of the key persons is to make sure that competence in the working team is maintained and developed.

Some written thoughts from the participants sum up the discussions:
"*We've come to know each other. Had a lot of fun. Good that everything is ventilated. We want to find new goals and alternatives.*"
"*Have got good ideas – positive as well as negative. Ideas that can be implemented. We've discussed about what will become of this. – **We** are the ones who must take responsibility for doing something.*"
"*Like a labyrinth. You can reach the goal in different ways. I believe in the vision. There's a lot of creativity, joy…but it's not visible on the surface.*"
"*A good thing to get to know each other. Gave me something to think about – what you're like and how you treat the elderly – worth considering.*" (Lagerbergsgården Future Workshop, 1999).

Summary of the three staff workshops

As mentioned above, each of the three Future Workshops was carried out in the framework of an EU project. The ambition of the projects was to start with a Future Workshop to spawn ideas that could be used to jointly improve the work of the

team. Critique and visions that emerged from the workshop were utilised in the subsequent work. Various proposals for professional development were presented in the implementation phase and were further executed in the framework of the greater project. The following are a few examples: information/introduction regarding staff to staff, improvement of relations between staff and relatives, information exchange between working groups, working methods and attitudes, collaboration and relationships, goals and activity concept.

Project "Welfare, Housing and Care of the Elderly in the Local context" (The OAK project) in Jönköping[9]

"*Welfare, housing and care of the elderly in the local context*" was a project initiated by the School of Health Sciences and carried out during 1998-2000 in collaboration with the municipality of Jönköping. The project called "*OAK – care development, labour market requirements and professional development in municipal home help service*" (Åhnby, 2000a; Henning, Johansson & Åhnby, 2000) was part of an EU-financed project with partners in Germany and Italy. The overall objective of the OAK project was to design innovative methods for professional development of home help service staff as well as to create opportunities for senior citizens to take part in the work on improving the local environment to facilitate aging in place and integration.

The aim of the subproject *Welfare, housing and care of the elderly in the local context* was to draw up new strategies for collaboration in the local area in order to increase the possibility of senior citizens to go on living in the area and to develop the competence level of home help service staff as well as to initiate local change work. The project was implemented in two separate areas in the municipality of Jönköping, Österängen[10] and Norrahammar[11]. Future Workshop has been one method in this research and development work; in the project one Future Workshop was carried out in each of the areas. Participants in the Future Workshops were senior citizens and representatives of home help service staff, district health services, various housing corporations, associations, voluntary organisations, churches and local police. They were all closely connected to the local area.

Future Workshop at Österängen

Twenty-six persons, all with connection to Österängen, came together in this Future Workshop with the topic "*Let us together improve Österängen*". Brainstorming in the critique phase produced key concepts like no lifts in the blocks of flats, poor outer environment, few meeting places for various activities, lack of contact with older immigrants, generation gaps and a feeling of insecurity. The outcome of the fantasy phase was above all a wish for hobby rooms, a bus service to suit everybody (with a bus constantly cruising the area) and improvements of the physical environment for

better security and availability. The implementation phase produced three basic topics for working groups: *Communication, service and availability, Human and cultural encounters* and *Order and security*.

The Future Workshop at Österängen resulted in the creation of a meals team in which volunteers collaborated with home help services and the housing corporation, which let them use facilities. The team serves soup once a week. Another result was collaboration for a more secure Österängen between local police, housing corporations and voluntary organisations.

Future Workshop at Norrahammar

The other Future Workshop in the framework of the project was carried out at Norrahammar. Thirty-four persons representing various stakeholders came together for the same topic as at Österängen but now focused on Norrahammar, "*Let us together improve Norrahammar*". The critique phase emphasised a lack of visiting activities from various associations. Other examples were loneliness and isolation, a lack of alternative housing for the elderly, no lifts in the blocks of flats, insufficient information about both formal care and activities of various organisations and inadequate collaboration between stakeholders. In the fantasy phase there was a wish that home help services should have more time for those who are lonely. In the implementation phase, participants discussed topics around *Forms of collaboration, Information, Human encounters* and *Availability*. One outcome of the Future Workshop at Norrahammar was a decision to find good forms of collaboration between the various voluntary organisations and associations in the area as well as better joint action with the municipal eldercare. An information leaflet from associations and organisations was produced jointly to be distributed to all households; the leaflet is continually updated.

Summary of the follow-up of the two Future Workshops

After about three months all participants in the Future Workshops in the two areas met for a follow-up. The working/topic groups reported on their discussions and their work after the Future Workshop. The following are examples of outcomes presented by the groups: *What have the working groups worked with? Has any tangible change work been initiated? Is there support from others in the area? What problems have been encountered?* The work had raised many new issues for discussion among all participants for decisions on how the joint work should continue.

The municipal coordinator of club and volunteer activities in each area was appointed contact person and something of a spider in the net for the further work (Åhnby, 2000a; Åhnby, 2000b; Henning et al., 2000). These contact persons have been crucial for the development of the work into a process in line with Jungk and

Müllert's (1996) vision of a "permanent workshop". Still today, almost ten years later, initiatives are undertaken at Österängen and Norrahammar in the wake of the Future Workshops.

Project "Cultural life for the Elderly"

The Luppen Research and Development Centre[12] issued an invitation 2003 to a Future Workshop in the frame of a project about how to promote a more cultural life for the elderly, aiming at finding new ways in eldercare with a focus on cultural and social activities. Those invited to this workshop were politicians, group managers, staff nurses, senior citizens, culture workers and club members from municipalities in the county of Jönköping. The topic of the Future Workshop was; *How can we make everyday life a little richer for tenants?* By incorporating and prioritising cultural and social activities in eldercare, both tenants and staff should be stimulated, but the question was, "How do we make it in the stressful everyday life?" The implementation phase specified two separate topics for the continuing work, "*Work directed inwards*" and "*Work directed outwards*". Work directed inwards included well-being and intellectual and emotional growth; work directed outwards comprised inspiration and development and social networks. The participants then continued working in their municipalities, and at the follow-up a few months later they reported on how this work had progressed on the home ground. After this workshop, a network was created with, among others, participants in the Future Workshop, particularly persons working with culture and activities in eldercare. The network has met regularly for about two years. The aim of the network is to inspire one another to concrete actions/events in one's own municipality.

The Future Workshop "Cultural life for the elderly" has resulted in one municipality having decided to continue with its own Future Workshop about developing a service building into senior housing and a community centre. Another example is an R&D[13] study circle carried out by Luppen with eldercare staff as participants. The aim of this circle was to give elderly people an opportunity and a possibility to sum up their lives by talking to others (in this case staff) about their experience of life. Staff in their turn have gained increased knowledge about the past. The elderly narrate and the staff listen and write down and summarise recollections, experiences and historical knowledge from the perspective of the elderly. This method could be called "writing workshop" (Luppen knowledge centre, 2006).

The outcome of the Future Workshop may be illustrated by the following quotation from one of the staff:

"*It has been very rewarding. We learnt that nothing is impossible, if you just have the will.*" "*Very good, instructive, inspiring – quite simply got a kick out of it.*" (Future Workshop Cultural life for the elderly, 2003).

Project "How can the Senior housing Snickaren ("The Carpenter") become a Community Centre?" in Eksjö[14]

The object of the project which was conducted during 2006-2007 was, jointly with elderly tenants, eldercare staff and other key stakeholders, to draw up strategies to facilitate aging in place for the elderly. The project also aimed at letting elderly persons together with home help service staff and other agents work out new forms of collaboration and coordination of formal and informal resources. The aim was to increase participation of elderly and home help service staff in processes to improve everyday life for the elderly from a holistic view of housing and care.

   The participants were senior citizens living at Snickaren or in the local area. There were also representatives of pensioners' associations and other volunteer organisations. Staff were represented by nursing aids, kitchen staff, group manager and home help assistants. One person from primary care and one local politician also participated. In all, there were thirty participants, all with some kind of connection to Snickaren. Researchers from the School of Health Sciences at Jönköping University conducted the Future Workshop.

   Just as in the cases mentioned previously, the implementation phase involved the subsequent development work after the two days of the Future Workshop. In the critique and fantasy phases two topics emerged: *Collaboration for community* and *Collaboration for development of housing and local environment.*

Follow-up and evaluation

The participants in the project have met on several occasions after the two days of the Future Workshop to inform each other about their continuing work and to discuss the future direction of the development work. Many volunteers have joined the work, and the municipality has employed a recreation coordinator to manage activities and contacts between various actors. This person acts as a spider in the net and has an important function in the continuing work. The Future Workshop has brought about participation and facilitated for many to be involved in developing various activities. At the last documented follow-up in June 2006, scarcely a year after the Future Workshop, a great deal had happened. Significant improvements had been made in the garden with, among other things, new plants. An asphalt path had replaced the old gravel path to improve accessibility for wheelchairs and rollators. Improvements had also been made indoors with, for example, spy-holes in the outer doors of all flats. A group had been appointed to discuss proposals for new

furniture in the dayroom. A small kiosk had opened in the dining room selling chocolates, stamps, etc. Volunteers had re-introduced the popular afternoon coffee that had previously been served by the staff. In the spring an interest council had been formed with representatives of the Municipal Pensioners' Council, the Snickaren Client Council and various volunteer organisations. The interest council is intended to encourage contacts between the various stakeholders. One of the participants in the Future Workshop was a politician, and he thought he had got much better decision data in various contexts by participating. He said, "*I have got a truer image of reality for me to make decisions*". One of the older participants argued that "*the Future Workshop has strengthened democracy*" (Henning & Åhnby, 2008; Henning, Åhnby & Österström, 2009).

Conclusive Observations

With the Future Workshop method, a process has been initiated, and that is what Robert Jungk and Norbert Müllert intended with their method. It is not about starting and finishing a project but about initiating a process that can live on in a "permanent workshop". Jungk and Müllert wanted to develop alternative and more democratic forms of change work. Their intention was to interlace an intuitive and emotional approach with rational and analytical thinking. To generate such an atmosphere, they alternated work in the three phases with various activities to promote creativity. It should be fun to take part in a workshop, and seriousness was mixed with games and laughter (Jungk & Müllert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000; Åhnby, 2000b).

   Below we would like to present some of our experiences of the Future Workshops we have worked with to show what can happen in a Future Workshop. *The outcome* can, in our view, include tangible action based on the topic of the Future Workshop, but participation can also be of importance to the individual on a more personal level. The latter circumstance is what we find most important, which we stressed when we introduced the Future Workshop method to the participants. Networking is often more important than tangible results in terms of fullfilled goals. When implementing the Future Workshop method with older people as participants, we have been forced to make adaptations of the method to this target group. As some of the elderly were impaired or fragile, we had to reduce some of the elements in different phases that demand mobility and speed. Instead we prolonged some of the elements to reduce stress. In the Phantasy phase we learned that the older people to a great extent expressed down-to-earth ideas which were not so difficult to realise in the implementation phase. This reduced the risk of disappointment when it came to the implementation phase. We have now and then checked the outcome of a project a long time after implementing the Future Workshop method. When doing so, we

have been able to conclude that somehow (more or less) a process for development and change still continues that could be traced to the initial Future Workshop. We see best results from those projects in Jönköping (the European "OAK project") and Eksjö (a senior housing project), where someone employed by the municipal social services has the function as social pedagogue. These persons are responsible for following up initiatives from the old participants in the Future Workshop to make the process less dependent on strong informal leaders. This could be especially important in eldercare to reduce vulnerability due to age and impairment.

Future Workshop as a Method – Outcomes and Significance

In our observations we link back to some of the six dimensions described by Denvall and Salonen (2000).

A process is initiated

That the Future Workshop method can initiate a process is clearly shown in the project Overjoyed and others. In that Future Workshop there were several participants from the municipality of Eksjö: senior citizens, eldercare staff, politicians and officials. Participants in the workshop took ideas back home which eventually resulted in a new Future Workshop, the above-mentioned "Snickaren – a community centre" in the municipality of Eksjö. It was not only a new local Future Workshop that was started; the latter Future Workshop in Eksjö in turn initiated a number of processes. Talking about initiating processes that are to continue after the project itself, i.e., after the Future Workshop has finished, we can also mention the two Future Workshops implemented in the municipality of Eskilstuna in the framework of the project "Local strategies for the welfare of the elderly". This project inspired eldercare staff to initiate a number of change projects and new Future Workshops about the development of the municipal eldercare. This project was also a forerunner of the OAK project in Jönköping.

In the period between a Future Workshop and its follow-up, which is usually a few months later, groups have met separately to continue working with the action plans initiated in the implementation phase. At the follow-up, participants have come to a joint decision on which issues are most important to go on working with. In this way a process is started.

Democracy and involvement

With the Future Workshop in Eksjö, senior citizens began to ask for changes. New thoughts and ideas grew which further developed previous proposals. The elderly have begun to take a more active part in the work, and new networks have been es-

tablished between various groups of senior citizens and associations. Through these networks new knowledge and experience has been brought forward and expanded. The spirit of community that is growing in new constellations of groups of people is the beginning of long-term efforts with new thoughts for further processes. To Jungk the democratic process was crucial, and it was a matter of course that those who are affected by a change also should be involved in influencing and shaping the future they are facing (Denvall & Salonen, 2000).

A couple of the senior citizens among the participants put it like this:
"*The Future Workshop has given me an opportunity to express my wishes.*"
"*The Future Workshop gives you an opportunity to be involved in change.*" (Future Workshop in Eksjö, 2005; Henning et al., 2009).

According to Jungk, a Future Workshop shall contribute to elucidating common problems. The method shall help people to meet in a constructive and creative way (Jungk & Müllert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000). We can see that the Future Workshops from which we have experience also have resulted in the initiation of several tangible projects. The project in Eksjö created a commitment both among those taking part in the change work and among other tenants, who have become more active and who discuss what is happening in the senior housing (Future Workshop in Eksjö, 2005; Henning et al., 2009).

The view of man and human development

Robert Jungk's view of man implies that people have the will and ability to take responsibility for their actions. Denval and Salonen (2000) argue that the Future Workshop considers people's ability to think, create and take their own responsibility. People also grow in community with others.

At some follow-ups after Future Workshops we have asked participants what the workshop has meant for them. Below is a selection of answers from senior citizens who have participated:
"*It feels important to participate and to be able to be active.*" "*It feels important to participate in thought, even if I cannot physically help.*" "*It is of great significance for one's self-esteem.*" "*One gets knowledge, one has influence and can affect even at a great age.*" (Future Workshop in Eksjö, 2005; Henning et al., 2009).

Professional Development

The Future Workshops have been directly or indirectly intended for eldercare staff. In all Future Workshops, staff has participated, and we have been able to design a model to integrate research, training and change work in the framework of the

projects presented above. For example, the experience from the OAK project in Jönköping has been disseminated in three distance education courses for home help service staff. The courses were directed towards needs assessment in a comprehensive social perspective, leadership and change work, and local networking. The distance courses have been a means to spread knowledge from the project and to give an opportunity to participants also from other municipalities to share in professional development in line with the ambitions of the project.

In addition to taking the above-mentioned courses, staff participation in the projects can also be seen as part of professional development. This refers to developing "*local competence*", i.e., staff have gained new knowledge about what resources and opportunities for collaboration can be found locally. Through the Future Workshop, staff have also had an opportunity to pursue new strategies for such collaboration and have thus been able to develop their "*network competence*". The emphasis of the projects on client participation and client perspective has also aimed at developing the staff's *attitudes* towards the elderly in order to increase quality in eldercare, an attitude that we want to characterise as a *social education attitude*. Staff who feel happy, are committed and have great competence are a prerequisite of raising quality in eldercare.

The following are some answers from staff who have participated to the question of what the Future Workshop has meant to them:
"*It has been fun discussing with others and hearing their views.*" "*We have come to know each other.*" (Future Workshop in Eksjö, 2005).
"*Gave me something to think about – what you're like and how you treat the elderly – worth considering.*" (Lagerbergsgården, 1999).
"*We have learnt something good about each other.*" "*I think I've grown a little as a human being by being a member of various groups.*" (Hemlaås Future Workshop, 1998).

Future Workshop and the Concept of Social Pedagogy

Future Workshops can be seen as way of developing a *social pedagogical approach* in eldercare. Social pedagogy and teaching have a common view of human beings and their development. We find the same concept of man in the Future Workshop method, which is founded on a pedagogic structure with a clear ideological core, based on a positive view of man. To elucidate this, we may return to one of the six dimensions which Denvall and Salonen (2000) argue constitute the ideological foundation of the Future Workshop. This regards the view of collective creation, which maintains that man is a collective being who grows and fulfils himself in fellowship with others. We may compare this with Paul Natorp, one of the founders of social education,

who, according to Eriksson and Markström (2000), argued that man and fellowship presuppose each other. We can also find common points of departure in Jungk & Müllert and Paulo Freire. Freire is known for his radical teaching methods, which are close to Jungk's own thoughts about teaching. Both argue that the individual must learn to see his or her own role in relation to here and now and also to learn from history. Both also emphasise the importance of having a critical attitude to the surrounding world, both in relation to oneself and to that in which one is involved in changing (Denvall & Salonen, 2000; Eriksson & Markström, 2000; Freire,1996. Eriksson (2006) presents three social pedagogical models, two of which are points in common with the Future Workshop method, the *mobilising* and the *democratic models*. The *mobilising model* implies an action dimension; it uses methods affecting society with a collectively transforming approach. Concepts in this model are liberation and empowerment. The *democratic model* advocates dialogue as a crucial tool, using animation as a method. Approaches of the model concern practical wisdom, and education and citizenship are central concepts.

Future Workshop and the Concept of Empowerment

What we have learnt from our work with Future Workshops shows how people can be involved in change work that affects them. The examples we have given concern elderly people and people who work with the elderly. All the Future Workshops have resulted in concrete proposals for changes that participants want to continue working on. This has also led to a favourable development of those who have been involved in the Future Workshops.

Our examples prove how important it is that those affected, the elderly as well as the staff, can not only be involved but also *have the power* to influence. Looking back at the concept of democracy, which, according to Jungk and Müllert, is one of the cornerstones of the Future Workshop method, we humans shall not only be seen as onlookers but as participants in society, and there shall be common arenas where all are equal (Jungk & Müllert, 1996; Denvall & Salonen, 2000). From the concepts of democracy and power we can also link to the concept of *empowerment*. Renblad (2003) describes empowerment from both a philosophical and a practical point of view. From the philosophical point of view she sees empowerment as an aspect of democracy and ethics in everyday life and from the practical point of view as an opportunity to be active and participate. She also argues that it is important to convey a sense of having *the right* to be involved. According to Renblad, the concept of empowerment also refers to resources and opportunities for growth and development and can be analysed on several levels – individual, group, organisation and society. The resources can be physical, mental and social.

Empowerment is a blurred concept, difficult to translate, but nevertheless it is

often used in various activities as an approach and has become more common in research. Askheim and Starrin (2007) believe that this popularity may be due to the fact that the word *power*, which is part of empowerment, refers to the concepts of *strength, authority and force*.

We find the concept of empowerment in Swedish legislation; it is exercised by someone *supporting* someone else in wielding power, or by *handing over* power from someone to someone else (Forsberg & Starrin, 1997). We also find the concept in social work; empowerment often appears in discussions about local development work, local autonomy and mobilisation of vulnerable groups.

Final Conclusions

The Future Workshop method and the concepts of empowerment and social pedagogy are about supporting people; this is done jointly with those who need help and support of various kinds. It can be a matter of supporting local development and change work, but it can also involve support in everyday life.

The Future Workshop method offers opportunities for involvement and creativity when new ideas are put forward by people in joint collaboration. The aim is not only to generate involvement and creativity but also to help people *realise their ideas*. By liberating creativity and drawing up action plans, people's self-esteem and possibility to take power over their own lives are strengthened. The clear structure of the method also provides security so that people dare to go beyond prevalent practice (Denvall & Salonen, 2000).

Our examples from Future Workshops have shown that when people with different backgrounds and activities are given an opportunity to meet, great creativity develops. Crucial for the continuing process is that the composition of the working groups is varied. It is also of importance for the continuing process to monitor what happens after the two days of Future Workshop up to the follow-up two to four months later and during that period support the working groups in their efforts. There must also be a feedback to officials and politicians concerned in order to implement the proposals. We have learnt that it is important for the continuing process that participants feel that they have tangible and clear tasks to get on with. It is also important that somebody is charged with the responsibility for supporting participants in the continuing work, at least during a transitional period before the process has matured to the point of being a "permanent workshop".

Working in a Future Workshop offers opportunities to coordinate people, as alternatives or complements to existing organisations, and new forms of collaboration are generated on the basis of personal contacts. In this way, local social networks are developed which can provide opportunities to develop future strategies of collaboration to enhance elderly people's welfare.

The municipality, which in Sweden has the overall responsibility for formal elder-care, is liable for the future outcome by supporting the processes that have been initi-ated and encouraging the involvement and creativity that has been aroused. How-ever, above all, survival depends on the process that was begun through the Future Workshop based on people's commitment from a "bottom-up" perspective. Key concepts for a successful process are joint commitment, involvement, responsibility and power to influence.

	Project	Future Workshop	Participants
Eskilstuna	Local strategies for the welfare of the elderly	Fröslunda: Improvement of urban residential area Stora Sundby: Improvement of rural area	Elderly, staff in eldercare, staff in outpatient health care, volunteer organisations, local police, custodian from municipal housing company
	Fröslunda home help team	Qualification improvement	Staff in eldercare
	Hemlaås sheltered housing	Qualification improvement	Staff in eldercare
	Lagerbergsgården sheltered housing	Qualification improvement	Staff in eldercare
Jönköping	Welfare, housing and care of the elderly in the local context (OAK)	Österängen: Improvement of urban residential area Norrahammar: Improvement of rural area	Elderly, staff in eldercare, staff in outpatient health care, volunteer organisations, local police, custodian from municipal housing company
	Cultural life for the elderly	Creating a network for social and cultural activities in eldercare	Elderly, staff in eldercare, staff in outpatient health care, volunteer organisations
Eksjö	How can the senior housing "The Carpenter" become a community center?	Eksjö: Transforming a senior housing into a community center	Elderly, staff in eldercare, , staff in outpatient health care, volunteer organisations, local politicians

Figure 1. Survey of projects and Future Workshops.

Notes

[1] The participants were fully aware of the intention to document the outcome of the Future Work-shops and have agreed to this.

[2] The municipality of Eskilstuna is a good 100 km southwest of Stockholm. It has just above 90,000 inhabitants.

[3] Fröslunda is an urban residential area from the 1940s with a large proportion of elderly.

[4] Stora Sundby is a rural area.

[5] This team provides care to elderly in ordinary housing accommodation.

[6] Sheltered housing is defined as own accommodation in specially adapted flats, usually 1 room and a kitchen. There are a restaurant and other facilities for common activities in the building and there is day and night staff. A decision about assistance is required to move into sheltered housing.

[7] Sheltered housing is defined as own accommodation in specially adapted flats, usually 1 room and a kitchen. There are a restaurant and other facilities for common activities in the building and there is day and night staff. A decision about assistance is required to move into sheltered housing.

[8] The principle is a basis for eldercare policy in Sweden aiming at giving opportunity to and facilitat-

ing for elderly persons to live at home (i.e., in ordinary housing), thereby being able to lead a life of their own. In the framework of a more independent *senior housing* this may result in elderly people with considerable care needs aging in place, although they might need to move to a nursing home.

[9] Jönköping is in the south of Sweden some 350 km from Stockholm. It has just above 120,000 inhabitants.

[10] Österängen is a clearly defined residential area from the 1950s situtated on the outskirts of central Jönköping. Österängen has a large proportion of elderly inhabitants.

[11] Norrahammar is a former industrial community about 10 km south of central Jönköping.

[12] Luppen Research and Development Centre is a research and development unit with the aim of creating meeting places for practitioners and researchers in order to promote learning, research and development from the perspective of the practitioner.

[13] R&D stands for Research and Development.

[14] The municipality of Eksjö has about 16,000 inhabitants. It is 80 km southeast of Jönköping.

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Future Workshop as a Method for Societally Motivated Research and Social Planning

Karin Renblad, Cecilia Henning and Magnus Jegermalm

Social Planning in Swedish Welfare Politics

Confidence in social planning as means to create welfare is a distinguishing quality in the Swedish welfare model that emerged in post-war Sweden. There is now even in Europe a discussion beginning around the weight of society's engagement in order to manage the great problems of the future. The concept social planning can be defined as physical planning with social goals or something broader like socially aimed societal planning. The connection between housing politics and social politics can be traced already to the 1930s with the couple Alva and Gunnar Myrdal as well-known advocates for a social democratic politics possessing features of social engineering with the purpose to "put life in order" for the citizens (Hirdman, 2000). With help of social planning the ambition was to create a better life situation for the citizens. The social and housing politics of the 1930s had as the purpose to stimulate a far too low birth rate through better housing for families with many children. Cramped living and lack of housing was observed again during the '60s as a societal problem, which became the object of state initiated contributions. A state subsidized housing construction program (the so-called Million Program) was launched in 1965, with the goal to build one million residences during a ten year period. This is yet another example of how housing political contributions were used as means to solve social problems.

During the 1980s a series of projects were carried out in order to renew the supply of housing units from the '40s. Since a large number of older people lived in these housing areas particularly advantageous loans were granted for the landlords and housing companies that in connection with the renewal even carried out measures in order to facilitate the older people still living there. The concept *Aging in place* is defined in this context as to be able to still live in the same apartment after rebuilding and renovation, but the concept is more often interpreted as a possibility to be able to remain in the same housing area. (Later the concept has had a broader meaning, to be able to remain in the regular housing units instead of being forced to move to some form of institution, i.e. special accommodation). After researchers studied a few examples of area renewal that were initiated as a result of the government subsidies, alarming reports came about how the elderly who lived in these areas experienced how their local social networks were torn apart because of the renewal

process (see e.g. Jacobson, 1991; Öresjö, 1988). In 1986 in the housing area Fröslunda in Eskilstuna, a renewal process began (from 1989 in concrete form of production) where *care* became a catchword. Partly it concerned a care about buildings, the language of design and the character of the area, but just as important was the care about existing social networks. In a later research project different contributions that were made during the renewal of the area were documented, which had as a purpose to preserve and create conditions for a neighborly community (Henning, 1994). This project is an example of social planning that is especially directed towards the elderly as a target group.

During the 1960s and '70s a tradition of community work within social work emerged, inspired primarily by *community development* projects in the U.S., England and Holland. In a new Social Services Act from 1980 (SFS 1980:620) it was written for the first time that a mission for social services, in regards to simultaneous individually aimed contributions, would be to even work aimed at structure, i.e. preventative and in order to create conditions for welfare. The participation of social services in community planning is indicated as a means to reach this ambition, which could mean leaving a planning foundation, as well as directly participating as main figures in different planning contexts at the municipality level. In Linköping Municipality a special model for the participation of social services in city-planning set the norms for how the intentions of the Social Services Law would be implemented (Henning, 1991). This type of expert initiated planning that emerged during the 1970s was later criticized for being too *top down* (Denvall et al, 1997). At the same time the goal-means-rational planning model that was characteristic for the art of social engineering that came to be associated with the traditional Swedish welfare model was questioned more often.

The latest trend within social planning brings forth the significance of grass roots engagement and that initiatives are taken that emerge from the *bottom up* to the level of the decision makers and the people in power. Something that is often emphasized is the weight of a social pedagogical perspective on planning[1] that brings forth the significance of empowerment (power through participation).

As an increased insight emerged about the challenges that an aging society is brought up against, the social planning has had something of a renaissance as the means to create welfare for the citizens. Sweden has a tradition and an experience of developing models for a city-planning with social goals. When it concerns planning for an *aging-friendly community* it really matters to learn from history and earlier mistakes from a planning that was far too managed from the top. This kind of planning has been proven not to be sustainable. When experts initiate a changing process top down, the process tends to fade out when the experts withdraw. The challenge lies in developing new strategies in order to encourage the participation and engagement of the elderly in a process managed from a bottom up perspective. The purpose

with this chapter is to describe the work that has been carried out within the framework for the project Social Research Platform in Jönköping County under the theme "How do we create an aging-friendly community?". In our analysis *as researchers* of the outcome of the project we direct our discussion to the discourse about civil society. A strong civil society is fundamental to make it possible to link formal support structures in building up a welfare society.[2]

Social Cohesion

At the same time as the gaps between different groups in society increase the question about social cohesion, has received even greater attention within the European Council. They define social cohesion as society's capacity to guarantee all its citizens a good welfare and minimize inequalities (CDCS, 2004). Social cohesion is about human well-being and the chance to be able to cooperate with each other (Stanley, 2003). The strategy involves everyone, even future generations and means a collective responsibility. The concept is dynamic combining basic political projects with a modern society based on rights and solidarity between people. There are four different aspects of well-being in the concept that determine the quality of the ties that are between people and between people and society.
1. Availability to rights in a just way and where no one is discriminated against
2. Dignity and acknowledgement of differences
3. Autonomy and satisfaction when it concerns the personal sphere, family life and work life for all individuals
4. Individual participation and engagement in building a just society.

Thirion (2004) points out that social cohesion is not a natural situation in society and the paradox is that the more individualism that develops the greater the individual's human interdependency becomes. The report State of the English Cities (www.communities.gov.uk/publications/citiesandregions/state4) raises five different dimensions connected to the concept social cohesion. The first dimension is about the material conditions that are fundamental for social cohesion and social development. The second dimension is about freedom from fear; it is about passive relations that include tolerance and respect for each other. The third dimension is about positive interactions that include social networks between people and society. The fourth dimension is social inclusion or integration that gives people an experience of belonging. Social equality, good life quality and belief in the future is the fifth dimension.

The European Commission raises a number of important areas concerning work with social cohesion. A few examples of this are measures in order to be able to fight poverty and social exclusion especially concerning housing, health and medical care,

education, work, income – evening out and social service, as well as being able to increase the feeling of social security. It points out also the need of developing programs of action for families with a special focus on children and the elderly and the importance of cooperating with civil society especially trade unions and volunteer organizations.

An Aging-friendly Community

WHO (2007) states that presently there are two clear global trends. One is that more people are becoming elderly and the other is urbanisation. Together these will lead to great changes in society ahead. The year 2000, 600 million people were 60 years and older which is 11 percent of the population. From 2006-2050 a doubling is expected, which means that 22 percent of the population is 60 years and older. For the first time in history it will be more elderly than children (0-14 years) in the society.

More of us becoming older is not a societal problem, but is a success for the development of society. Better health and medical care and a high living standard lie among other things as the basis for this development. The elderly also known as seniors which is a concept that is used more often are a great resource for their families and society. To underline that this development demands, however, an active city-planning and a cooperation between the public, civil society and other societal sectors.

At the same time as the age structure in society is changing urbanisation is also increasing. The year 2030 it is expected that three out of five people will live in cities. This urban growth is often associated with technical and economic development. The cities are considered as centers for cultur, social and political activities. Here new ideas, products and services are developed that later influence the rest of society. But in order for this to be of use structures and services must be developed that support the chance for people to have well-being and activity (WHO, 2007).

WHO mentions "active aging" and describes it as a process where a person optimizes the possibilities for good health, participation and safety in the purpose of increasing the quality of life for the elderly population. Bendz (2002) points out that the elderly in time need different forms of support and an environment that compensates for physical and social changes that are related to age. The contributions of society are of great significance for the older generation and Berg (2006) states that housing, service, care, pensions and economy are a few of the areas that are especially important. He refers also to the official goal for policies aimed at older people in Sweden (in 1999), which implies that the elderly have the right to live an active life, have the right to influence in society and over their everyday life, be able to age in security and with preserved independence. In the official goal it is also stated that the elderly are to be treated with respect and have access to good treatment and care.

Active aging is a lifelong process and an aging-friendly community is not only elderly friendly. An accessible environment increases the possibility for mobility and independence for people with physical challenges, as well as the elderly and youth. A safe neighborhood makes it possible for children, youth, young women and the elderly to be able to be safer outside and be able to participate in activities of different types. The family feels less stressed when the elderly family members receive support from society, treatment and care, that they need. It serves the interests of all of society if the elderly participate in the work that the civil society performs and the local economy is promoted by elderly consumers (WHO, 2007).

Identification of Possibilities and Problems for an Aging-friendly Future

WHO worked during the years 2006 and 2007 with developing a guide for an aging-friendly community. From the recommendation of the UN about the importance of elderly citizens participating in decision making processes with the purpose of increasing their chances of empowerment, focus groups were carried out in 33 cities in different parts of the world. However, no city in Sweden was in the study.

Eight different themes that had been identified in earlier research, from question to the elderly about what an aging-friendly community means, laid as the foundation for the discussion in the different groups. The different themes that were treated were the outdoor environment and buildings, transports and housing, areas that touch the physical *city-planning*. Different aspects when it concerns the social environment as *social participation, respect and social integration*, as well as *volunteer work and paid work* and that which affects the mental well-being were other themes that were discussed. Finally, the groups discussed themes that touched *communication and information, community service* and *health and medical care* (WHO, 2007).

Societally Motivated Research

The discussion about the connection between theory and practice has existed for several decades within the public sector. Within health and medical care the concepts clinical research and evidence based practice are used. Within the social area close to practice research, practical research and knowledge based activity are discussed. Regarding clinical or practical research it defines the questions of the practice. There is an expectation that the result will be able to be used through developing and improving the result and quality of the activity and it is a complicated process.

Independent of which of the above activities that are discussed or which concept is used it can be said that the underlying purpose is the same. Evidence based or knowledge based practice means on the whole that decisions are based on different knowledge forms from the model below that is founded on the way that the reseach-

ers Pawson, Boaz, Grayson, Long och Barnes (2003) reason about the concept evidence based practice from a broader perspective.

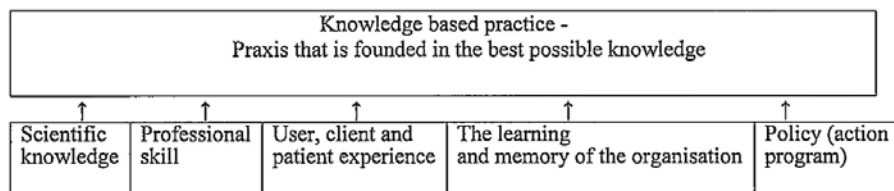| Knowledge based practice - Praxis that is founded in the best possible knowledge				
Scientific knowledge	Professional skill	User, client and patient experience	The learning and memory of the organisation	Policy (action program)

Figure 1. A model for a knowledge based practice (Renblad, 2005).

Scientific knowledge has had a strong standing through through the ages. But as Gustavsson (2000) points out, in a democratic society respect should be shown for different forms of knowledge and a dialogue carried between them. The Health and Medical Care Law has latched on to this and it states there that the activity is to rest on scientific knowledge and well-tried experience. This approach is beginning to spread to the social area.

During the years 1998 to 2008 the state made economic contributions with the purpose of stimulating the development of regional Research and Development Centres. The possibility was then given to municipalities and county councils to in co-operation with each other and with universities to apply for means in order to develop new arenas as meeting places for researchers and practitioners. The next phase in this development we can see in the discussion that has started both nationally and internationally about societally motivated research and where the EU's Seventh Framework Programme will focus on and support this through a social research platform with a focus on the cities and social cohesion. The model for the idea about a social research platform is the technical platform that is in Europe and where co-operation occurs between universities and industry. The need and the importance of societal motivated research is even raised in the Swedish Government's proposition (Regeringens proposition) 2008/09:50.

Social Research Platform Jönköping County[3]

The purpose of the EU with a social research platform is that it in a broad perspective will mobilize relevant research and recommendations around questions that touch social cohesion and cities, as well as support networks for researchers and practitioners from different research projects. The background to the research platform is the social and demographic changes that occur in all of Europe.

In Jönköping County Luppen Knowledge Centre has on commission from its interested parties engaged in this work. Luppen Knowledge Centre is a regional Research and Development unit that was founded in 2000 under the management

of the Association of Local Authorities. It is a network organization in co-operation between the 13 municipalities in Jönköping County, the County Council and the School of Health Sciences that since 2006 also is head of the operation. The commission is to create meeting places between researchers and practitioners. During 2005 – 2007 Luppen Knowledge Centre together with researchers from the School of Health Sciences has initially participated in the work that is carried on within Sydsam with the purpose of affecting the work in Europe. Sydsam, which is an interest organisation for regional and municipality associations, has as one of its focus areas worked with trying to create possibilities for South Sweden to be with and affect the research agenda before the commission's announcements within the Seventh Framework Programme. The work has been carried out both nationally and internationally through different seminars and workshops.

In Jönköping County a special reference group was formed for the continued work on the regional level. The group consisted of representatives from the Regional Association, the Social Services Office in Jönköping Municipality, Jönköping University, the School of Health Sciences and Luppen Knowledge Centre. Furthermore, the question was discussed in Luppen Knowledge Centre's steering committee which decided on the continued work during 2008 and 2009. The Regional Association Jönköping County has also thrusted the project economically. This means that the project received a clear anchoring in the surrounding society and good conditions for continued work.

Future Workshops in Jönköping County

How will we be able to create a society based in solidarity where the generations continually want to take responsibility for each other, where people in different life situations can live together and where people feel safe? How can we plan a society where people with physical challenges feel participation and belonging, where we can age well and where both youth and the elderly experience empowerment? Future workshop is a democratic and pedagogical method that is used in different contexts when it concerns carrying out change and development work. According to the method's founder, Robert Jungk (1913-1994), a future workshop can help to clarify common problems through people meeting and having the chance to discuss posed questions through constructive criticism. The different parts of the method are about social fantasy, opposing forces and generative planning which are expressed in the three different phases during the future workshop: *critique phase, fantasy phase* and *implementation phase*.[4]

Table 1. Future Workshop – the different phases

Critique Phase	Fantasy Phase	Implementation Phase
The problem inventory from the theme. Important key words and concepts are pointed out. Underlying problems are identified.	Creative and fantasy filled solutions are discussed and visualised with the help of collage.	Action plans are created for change and development work.

Three future workshops were carried out in Jönköping County between May 2008 and January 2009 in Jönköping, Nässjö and Vrigstad. The theme for the workshops was "How do we create an aging-friendly community". The overall purpose with future workshops was that they would facilitate the region's own work with a social research platform in the county that can later be the basis for continued research and development work. The purpose was also to examine future workshop as a method for creating a dialogue between different stakeholders, citizens and researchers.

   The outcome of the different workshops was documented in detail by a secretary. This documentation[5] has afterwards been diffused to all the participants. The *leaders* of the Future Workshops have had the role as facilitators for the process based on a democratic dialogue between different actors.

Participants

Participants in the future workshops were seniors, civil servants from the social services, city- planning departments and municipality housing companies, civil servants from social unit of the County Administrative Board and from the county council, elected representatives, youth from high school care programs, students from social work programs and researchers from the School of Health Sciences. Sweden is in relationship to the rest of Europe a thinly-populated country. We have some larger cities and a large number of smaller densely-populated areas and an extensive thinly-populated area.

   The challenges in Jönköping County are about the development of the densely-populated and the thinly-populated areas in the time ahead. With that as a background it was urgent to have a good geographic spread in the groups. The participants that were there came from Jönköping, Huskvarna, Norrahammar, Bankeryd, Habo, Nässjö, Tranås, Vetlanda, Aneby, Eksjö, Vrigstad, Smålandsstenar, Hestra, Bredaryd, Gnosjö, Nissafors and Hillerstorp.[6]

   In Jönköping 30 people participated in the future workshop, in Nässjö 20 people participated and in Vrigstad 23 people participated. The future workshop that took place in Vrigstad had the purpose to establish the meetings over generational boundaries with seniors, youth, young adults, municipal civil servants and researchers as participants.

The Preparation Phase

A preparatory meeting was carried out in the project leadership group for the future workshop with the purpose of planning for the meetings. Some of the participants in the future workshop were contacted by the leadership of the project and others were contacted via different organisations and schools. After names came in on who could participate, a formal invitation went on to the participants. The purpose with this way of working was to take in participants that had different experiences and who could participate in a discussion from these experiences.

Implementation

The time for implementation was a day and a half. All of the future workshops began with the participants having to make a short presentation of themselves. After that the work started with the criticism phase with the purpose of bringing forth which problems and obstacles the participants regarded that there are for an aging-friendly community and analyzing why these problems and obstacles exist. Brainstorming in a large group was carried out where all that the participants brought forth was noted on a flip-over pad and hung up so that all of the participants could see what was said. In Jönköping 47 different points came out of what the participants considered to be problems and obstacles and in Nässjö 56 different points came out. After that every participant had as a task to prioritise five areas they regarded to be the largest problems and obstacles for and aging-friendly community. When that was done the participants were divided into groups that were able to continue to discuss the types of explanatory models for these problems and obstacles. This was accounted for later in the group and noted also so that everyone could see what the groups had come to. The fantasy phase began later in the same way as the criticism phase, but the task now was to bring out how people would like it to be. The participants were able to as a conclusion prioritise five areas that were regarded as the most important. Then the work continued in the smaller groups with these visions being visualized by doing collage. Day one ended when the groups accounted for their work to each other. Day two began the last phase in the work, the implementation phase. The purpose with this phase was to think over what is needed to reach the vision. Here the groups received the task to together bring forward a deepened analysis of the result from the previous phases. When the groups were finished with their work everyone gathered again and a discussion in the large group concluded the future workshop.

Future Workshop in Jönköping, May 2008

The Critique Phase

Physical city-planning

In the Jönköping group city-planning was regarded as the largest problem. Examples of this was:
- scarcity of rental apartments
- too many trends and lack of variation in housing
- too little accessible housing and service
- centralisation within all community service
- "drainpipes" between different sectors (with different organisations and economies) are developed

The group also thought that there are many elderly in society who today experience insecurity. When it concerns general communications it was regarded that it was insufficient with communications and local traffic, as well as that transportation service did not work optimally. The knowledge and experience that is among the citizens affected are not utilised in a constructive way by city-planners. Several of these problems were looked upon by the participants as concerning both the elderly and youth in society.

   Some underlying causes of the problems were seen to be surrounding world factors and that development is going too fast. It is waterproof partitions between different parties that results in "drainpipe planning". There are too few rental apartments because of the cost. The participants pointed out that city-planning is a big challenge, parts of the region have empty apartments while other parts have a shortage of housing.

Social Participation, Respect and Social Integration

Social participation and integration, as well as the feeling of being respected is meaningful for well-being. The Jönköping group brought forth this second problem area in their priorities. Ageism, i.e. negative attitudes towards the elderly, was discussed for a long while. One of the participants described it in the following way "from the day you go into retirement you become a non-person". It also came out that beliefs and attitudes of relatives sometimes can be a problem. People experience that there are generation gaps, lacks in social cohesion and that society does not consider the competence and knowledge of the elderly. There is not enough activation and there were those who experienced that it is not possible to participate in society at night for everyone who wishes.

The underlying causes of these problems were stated: continuous expansion thoughts, that people are valued by performance in work life and association life and that it is a pretty hard view of human beings from the cradle to the grave. There are attitudes, outlooks and categorisation of the elderly generally seen in society. Much of our self image and identity we receive from professional life, association life, family and neighbors in a housing area.

There is a lot of fear in society and it also exists between different generations. It can depend on people not meeting, but fear also makes people not dare to meet each other. There are not so many places where people can gather either. Many meeting places belong to the church and not everyone wants to go there. Some want to go to the pub and others want to drive a Harley Davidson.

Looking at an historic development of elderly care with clear critical thinking, the outlook of health promotion is not there. Today the traditional picture of age escalation does not correspond with reality. Many have good health up until they are a good bit over 80 which means that people have 20 active years further after retirement.

Volunteer Work and Paid Work

It came out that people as seniors do not only want to do volunteer work. Some want to continue to work for pay. Employers need to change attitudes and see seniors as a resource, but it is also important how people look upon themselves and their own lives.

Social Services and Health and Medical Care

When it concerns community services and health and medical care people thought that there is a need to develop the content of the special elderly accommodations. It also emerge that there are lacks in availability regarding medical care.

The underlying problem of the availability people thought was the lack of co-operation between different heads.

The Fantasy Phase
(which is illustrated with a collage of pictures, text and drawings)

A number of visions emerged during the fantasy phase in Jönköping and those that the group prioritised for further work and survey were:
- Neighbourhood restaurant instead of lunch box
- The right and the demand for self-determination
- That people stop treating the elderly as a deviation but instead see that aging is a part of life

- More positive media images of the elderly
- Long-term city-planning, housing for everyone, better construction norms and good public transportation
- Network building between municipality, housing company and volunteer organizations and more elderly in decision-making positions
- Utilize research/knowledge that exist in the city-planning

The Implementation Phase

The discussions that occurred at the future workshops in Jönköping resulted in the following thoughts and suggestions for the future:

– The importance of a living local community – there should be access to stores, neighbourhood restaurants and gathering halls etc. There should be attempts to co-operate with some restaurants.

– The responsibility of all of the boards - all municipality committees need to engage themselves and co-operate more with the purpose of developing an aging-friendly society. In order to reach this vision it will take greater variation in city-planning in order to give the possibility for integration between people of different age groups. Network building within city-planning for the exchange of experience and knowledge with the purpose of creating citizen's perspective need to be developed.

– Change the picture by the media – the participants thought that when the elderly are described in the media it is almost exclusively about when something negative has happened within elderly care. It is not presented in a way to show what a resource seniors are in society. This gives a distorted and strange picture of the elderly in that most of the elderly never live in a special elderly accommodation.

– Creation of public opinion is needed with the purpose of breaking the attitudes that lie behind ageism and creating an aging-friendly community. Seniors need to think over their own actions. Can we choose to be a part of the whole or refrain?

– Employment index at the employment office for seniors and the chance for life-long learning. Many seniors engage themselves in different volunteer organisations, but there is also a need of having paid work.

– A senior forum that is both physical and virtual, information and knowledge centres that supply the research that exists. The purpose with such a platform can be that it is a gathering place for the elderly and the questions that affect them. Here

people can, for example, receive information about different activities taking place and about what aging means etc. It can also work in the purpose of giving or reconnecting knowledge and co-operation and in that way be able to help municipalities through being more active in city-planning.

– www.onedoorsystem.nu – an entrance for the elderly to in an easier way receive information from authorities about pensions, housing grants and tax accounts. Maybe with personal account because today there are so many strange systems that it should be enough with one.

– Co-operation between researchers, city-planners and seniors was also something that the participants thought was important in the future work.

Future Workshop in Nässjö, May 2008

The Critique Phase

Commmunity Services and Health and Medical Care

The community service and health and medical care are of vital meaning in order to support independence and make it possible for people to maintain their health. In this future workshop the participants thought that it was presently the biggest problem area. Lacks in long range planning and of co-ordination between municipalities and county councils were raised. The group thought that no one has a view of the entirety. There are too few who se the possibilities and there is a fear of change. The participants also thought that there are lacks in the co-operation between the public sector, relatives and volunteer organisations. There are not enough resources for the future, neither economic nor personal and it is a problem that the state does not provide resources that are needed to the municipalities and county councils. That elderly care has low status was also raised as a problem.

Some of the underlying causes to that were believed to be that every organisation sees its own contribution, but not the others'. Professionalization has had negative consequences, each person protects his own and does not have the overall view.

Other explanation models that were raised were that the elderly are shy and did not dare to be critical. To be in the need of care means to be in a weak position where it is difficult to deliver criticism.

There are also cultural aspects in how we can take criticism. Many are afraid of criticism and become defensive instead of accepting it and seeing it as a force for change and improvement. This leads to problems in co-operation between different organisations and in relationship to the user organizations.

When the co-operation between municipalities and county councils works badly it becomes an energy thief. It is difficult to set aside time in the almanac for co-operation gatherings and meetings. Much of the time a person would be able to do the same thing or different things, but planning takes time and energy from the elderly.

Social Participation, Respect and Social Integration

The group thought that there is too little positive reporting in the media. Concerning influence too little consideration is taken for the wishes of the individual. There is a lack of real influence on all levels and the elderly are not seen as a resource in society. For some elderly there is the problem with isolation and living alone. There are generation gaps and lacks in the social cohesion.

Some explanation models to the above problems concerning questions of influence were that completed proposals were often presented which means that the user perspective and participation are not taken seriously. Staff must have a better understanding for how it feels to be in need of help and care. Furthermore, people thought that staff and user need to have a greater understanding for each other.

Concerning being alone it was understood that it sometimes is self-chosen. But in order for it to be possible to be able to participate in different activities there needs to be a certain co-ordination. Sometimes activities are offered and no one comes because there is not anyone to go with or to sit with. A number of user organisations have succeeded well with increasing participation through car-pooling.

Democracy and participation works differently in the municipalities. In one of the municipalities (Eksjö), for example, influence has improved. But operations have centralized which is negative and the participants did not think that the organisation is good from a democratic perspective for the individual. However, where it concerns the influence of the user organisations, it has increased. The Swedish Pensioners' National Organization, leisure coordinator, council etc. receive greater attention which is a democratization in a positive way. It is right and important to create forum to take the citizen's perspective. Another municipality (Tranås) has no committee, but people experience nevertheless that the the influence has increased when the user organizations even there have received greater space.

The Fantasy Phase
(which is illustrated with a collage of pictures, text and drawings)

In the Nässjö group the following areas of the fantasy phase were prioritised for further work and creation of a vision:
- Influence over the help and the support that a person needs.
- Overall view and higher status for elderly care an occupational field.

- Flexible home help service and and choice if people want to live at home or to have the opportunity to move to a service housing for the elderly.
- Diversity of integrated housing, opportunity to live in housing like a person has lived in at home.
- A climate in society where we care about each other and see resources and needs in a more flexible perspective; flexible resources for flexible needs.
- An improved city-planning that gives the chance for community with and care about each other.
- More open attitudes.

The Implementation Phase

In Nässjö the following suggestions in the areas came out for further development work and research:

– There are needs for methods to develop participation, co-operation and choice. Participation in city-planning is lacking, so how can we develop the citizen dialogue and give conditions for greater participation? It is important that youth and the elderly can come in at an early stage. Even researchers and politicians can also study what it is that is experienced as limiting and what creates the limitations.

– There is a lot of bureaucracy and other things that take energy from the activity and creates frustration for everyone. Can there be ways to decrease the bureaucracy and utilize own ideas and visions. Can we be better at democracy having the politicians and civil servants listen more to user organizations? What is the reason that someone comes here? It is frustrating irrespective of if a person is a civil servant, senior, youth or politician. What is it that obstructs and limits? That should be analysed deeper.

-How can need assessment be developed in order to create possibilities of choice? How are laws interpreted and applied? Are laws and support an obstacle? Can a more reflection based assessment be developed? What hinders and makes limitations arise in the assessment?

– New forms of activities should be tried in order to be able to plan for future needs better, for example visiting activities, inventories. Inventories are often made concerning home help service, but people are worse at utilizing the result. Which meaning can service declarations have for the users? There is need of more everyday research and that in a more effective way spread it so that it comes to use.

– How can the operation's competence and ideas be utilized in a better way – in which way can teaching activities be developed and how can we bring out knowledge from experience?

– Concerning housing – how should it be planned for the future? Today many housing areas are segregated; residential districts to themselves and high-rise buildings to themselves. Is it possible to have greater flexibility in the planning

– Moving studies – there are a number of moving situations that should be researched. A move often occurs in connection to some trauma in life – death or illness. How are the life stories of the elderly used and what changes for the individual in a good way or a bad way?

– There are many different definitions of concepts concerning housing: what is meant and how do we interpret different concepts? How can community and participation be developed from an individual perspective and can an elderly home be a home?

– Smart Home or intelligent homes means that with the help of technology the different functions of the home are tied together. The question is how it can be used in order to support the everyday of the elderly. How can we in a good way combine technical and social assistance in the time ahead.

Future Workshop in Vrigstad, January 2009

At the future workshop in Vrigstad the purpose was to explore the theme "How can we create an aging-friendly community where both youth and elderly have room and space and where there is a contact between the generations?"

The Critique Phase

Community Service and Health and Medical Care

The participants in Vrigstad thought that the bureaucracy was too large and administrative demands can be limiting. The economy steers too much and the resources are not enough neither for the individual nor for society. They also thought that there is not enough freedom of choice and self-determination. It is difficult for the elderly to receive understanding about what they have for needs and assistance processing does not always work optimally. There are lacks in city-planning with too many reorganisations and differences are too great between municipalities.

In the discussion about what are the possible explanation models for these problems and obstacles the following emerged: In order to deal with the bureaucracy people have to be able to communicate with case managers and to fill in forms which is difficult for many. When healthy a person can decide himself, but when he becomes sick other parties come in. There is freedom of choice, but for whom and in which perspective? It is not possible either for a person to be able to decide everything on his own. It is important to take others into consideration. In regards to the economy, there is a need to have influence and the significance of being able to influence. The economy is a problem for both the elderly and youth. It steers how good or bad a person has it. It is difficult to manage a change of pace, not just for today's elderly, but even younger people can have a problem with it.

Social Participation, Respect and Social Integration

In meetings of the generations and meetings of cultures there can be difficulties for people of different ages to place themselves in others' living conditions. There is a lack of statements between the generations and a scarcity of meeting places. There is also too little knowledge between different cultures which can create problems and build barriers. The elderly's solitude emerged as a problem and some of the participants thought furthermore that there are not enough possibilities for influence concerning important questions in society on the regional and national level.

In the discussions about what there are for explanations for these problems a series of different reflections emerged: There is an age segregation, but who is segregating? Is it we ourselves, the media, the market or politics? A question that can be posed is why do we not meet? Why do we not meet between different age groups? Maybe it is because we have a welfare state that was constructed of institutions after the war, for good or bad, that does not render possible so many meetings between the generations. We live isolated side by side in different groups. Everyone had it good "each on his own". We could afford it. Maybe it is because we have had so much money and resources that it become like this? Have we created a hard society on the basis of money? We maybe need more time to think about our parents and children. Maybe we could earn less money, but have more time for human issues? Or has it been created on the basis of a lack of knowledge, time and money? Regarding technological development, it was discussed that people experience that technology is difficult. Many come to a point in life when they want to choose if they manage to keep up or not.

Volunteer Work and Paid Work

Some thought that there was too little flexibility in work life and that there is an age fixation. Everyone does not want to stop working when they are 65. Concerning

volunteer work there were some who thought that there is too little information to volunteer organizations and that sometimes there seemed to be a fear of engaging.

The Fantasy Phase
(which is illustrated with a collage of pictures, text and drawings)

A number of visions emerged during the fantasy phase in Vrigstad and those that the group prioritised for further work and survey were:
- Tax free pension
- Cure for dementia
- Possibility of healthcare without it costing anything
- High-cost protection for the entire body including the hair
- Recreate the environment and work for a sustainable development and a society where the economy does not rule
- Preventative healthcare 40+

The Implementation Phase

When the groups in Vrigstad were finished with their discussions the following reflections and proposals in order to develop the vision about an aging-friendly community were then discussed:

– Tear down walls! Everyone has the need to live in a context, irrespective of age. Society is divided into different fields and between different ages. We need to learn to work across sectors instead of in "drainpipes".

– Create a project form with the purpose of studying how we can develop new models in co-operation with researchers, practitioners and educators. There is the need to learn more about how different processes emerge. The work that is done concerning the integration between different cultures and the methods that are used should also be studied. Which methods and models are there that would be of help? Action research can be a method for such a project.

– There needs to be more housing of different types, for example service apartments for couples so that people can have the chance to live together even when one spouse has increased need of help and support.

– Basic adaption at new construction, for example municipality housing with well planned kitchens, bedrooms and bathrooms. It is important to have good housing, so that a person can still live at home even if he becomes sick.

– In order to make it possible to be able to live together relative support also needs to be developed.

– There needs to be more flexibility, empathy and knowledge. Preventative activities and work methods, for example assistance evaluation, need to be developed with the purpose to make possible autonomy, participation and influence. There is also a need that the profession sees others as resources.

– We need to become more humanity focused and less egocentrical. Care about people must have more space. Care and treatment are different things. Care is more to take care of, to care about.

– There needs to be a place where people can match operations and needs with the knowledge and interests of volunteers. Volunteer offices were pointed out as an example of increasing the chance for people to engage themselves in volunteer work. Economy and resources are not only money, but also are people. How can volunteer work be developed in the future? How can people's experience and knowledge be utilized in a positive way for the individual and for society?

– Create meeting places for both young and older people through some form of all activity house and at the places where children and youth are during the day in their everyday lives. It needs to begin already in preschool and school where the elderly can be a resource. It can be about everything from reading out loud to tea dance where older people can teach those younger to dance. Then people have community naturally! There are many different activities that people can do together and where they can learn from each other: working out, maintenance of health, boule, handicraft (knitting, sewing, woodworking etc.) minigolf, dance, culture and gardening.

– In order to change society a paradigm shift in our heads is needed. It must be self-evident that community, security and warmth will prevail. We need to begin again and learn about community between the generations. Work for everyone and fair distribution is also important in an aging-friendly community.

Concluding Reflections from the three Workshops

Social planning has for many years been an important instrument in the development of the Swedish welfare model. The UN has in its recommendations pointed out the weight of the participation of elderly citizens in this work. Just that participation has been an important element of this project and the question that was posed was if the method future workshop can be an instrument in the work with social

planning and societally motivated research.

In conclusion, we can state that future workshop as a method for social planning and to obtain needs of development and research projects from thoughts on societally motivated research works well. What is important for which results are gotten is the composition of the participants in the group. In the future workshop in Jönköping seniors of different ages and with different experiences participated. However, there was one thing that they had in common. The seniors who participated were used to participating in city-planning, as elected officials or on and in different councils and associations. The other participats experienced that they at that occasion shared ideas with the seniors that would be useful in their daily work. In the next future workshop (in Nässjö) that was conducted it became more of a staff perspective that dominated. In the third workshop (in Vrigstad) where the purpose to bring together youth, seniors and city-planners in order to have an additional perspective as the foundation for continued work, there was a specialisation in one of the areas that focused generation gaps and social cohesion.

Civil Society's Role and Meaning for an Aging-Friendly Community

In the beginning of the chapter we could see that the civil society, with an emphasis on volunteer organisations, has been a focal point for policy creating social cohesion and for the development of an aging-friendly community. The European Commission points out the weight of the public system *co-operating* with the civil society in order to develop different action programs, not in the least for the elderly. WHO discusses an active aging and the weight of the elderly's *engagement* in civil society from the viewpoint that society benefits from it including the local economy. In the three future workshops that are described it emerged that the civil society should have a roll to play through increasing the possibilities for people to be able to engage in volunteer work, but also it is important that volunteer organisations have an influence in the social planning on the local level. It was spoken about the significance of the possibilities of volunteer organisations to take a citizen perspective in the development of the local *democracy*. For example, through arranging councils or that volunteer organisations can be on committees in the municipal political administration.

We can accordingly state that the significance of an active civil society in order to develop things like co-operation, citizen engagement in volunteer organisations and the local democracy is emphasized by policy oriented parties like WHO and the European Commission, but were also such that in different ways emerged as important themes in our future workshops. The question is then what the research in a Swedish context says about civil society's roll and significance? How many citizens are engaged in civil society? Which roles and profiles do older citizens have in civil society? First, the concept civil society is from earlier research something unclear

with reference to what it really consists of. A common starting-point is to regard the volunteer sector, with its variety of organisations, as the core of the civil society (Lundström & Wijkström, 1997; Rothstein & Trägårdh, 2007; Salamon & Anheier, 1997). Several researchers have stressed the activities of citizens and their roll for democracy, cohesion and welfare (Jeppsson Grassman & Svedberg 2007). Another broader interpretation defines civil society as a model with three spheres that consist of the state, civil society (including the family) and the market (Cohen & Arato, 1992; Zetterberg, 1992; 1995). In this section the broader definition of civil society that includes informal networks and "unorganised" informal help and care giving is used (Jegermalm & Jeppsson Grassman, 2009a; 2009b; Jeppsson Grassman & Svedberg, 2007).

How common is it then that Swedes are active in volunteer organisations and perform informal help contributions outside of association life? Studies carried out by the research department at Ersta Sköndal University between the years 1992-2005[7] have shown that the engagement of the population in civil society is extensive and stable over time. It was found that about half of the population during the whole period of time was active in volunteer organisations. It is about equally common among men as women to be active. If we turn our look towards informal contributions of the population for someone outside of his own household, the pattern is somewhat different in comparison with the engagement in volunteer organisations. Informal contributions were extensive already during the 1990s with around 30 percent of the population that performed informal contributions for someone outside of their own household. From the end of the 1990s until 2005 a dramatic increase occurred from about 30 percent to a full 50 percent. In 2005 engagement in volunteer organisations and informal contributions were thus equally commonly anticipated in the population. Informal contributions are more common among women in comparison with volunteer contributions that are about equally common among both the sexes.

If we direct the focus on *age* the result has shown that older people are active in civil society, especially in the age group 60-74. That engagement in association life is common among the elderly we know from earlier research, but that informal help and caregiving is so common among the elderly was a rather surprising result. In 2005 it was even that informal contributions for someone outside of his own household was most commonly anticipated in the age group 60-74, where a total of 57 percent performed such contributions. We can with reason talk about the elderly as "civil society's pillars". But the question is then how we will interpret the results of an extensive civil society where many people high up in age are active in volunteer organisations and make considerable informal contributions of assistance both for relatives and nonrelatives. The informal contributions appear furthermore to have increased substantially over time. The increase presumably has connections

to cutbacks in welfare systems during this time period, but a lot points to civil society, in the form of engagement in volunteer organisations and informal contributions, have and will continue to have an important meaning that is not connected to changes in the welfare state in an unequivocal way. Not in the least the results from the three future workshops showed that the elderly are a resource whose engagement in civil society is an important component in the continued work in creating an aging-friendly community. It is important to emphasize that the engagement in civil society of the elderly and other age groups can be associated with a number of positive conditions. But there is at the same time reason to be vigilant so that this engagement is not taken for granted, for example as an excuse for cutbacks in public welfare systems. Such a development would be able to undermine the foundation for this form of engagement that builds on a complicated mix of a sense of duty and mutual relationships. At the same time it is important to observe the elderly and other age groups as a resource of society, whose contributions in civil society do not in a simple and instrumental way have anything to do with the changes in the public medical system and care.

Finally, we will say something about that the work with this project in Jönköping County with the theme "How do we create an aging-friendly community?" is inspired by projects that are taking place in Europe and other parts of the world, as it concerns questions that are most urgent in a global perspective. One example is an American project that started with an internet based conference with participants from the entire world during the spring of 2008 with the name "Creating Aging-Friendly Communities – Together making our communities more aging-friendly" (www.icohere.com/agingfriendly). The conference gave lectures via internet with researchers and practitioners that was followed up by special so called "chat rooms" where the participants could discuss and create further contacts with the lecturers and other participants in the conference. The themes that were of interest during the conference were about among other things to 1) present what characterises aging-friendly municipalities in reference to housing, accessibility to treatment and care, as well as city-planning in more comprehensive terms, 2) strategies for developing aging-friendly municipalities and 3) examples of concrete projects within the area.

The internet based conference has among other things been followed up by a conference in Las Vegas and a special website on the internet that continually presents new information from different persons involved like researchers, political representatives and advocates from different volunteer organisations. This conference and the following activities could be an inspiration in a continuous development work with the Social platform in Jönköping county that may give an opportunity to spread results and "good examples" to a larger audience even outside the region.

Notes

[1] This linkage has been analysed in Åhnby, 2000; Henning & Åhnby, 2008; Henning, Åhnby & Österström, 2009

[2] This statement was underpinned in a lecture by Professor Juha Hämäläinen, KuopioUniversity , Finland, at a conference in Social Pedagogy, University West, Trollhättan, Sweden 13th of October 2009.

[3] Jönköping County, 350 km south of Stockholm, consists of 13 municipalities.

[4] For a more detailed description of the Future Workshop method- see the chapter *Future Workshop for Empowerment in Eldercare- Examples from Sweden*, by Ulla Åhnby and Cecilia Henning

[5] References: Social plattform: *Framtidsverkstad i Jönköping 8-9 maj 2008…*,Social plattform: *Framtids-verkstad i Nässjö 22-23 maj 2008…*, Social plattform; *Framtidsverkstad i Vrigstad 8-9 januari 2009…*

[6] The participants have been fully aware of the intention to document the outcome of the Future Work-shops and have agreed upon this.

[7] See e.g. Jeppsson Grassman & Svedberg, 1999; 2007; Olsson, Svedberg & Jeppsson Grassman, 2005.

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Conclusions

Empowerment to Strengthen Social Cohesion and Democracy

Karin Renblad and Cecilia Henning

I

In the introduction of this anthology Cecilia Henning referred to the discussion in Europe about wellbeing for the individual and wellbeing for all people, which includes a strive for social cohesion and a society based on rights and shared responsibilities. Empowerment, social cohesion and democracy are three important elements for building up a sustainable civil society. From a philosophical perspective, empowerment can be seen as a question of democracy and ethics in everyday life. From a more practical view, it can be explained as the ability to act and participate in different life spheres and the feeling of an ability to act and participate. Empowerment refers to resources and possibilities and is associated with growth and development. The individual, as well as the physical and social environment, can be seen as a resource. This resource can be analysed at different levels and can be referred to as a process and a mental state and may operate on individual as well as on organisational and political levels. The process is learning and the outcome is autonomy. This may refer to processes within the individual or an organisation; it may also refer to interactions between different levels. The process of empowerment could include someone's contribution to another person's development of power, or to a person's own development of personal power. It is often clear how people are disempowered; there are many barriers described in the literature (Renblad, 2003), but how can we support? Political decisions, policy and resources support the process and present the preconditions for the process (Bendz, 2002). As mentioned before, social cohesion can be defined as the willingness of members of society to collaborate with each other in order to survive and prosper. It also implies a capacity to collaborate (Stanley, 2003). It is about society's capacity to guarantee all its citizens good welfare and to minimize inequalities (CDCS, 2004). Gilda Farrell (2008), head of the Social Cohesion Development Division, DG Social Cohesion, Council of Europe, argued that well-being for *all* and citizens' involvement is the objective of social cohesion. The

European Commission highlights various important factors in social cohesion such as, among others, measures to combat poverty and social exclusion, particularly in areas such as housing, health, education and training, employment, income distribution and social services; securing freedom of fear, which is important to strengthen social security; developing families with particular emphasis on children and elderly; partnership with civil society bodies, in particular trade unions, employers' representatives and NGOs.

II

In the first chapter of this anthology Lars Lambracht pointed out that a society where people feel empowered and enjoy wellbeing is linked to solidarity, is a society that fosters democracy. There is an importance of political democracy and legal justice but, as Dewey argued in the early 1900s, democracy is also a horizontal arrangement in which individuals can work together as equals to suggest and realise individual and societal aims (Dewey, 1948). From that perspective, democracy can be defined as pluralism, communication, experience and belief in the possibilities of human nature to empower people to learn and act together. There is interdependence between individuals and between an individual and society (Dewey, 1966).

Table 1. Major dimensions, key elements and examples of empowerment (Renblad, 2006)

Dimensions	Key Elements	Examples of empowerment
Philosophy	Democracy	Equality, presumed capabilities of people, valuing diversity
Paradigm	Support/development	Mutual respect, strengths-based, pro-active, mastery-orientation
Process	Learning	Partnership and collaboration, enabling experience, learning opportunities and communication
Goal	Activities and participation	Knowledge and skills, shared decision-making, personal growth and friendship
Outcomes/ Perceptions	Self-determination/ Autonomy	Self-activity, self-esteem, mastery and locus of control, responsibility, a feeling of sense, belonging and belief in the future.

Empowerment is seen here as an *ideology* that includes a philosophy and a paradigm that sees people as competent, valued as equals and having their own strengths. Leading thinkers from John Dewey to Lewis Mumford have called attention to the need for direct citizen participation in society including urban planning (Pinbert & Wakeford, 2001). Citizens' involvement is also one of the objectives of social cohesion, and from that point of view partnership between all actors in the society is of importance. This anthology presents various studies highlighting critical aspects, examples of urban planning, education, research and collaboration between various stakeholders on different levels and in different areas.

The *process* of empowerment, participatory activities that include collaborating partnership, is important, and these activities can be seen as a means to help one self. This refers to interpersonal transactions that influence and are influenced by personal experiences (Dunst et al., 1994).

Social interaction – empowering relationship – is a dialectic process; Dewey (1966) argued that during the interaction we learn about the world, learn social rules and learn to understand and to develop ourselves. Key words are experience, education and democratisation. Communication is in this case the means of interaction. Participatory activities that include collaborating partnership are important, and these activities can be seen as a means to help oneself. This refers to interpersonal transactions that influence and are influenced by personal experiences/This is also in the preceeding paragraph/. Partnership here means open communication, mutual trust and respect, shared responsibility and cooperation (Renblad, 2003).

There are a number of areas in different societies in which these prerequisites are not present. Ernst and Pokora in their paper indicate the demands on the unemployed in the labour market in Germany. They argue that individuals with long-term unemployment have numerous negative experiences. The German federal government policy "to demand and support" is a paradox and has not been implemented to this day as it faces a different reality. Ernst and Pokora argue that opportunities for participation and empowerment can only increase if there are fewer restrictions in the programs for persons who participate in the labour market programs. They also argue that labour must be categorised as an aspect of the economic system as well as of one's lifestyle.

As mentioned above, the European Commission highlights NGOs as an important factor to develop our welfare society. In her paper Grosse shows that after World War II many countries in Europe have developed different welfare systems and social rights of high international standard. However, ever stronger criticism of the systems has been voiced, mainly with the argument that public services are too standardised, bureaucratic and authoritarian. With the aim of facing this and developing welfare, many countries have involved NGOs. Grosse has studied how involvement of NGOs affects welfare provision for citizens. She defines NGOs as

formal, private and non-profit organisations. In her study she focuses on three aspects of social cohesion, welfare equality, welfare quality and user participation. Her conclusion is that NGOs provide less equal access than public providers; the quality of services is rather similar and users' participation cannot be said to have been greater in NGO-led facilities than in publicly regulated GOs. Traditional NGOs did not live up to expectations while cooperatively-owned ones better did. Thus it is not a matter of course that NGOs contribute to increased democracy; it is altogether a question of how they are managed and organised. Here it appears that the cooperative form is what best increases citizens' influence.

   Another area criticised *has been* urban planning. However, in the last few decades there have been quite a few changes. von Lövis and Neuman affirm that a number of methods have been developed for workshops aiming at encouraging and increasing participation among various civil stakeholders and citizens in urban planning work. In their paper they describe and analyse nine methods, one of which is the Future Workshop. The conclusions are that Future Workshop as a method enables participation in all phases of the work, i.e., problem identification, priority setting, policy formulation, passage of policy instrument and implementation. The method, which was developed by Robert Jungk after the Second World War, does not only aim for people to meet and discuss problems but should also offer a real opportunity for influence in the continuing work. This was applied by Capelli and Rensinghoff, who in their papers describe how they have used the method with the objective of developing public service from the citizens' point of view. Åhnby and Henning have applied the method in eldercare staff qualification improvement and with the aim of increasing senior citizens' opportunities for influence. Renblad, Henning and Jegermalm have tested the method in their work with society-motivated research and social planning, and one outcome of the Future Workshops within this project is that a multidisciplinary research team at the School of Health Sciences in Jönköping is planning for a new research program. This research will be focused on the significance of support by social networks and a technique to facilitate for older people to age in place.

III

The outcome of the empowerment process is autonomy. Self-determination and autonomy can be seen as a basis for social participation and are important concepts in relation to empowerment. The concepts can be viewed from different perspectives, and interdependence is of importance here. Dewey (1966) argued that interdependence can be seen as the outcome of social relationships and as referring to social support. In her essay on empowerment as prevention-based care in the community, Tokie Anme points out that in Japanese tradition harmony within the group is more

important than individuality. She argues that social interaction can predict future health, particularly though social affiliation. In Western culture, autonomy is associated with normative states such as a maximum of independence and freedom of choice (Cardol et al., 2002). Free choice is, however, an illusion in society, as different opportunities are linked to different social structures and relationships. No person is completely autonomous, and there is interdependence in the whole of society. This is necessary if society is to survive; there must be interdependence between individuals, organisations, the market, the government etc.

IV

In the beginning of this anthology the importance of bottom-up principles to strengthen democracy by empowerment was highlighted. Local, regional and national relationships are of importance here. There is a strong connection between empowerment, social cohesion and democracy, and they arguably condition each other in a welfare perspective. However, the gap between groups in society has widened alarmingly, and the question is whether the citizens in the European countries are willing to contribute to the vision of social cohesion or whether individualism has asserted itself too strongly. In project work to strengthen democracy it is crucial to avoid pitting groups against each other. If you, for instance, want to build an aging-friendly society, it is important not to be conducive to clashes between generations.

Empowerment is about resources; it requires politicians on all levels to make decisions that promote everyone's prospects of social welfare. Access to social networks, work, education and care is a decisive factor for the individual's quality of life. The objective of this anthology is to present various views on how to work on different levels in society to strengthen democracy and develop social well-being for all.

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