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Co-Production and Co-Creation

Critical Examination of Contemporary Dominant Participatory Discourses

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Abstract

Over the past decade, co-production and co-creation have become central buzzwords throughout society. The terms engender a fundamental participatory ethos, entailing an increasing involvement in decision-making processes of a variety of people across diverse contexts, who should be given a voice in a wide range of practices to a higher degree than previously done. To a large extent, this participa-

tory wave thus creates new challenges and dilemmas for employees in contemporary organizations. For instance, many public employees (frontline workers) experience challenges regarding translating (and/or enacting) co-creative/co-productive policy objectives into (in) their practices. A central obstacle seems to be the fact that existing organizational frameworks and conditions are often rooted in contradictory management paradigms and reified institutionalized practices, complicating participatory aspirations and processes in various ways. In different ways, the contributions in this issue critically address and discuss a variety of challenges related to co-production and co-creation in contemporary society.

Keywords: co-production, co-creation, collaborative research, democracy, social innovation

Over the past decade, co-production and co-creation have become central buzzwords throughout society. The terms engender a fundamental participatory ethos, entailing an increasing involvement in decision-making processes of a variety of people across diverse contexts (e.g., public and private sectors and civil society), who should be given a voice in a wide range of practices to a higher degree than previously done (e.g., Andersen et al. 2017; Tortzen 2019; Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers 2014). As such, this shift to co-production and co-creation constitutes one of current dominant participatory discourses that permeates most organizing practices, causing a diversity of researchers and practitioners to relate and respond to it in different and sometimes conflicting ways.

The participatory discourse can be observed in diverse areas in society, among others, spanning fields such as science, politics, community life, grassroots movements, and private and public organizations. It can also be related to the development of new welfare solutions, services, products and production forms, sustainability and “green solutions,” and new ways of organizing, and it may even contribute to the development of solutions to “wicked problems” (Ansell and Torfing 2021; Andersen et al. 2017) on a larger, global scale. The term *co-creation* was originally part of the private sector’s focus on social innovation, whereas the term *co-production* is more often associated with public organizations’ capacity-building activities (Åkerblom and Ness 2021; Ansell and

Torfinning 2021). However, the two terms are often used interchangeably, and in the Scandinavian context, they are often collapsed into the umbrella term *samskabelse / samskaping* (Ulrich 2016; Torfinning, Sørensen, and Røiseland 2016; Krogstrup 2017; Tortzen 2019).

The overall participatory discourse is further associated with a series of related yet different terms, covering a “jungle of co-dimensions” (Heimburg, Ness, and Storch 2021, 23), such as democratic involvement, dialogic participation, co-management, co-learning, co-evaluation, co-service, co-governance, co-design, social innovation, user-driven innovation, network management, active citizenship, and many more. Thus, overall, it taps into a wide range of methodological approaches derived from various fields of research and practice. The exact choice of term(s) and method(s) seems to depend on the context in which the co-creative practices are expected to occur, on their ideological and theoretical bases, as well as on the different purposes that inspire the co-creative practices. Therefore, the field is characterized by a high degree of diversity and multidisciplinary.

Agger and Tortzen (2015) and Agger, Tortzen, and Rosenberg (2018) point out that co-production and co-creation comprise a relatively new area of research. At the same time, it can be argued that it is an old phenomenon (Røiseland and Lo 2019) because the participatory ethos is a long and well-established aspect of participatory research approaches, such as in action research (Duus et al. 2012; Hersted, Ness, and Frimann 2019), nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2007), design thinking, and others (Beresford 2021). Therefore, we also address in this issue what we can learn from past experience and the rich literature that has dealt extensively with such participatory issues regarding co-production/co-creation.

On the surface, the participatory discourse promises a range of positive effects, such as more symmetrical dialogic encounters and collaborations across different stakeholder groups, prompting empowerment of voices that are often merely overheard or silenced, as well as shifts of power imbalances, which are difficult to oppose (Bager and Mølholm 2020; Phillips 2011). However, as reflected in the diverse contributions in this issue, the co-creative participatory aspirations are often not as straightforward as they may seem. On one hand, co-creative aspirations and ideals carry great potentials for the development of new interdisciplinary knowledge, as well as

for experimentation with innovative methodologies and new practices, together with novel ways of learning. On the other hand, it opens a set of complex theoretical, ideological, power-related, and context-dependent challenges as it tends to bring along a wide variety of complexities, ambivalences, conflicts, and paradoxes for the stakeholders involved.

When preparing the call for contributions to this issue, we particularly wanted to generate insights into the interdisciplinary diversity in approaches and practices regarding co-production/co-creation. We also wished to address the abovementioned complexities and the built-in paradoxes, dilemmas, and ethical concerns emerging from such complexities. Upon receiving a significant number of high-quality articles, we initiated a challenging selection process and further decided to separate the issue into two volumes to provide space for as many contributions as possible. In this respect, we thank all authors for their truly inspiring and intriguing contributions and the blind peer reviewers for contributing with important and knowledgeable feedback to the authors. This first volume mainly focuses on theoretical and conceptual discussions related to participatory studies, together with critical examinations of the often contradictory political and scientific conditions that complicate these methodologies. For instance, a recurring discussion across several contributions is that organizational frameworks and conditions in diverse contexts are rooted in contradictory management paradigms and reified institutionalized practices, thereby complicating the participatory aspirations in various ways.

The second volume of the issue will be published in the spring of 2022, focusing on practical and empirically based studies of co-production and co-creation. Here, the scholars further examine how co-productive/co-creative efforts tap into many different normative positions and opinions and show how there tends to be no common definition or consensus regarding what co-production and co-creation mean and signify in practice. These contributions highlight how co-productive/co-creative practices occur in many forms and in diverse contexts; they can take place at different organizational levels and involve varying degrees of co-production and co-creation.

Co-production and co-creation as part of new forms of cooperation between private and public actors

We find that the new and increased focus on co-production and co-creation can mainly be justified as it has become an essential part of the new guidelines for public management and development of welfare solutions in the Nordic countries, as well as in several other European countries (Pestoff 2019; Pestoff et al. 2012; Torfing, Sørensen, and Røiseland 2019). This trend is increasingly demanding closer partnerships and collaborations among stakeholder groups that were previously more sharply separated, for instance, collaborations among citizens, public institutions, and private organizations.

Some researchers point out that these new collaborative constellations are part of the efforts to find new solutions to complex problems and challenges — often termed “wicked problems” (Ansell and Torfing 2021; Andersen et al. 2017) cite climate change, gang-related crimes, anxiety among young people, and traffic challenges in and around major cities as examples of wicked problems. In trying to overcome complex societal challenges, network-based collaboration is considered an opportunity to involve many different perspectives, pluralistic stakeholder groups, and various forms of knowledge (Ansell and Torfing 2021).

Some scholars argue that co-production and co-creation, constituting a new welfare strategy and technology, are tied to the survival of the public sector due to an increasing economic pressure. From this perspective, whether or not the public sector should participate in co-production and co-creation initiatives is no longer an option (Ansell and Torfing 2021; Parrado et al. 2013). Likewise, proponents of co-production and co-creation argue that there is a potential for public and private actors to learn from each other and mutually benefit from developing new networks for collaboration (Durose and Richardson 2015). More critical voices contend that all the buzzwords cover up a neoliberal market dispositive (Abildgaard and Jørgensen 2021) or (yet) a neoliberal trend foregrounding cost savings and privatization, where welfare services—previously provided by professionals—are now being handed over to volunteers and other civil society actors (Van Houdt, Suvarierol, and Schinkel 2011). Thus, it is important to examine the “dark side” of

co-production and co-creation. For instance, researchers can investigate whether co-production and co-creation, more or less intentionally, can lead to reduced or increased social inequality and thus, can respectively result in counter-production or co-destruction of value (Ansell and Torfing 2021; Steen, Taco, and Verschuere 2018; Williams et al. 2020).

The participatory ethos has and will most likely have far-reaching consequences for public and private organizations, as well as for citizens in general. Among other things, the use of co-production and co-creation in the public sector has and will have a profound effect on how we, now and in the future, organize and develop our societies, communities, organizational structures and cultures, and the new participatory and administrative positions that follow in its wake. Co-production and co-creation involve new forms of organizing and relating and more fluid boundaries between public, private, and voluntary actors, which in turn call for new forms of collaboration. As such, co-production and co-creation can be conceived as forming a constellation of plural, often contrasting and conflicting, activity systems, which involve situated activities and the embedded dimensions of the relationships that they constantly reproduce and change.

Clashes among diverse paradigms and rationales in the public sector

Co-production and co-creation will inevitably have an impact on the ways in which civil servants (especially frontline workers) are expected to act and carry out their work. Some researchers point out that today's public employees must navigate through a mix of co-existing management paradigms that often collide and create tensions and dilemmas (Majgaard 2014, 2017; Andersen et al. 2017). Thus, the various management paradigms are often in competition, and the accompanying sets of rules and declarations of intent create both opportunities and limitations for employees, managers, and citizens. The various management paradigms are sometimes referred to as old public administration (the Weberian bureaucracy/traditional public administration), new public management (NPM), new public governance (NPG), collaborative governance, digital era governance (DEG), and so on (Andersen et al. 2017). Likewise, the goals of increased network management and collaboration in

cross-cutting networks give rise to several new challenges. Therefore, as guest editors of this issue, we find it important to address the phenomenon co-creation and co-production in its diversity and complexity, as well as examine its consequences in practice.

Krogstrup (2017) focuses on the external relations between authorities and citizens and points out that the new norm of co-production requires an increase in competence and the so-called capacity-building in the public sector. Here, the focus is on how public employees can be prepared to handle the co-productive relationships in appropriate ways, from the perspective of public organizations.

Majgaard (2014, 2017) and Rennison (2011, 2014) pay attention to internal organizational management and leadership challenges. They discuss the paradoxes/dilemmas that arise and argue for the need of management systems and leadership practices to facilitate and sustain the translation between the many voices and rationales at stake. Majgaard (2014, 2017) focuses on managing the translation processes between the political levels and the local organizational practices through situated narrative strategies. Rennison (2014) opens re-paradoxical strategies, where the paradoxical rationales/voices are heard and discussed in new reflexive ways through polyphonic processes. These translation strategies emphasize analytical and reflexive competencies, where dilemmas, tensions, and paradoxes are addressed and handled as creative potentials to make organizational changes based on more equal relationships.

These perspectives shift the focus from a well-known discourse on “organizational cross-pressure” (Klausen 2017) — where public employees and managers are positioned in a kind of limiting straitjacket—to a more positive and opportunity-oriented view on organizational conflicts. In this context, pluralism is perceived as a potential to open organizational spaces for action. These perspectives further indicate the need for a change of attitude and perspective from rationales and logics tied to traditional bureaucratic consensus-oriented administration toward a more dissensus-oriented, appreciative, and nuanced view of the citizen and affiliated networks. On the same note, efforts can be made to develop capabilities among professionals — both managers and staff — to facilitate more democratic and dialogic processes of co-production and co-creation. This tendency can be reflected as a general turn from

consensus-oriented organizational forms and dynamics to dissensus-oriented practices (Deetz 2001). The latter foregrounds complexity, conflict, ambivalence, and diversity of voices at the expense of the consensus-oriented monologic quest for imaginary unitary cultures and neat streamlined practices that can be controlled in a fairly easy way. In monologic perspectives, subjects tend to be perceived in a rather static, passive, and easily manageable manner, whereas in dissensus-oriented organizational forms, subjects are framed as active and ambivalent sense-makers, capable of contributing with pivotal knowledge in the ongoing co-creation of new knowledge and initiatives (Bager and McClellan, forthcoming).

The wave of co-production and co-creation thus creates new challenges and dilemmas for public employees internally in the administration, together with the handling of external relations (e.g., among external actors, citizens, and authorities). In this context, many public employees (frontline workers) experience challenges in translating (and/or enacting) the policy objectives of co-production and co-creation into (in) their practices, particularly as the organizational framework and conditions are rooted in previous management paradigms and reified institutionalized practices.

In different ways, the contributions in this issue address and discuss a variety of challenges related to co-production and co-creation in present-day society. They cover topics that include co-creative and collaborative research practices, co-production of social and health services, cross-institutional co-creation, co-creation of cultural experience in art institutions, and co-production in community development and city planning.

In the following paragraphs, we offer a brief overview of the rest of articles in this first volume:

The second article, written by Anne Tortzen, is entitled “Democratic Possibilities and Limitations of Digital Co-Creation – Exploring ICT-Facilitated Platforms in Reykjavik and Barcelona.” Tortzen points out that information and communication technology (ICT) is gaining ground in public administration and is now being used by municipalities in some major cities, with the aim of contributing to the co-creation of solutions to major problems in the cities. She explains that experiments using digital platforms have been conducted, with the aim of involving citizens as co-creators in developing

solutions to complex problems. From here, many questions arise, among others, whether these digital platforms can offer a real democratic frame for co-creation, which includes the many voices in the city. Another question is whether and how suggestions and ideas from citizens are considered by the city administrators. Using two empirical cases, Tortzen explores possible democratic gains and limitations of introducing digital platforms for co-creation with citizens. She focuses specifically on virtual crowdsourcing in two European cities — Barcelona and Reykjavik.

In the third article, Janne Paulsen Breimo and Asbjørn Røiseland discuss how the concept of co-production (*samskaping* in Norwegian) has become a key concept in Norway's public sector over the last five years. The title of their article is "*Samskaping i Norsk Offentlig Sektor – Noen Observasjoner og Hypoteser*" ("Co-Production in the Norwegian Public Sector – Some Observations and Hypotheses"). Based on theories about organizational diffusion and translation, they explore the extent to which the public sector in contemporary Norwegian society is witnessing a real transformation against a mere symbolic change. Based on searches on Norwegian public websites, their analysis shows that while *samskaping* at the national level mostly relates to welfare services (e.g., elderly care), the local level displays a more mixed picture where *samskaping* relates to both regional and local development. Based on the translation theory, their results indicate that the drive toward co-production is propelled by a mixture of different motivations, ranging from more interactions with citizens and opportunistic use of co-production to more symbolic functions.

In her conceptual article (number four), "When Peer Support Workers Engage in Co-Creating Mental Health Services: An Unexplored Resource in Mental Health Service Transformation," Kristina Bakke Åkerblom discusses the conditions in which peer support workers (PSWs) can contribute to the co-creation of new practices and innovative mental health services. Based on theoretical perspectives from public sector innovation studies, she illustrates how PSWs may play an essential role in co-designing new and improved services and engage as partners in shaping and co-creating service transformation. She further discusses how PSWs' position between service users and service professionals and between services and

civil society (user organizations and community services) is crucial. PSWs' contributions can be utilized by recognizing their boundary spanner role. She also argues that a conceptual distinction between co-production and co-creation can better prepare practices to utilize PSWs' competence in mental health service transformations.

In the fifth article, "Creating Equality for Those in Crisis," Michael John Norton and Calvin Swords discuss the potentials of co-creative approaches in acute inpatient mental health services as means to help practices become more recovery oriented and less coercive. They argue about how this transformation entails a move away from dominant biomedical approaches and discourses toward approaches foregrounding empowerment. On this note, they propose a social constructionist lens, which is sensitive to the power dynamics and discursive practices in everyday practice. Their critical discussion includes pointing out the lack of evidence and the scarcity of literature that focus on how such co-creative practices can unfold, and they advocate more critical ethical discussions in relation to practice.

In the sixth article, "*Samskaping som Revitalisering av Samfunnsarbeid i Sosialt Arbeid*," ("Co-Creation, Revitalizing Community Work in Social Work"), Ole Petter Askheim points out that community work at present has a weakened position in social work, while individually oriented practices are dominant. This development is foregrounded as paradoxical since the term co-creation has simultaneously obtained a prominent position in several countries' welfare policies. However, even if both concepts — community work and co-creation — share the prefix "co," the terms have very different backgrounds. Askheim notes that while community work is rooted in a bottom-up perspective and a left-wing ideology, the co-creation approach has its background in innovation literature, where it has moved from the private to the public sector and is mainly introduced by the state authorities. According to Askheim, besides expressing democratic intentions, co-creation is associated with the goals of efficiency and increased sustainability in the welfare sector. Askheim discusses whether the co-creation concept may contribute to a revitalization of community work or if a co-creation strategy

would imply a dead end if the original intentions of community work should be sustained.

Article number seven, "*Hvilke Posisjoner Kan Være Vanskelige å Innta i Forskning for Medforskere, Som er Avhengige av Hjelpeapparatet?*" ("Which Positions Can Be Difficult to Take for Co-Researchers Who Are Dependent on Welfare Services?") is written by Ellen Syrstad and Håvard Aaslund. They discuss two research projects in which socially marginalized co-researchers, who depend on the aid program contribute to the co-creation of research. The first study includes parents whose children are placed under public care, and the other involves homeless people. Their studies' findings indicate that such dependency can act as a barrier to critical research or critical actions in two ways: 1) It is difficult to be critical of one's own position in research. 2) It is difficult to be critical of the aid program.

In article number eight, entitled "Social Research at a Time of Fast Feedback and Rapid Change: The Case for 'Slow Science'," Rick Iedema challenges some of the most prevalent mainstream critique against participatory inquiry and participatory studies. Such critique often points to how such studies prompt methodological indeterminacy that, according to Iedema "undermines its scientific credentials by rendering its processes and outcomes vulnerable to idiosyncratic events, subjective interpretations, local variability and chancy outcomes" (as quoted in Iedema, this issue). Iedema challenges these assumptions by drawing on perspectives such as slow science, affect theory and post-qualitative critique, in combination with experiences from involving healthcare practitioners in methods of reflexive video ethnography. On this basis, Iedema innovatively challenges the "scientific-technocratic order" that tends to foreground "strict methods tyranny." He argues for the need for slow and participatory science approaches that do not only give voice to those whose lives are studied and affected but also legitimize the need for scholars to be affected by these voices.

In article number nine, "Mapping and Understanding the Potentials of Co-Creative Efforts in Museum Experience Design Processes," Kristina Maria Madsen and Mia Falch Yates focus on the initial movement in the museum world toward a higher degree of co-cre-

ation with the users and co-creation in the relationship among the involved professionals with different positions, capabilities, and professional backgrounds through more collaborative and participatory strategies. The authors point out that this movement is in its initial phase. They examine the attempts to work with co-creation at three different Danish museums and discuss the co-creative process through the lens of a “Venn diagram,” which graphically illustrates the overall collaboration among different stakeholders. The authors propose the first step toward a framework for visualizing, understanding, and discussing the dynamics of a co-creative museum experience design. Their intention is to create a foundation for discussing the complexities of collaborative processes.

In article number ten, “*Tilrettelegging for Samskapt FoU i et Tverr-Institusjonelt Partnerskap om Universitetsskoler*” (“Facilitation of Co-Created R&D in an Inter-Institutional Partnership between University Schools”), Torild Alise W. Oddane and Ingrid Stenøien address how the co-creation of public services calls for new leadership practices, placing high demands on leaders in traditional bureaucratic organizations. The authors explore leadership practices that enable co-creation in cross-institutional partnerships. Their study is based on data from a co-creation project in a cross-institutional university school partnership. While using the complexity theory as a theoretical lens, they examine how the leaders developed an inter-institutional network, enabling 14 collaborative projects between researchers and teachers. The study suggests that formal and informal leadership actions aimed at creating cross-institutional managerial commitment, preparing emergent semi-structured plan, developing a broad targeted information strategy, and connecting people across institutions are vital for enabling co-creation in cross-institutional partnerships.

In article number eleven, “The Conceptual and Methodological Development of the SIMM-Q,” Atle Ødegård, Ragnhild Holmen Waldahl, Elisabeth Willumsen, Tatiana Iakovleva, and Jon Strype point to new insights and call for an elaboration of research methodologies, which can explore and investigate the phenomenon of innovation (i.e., processes and outcomes). They describe the development of a conceptual model of social innovation at the micro level and the

development of a quantitative methodology, named the Social Innovation Measurement Model Questionnaire (SIMM-Q), linked to research on social innovation and its relevance for co-creation.

As editors of this volume, we would like to emphasize that none of the contributors romanticizes co-production and co-creation, but they all discuss the dilemmas, tensions, and complexities related to the participatory discourse. They do not only discuss the dilemmas and tensions experienced by citizens, practitioners, communal workers, managers, and so on, but they also critically examine the dilemmas experienced by the researchers themselves while undertaking projects based on ideals of co-production and/or co-creation. In different ways, the authors of each article point to the need for an augmented critical-reflexive awareness while attempting to enact the participatory terms and the corresponding methods in political and institutional policies, programs, and strategies, as well as in the so-called collaborative research projects. After reading through all the intriguing contributions, we find that they point to the relevance for researchers and practitioners to pay attention to several aspects, including the following:

- 1 What conditions and circumstances are offered for co-creation and co-production?
- 2 For whom are researchers and practitioners doing these kinds of projects, and who will benefit from the co-creative initiatives?
- 3 How do we, both as researchers and practitioners, ensure real democratic involvement where people are provided choices and not merely a voice?
- 4 What kinds of systemic structures and conceptual taken-for-granted assumptions either support or prevent diverse co-creative initiatives?
- 5 What kinds of new employee and citizen positions emerge from diverse co-creative processes, and what are the consequences?
- 6 What kinds of new power balances and imbalances are co-created at the expense of others?
- 7 What kinds of leadership practices are needed, and how do we develop new ways of leadership, which can sustain co-creation and co-production?

Regarding the last reflexive aspect, a possible and obvious avenue is to engage in processes where new narrative translation (Majgaard 2017) or re-paradoxical (Rennison 2014) leadership strategies are co-created in close collaboration among leaders, employees, and researchers. In such co-creative processes, the paradoxical and often clashing rationales/ voices can be encountered and discussed in new reflexive ways and in a tension-embracing and dissensus-based manner, potentially leading to more egalitarian and plurivocal practices.

While reading through the articles, we also identify the need for educating students, professionals, managers, consultants, researchers, and other relevant actors in practicing and facilitating co-production and co-creation, with the aim of contributing to the development of democracy. It certainly becomes evident that co-creation and co-production are not just something that we, as researchers and practitioners, can do without preparation or training but must be learned through education and practice based on a critical-reflexive approach.

It is our aspiration that this volume and the second one can contribute to a critical-reflexive discussion that may help qualify and improve projects and initiatives, invoking co-creation and co-production in addressing minor and major challenges in our complex society on both local and global scales.

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Democratic possibilities and limitations of digital co-creation

Exploring ICT facilitated platforms in Reykjavik and Barcelona

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Abstract

Platform-based, virtual co-creation in cities is currently a major, global trend. In response to democratic challenges, cities like Madrid, Barcelona, Paris and Reykjavik invite citizens to co-create the city through virtual platforms. Based on research in the fields of e-participation and digital crowdsourcing and drawing on the first mover cases of Reykjavik and Barcelona, this article explores the democratic possibilities and limitations of this type of digital co-creation.

Keywords: Co-creation, e-participation, virtual platforms, crowdsourcing, democracy

Introduction

Digital technologies play an increasing role in co-production and co-creation, as ICT-facilitated forms of co-creation are gaining popularity across the world. The aim of this article is to explore possible democratic gains and limitations of introducing digital platforms for co-creation. Focussing specifically on virtual crowdsourcing in

cities, the article seeks to answer the following three questions: To which extent do these platforms lower the threshold of participation? To which extent do they grant citizens agenda setting and decision-making powers? And finally, to which extent do they contribute to solving the democratic challenges facing cities?

The article proceeds as follows: In the first paragraph the concepts of co-production/co-creation and ICT are defined. The second paragraph describes the democratic challenges currently experienced by cities in the Western World, elaborating on Reykjavik and Barcelona as empirical cases of ICT-based co-creation and on the methodologies applied in data-collection. The next paragraph unfolds the theoretical framework applied in terms of e-participation and crowdsourcing/techno-politics. The article then proceeds to discussing the possibilities and limitations of ICT facilitated co-creation from a democratic perspective and is rounded off with a conclusive paragraph.

Theorizing co-production/co-creation and ICT – and the relation between them

The notions of co-production and co-creation have been disputed and interpreted in different ways by researchers (Tortzen 2019; Agger and Tortzen 2015). This article uses the notion co-creation drawing on the distinction between co-production and co-creation introduced by Brandsen & Honingh (2018) based on the kinds of inputs, citizens contribute in the process: “..when citizens are involved in the general planning of a service – perhaps even initiating it – then this is co-creation, whereas if they shape the service during later phases of the cycle it is co-production” (Ibid 2018, 13). This understanding of co-creation corresponds with Pestoff’s (2012) notion of co-governance signifying citizens participating on the input side of the policy circle.

The notion of co-creation accommodates a shift to a more collaborative paradigm of public governance (Osborne 2010) positioning the public sector as facilitator of collaboration across sectors and stakeholders to mobilize resources for solving complex societal challenges. Co-creation in this understanding involves decision makers sharing power with citizens and other stakeholders, transforming the role of citizens from voters or consumers of public service to co-creators (Tortzen 2019; Durose et al. 2013; Needham and Carr 2009).

Research points to the potential of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) to strengthen the participatory element of the collaborative governance paradigm and possibly transform co-creation (Lember 2018). However, there is still little systematic evidence on the effect of digital technologies on co-creation in practice (Lember 2018; Lember, Brandsen, and Tönurist 2019). Overall, research in the field of ICT facilitated co-creation concludes that the relation between ICT and co-creation is complex and dependent on the specific context. ICT, thus, may influence co-production and co-creation both in positive and negative ways, i.e. empowering citizens, but also enforcing existing power-relations or transferring power and control to private companies (Lember, Brandsen, and Tönurist 2019).

Cities facing democratic challenges: Reykjavik and Barcelona as first movers

Many cities in Western Europe face substantial challenges that create a need for inviting citizens to participate as co-creators. This paragraph outlines the main democratic challenges faced by cities, then presents the empirical cases of Reykjavik and Barcelona, including the methods used for collecting empirical data on these two cases.

Cities are arenas condensing 'wicked problems' in fields such as social inequality, unemployment, homelessness, mobility and climate change (de Lange and de Waal 2013; Meijer and Bolívar 2016; Durose et al. 2019) Many cities are currently facing a multitude of wicked problems and are challenged in terms of sustainability, socially as well as environmentally (Abrahamsson 2012; Tahvilzadeh 2016).

At the same time, many cities are struggling with a democratic deficit, resulting in distrust and protests among citizens organizing in demand of a 'real democracy'. Critical researchers (Abrahamsson 2012; Peters and Pierre 2012; Harvey 2007; Sassen 2000) point out that widespread neo-liberal governance of cities, focussing on growth, favouring capital interests and privatizing the 'commons' tend to result in 'postdemocratic' cities characterized by a democratic deficit and a lack of trust in the city government.

All in all, many cities currently find themselves in a challenged position democratically. Both in terms of *legitimacy*, i.e. citizens' participation, trust and support for the political system – and in

terms of *efficiency*, i.e. the ability of the political systems to solve wicked problems (Van Reybrouck 2013; Fung 2015). This creates a need for democratic innovation and co-creation and is an important explanation why platform-based, virtual co-creation in cities is currently a major trend.

Two cases of digital democracy and co-creation: Reykjavik and Barcelona

The article focusses on two cases of ICT-assisted co-creation in cities, i.e. Reykjavik and Barcelona. The two cities may be considered 'first-movers' as they have year-long experiences with using digital platforms for co-creation with citizens. The multi-purpose platforms applied in the two cities contain digital functionalities that facilitate citizens presenting, debating and voting on ideas and petitions for the development of the city as well as taking part in participatory budgeting, i.e. allocating funds to citizen driven ideas and projects. Thus, the platforms were introduced to expand civic participation and facilitate the sharing of agenda-setting and decision-making power with citizens.

Empirical data on the two cases have been collected through a combination of document analysis and semi-structured qualitative interviews face-to-face with central stakeholders, i.e. academic researchers, politicians and civil servants (Reykjavik N=4, Barcelona N=8). Informants as well as policy documents have been identified and selected through snowball sampling and subsequently analysed thematically (Tortzen 2020).

In both cities, the launch of virtual co-creation platforms has been spurred by widespread mistrust of the city government and political system resulting in popular demands for innovating democracy in the form of digital platforms for co-creation with citizens (Calatayud 2019; Castells 2015a).

Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, was (probably) the first city in the world to develop and adopt a digital platform for crowdsourcing citizens' ideas on the development of the city (Better Reykjavik) in 2010. In 2012 the platform of Better Districts was added, facilitating a participatory budget of approx. 24 mil Danish kroner (6 % of the city's construction budget) on citizen-led initiatives in 12 local districts of the city (Calatayud 2019).

In the Spanish city of Barcelona, a political platform, Barcelona en Comú, formed by activists, has held a political majority in the city council from 2015 onwards, introducing an ambitious democratic transformation of the city governance (Castells 2015; Flesher Fominaya 2017). Part of this transformation being Decidim, a multi-purpose co-creation platform launched in 2016 for crowdsourcing, debating and voting on citizen proposals, for participatory budgeting (75 mil. Euros distributed among local areas) and for self-organizing among citizens.

Theoretical perspectives: E-participation, crowdsourcing and techno-politics

This paragraph places the phenomenon of ICT facilitated co-creation platforms in a larger theoretical framework. In doing so, it draws on two relevant lines of research on virtual co-creation, i.e. e-participation and crowdsourcing / techno-politics respectively.

The e-participation perspective

From an e-participation perspective virtual platforms for citizen participation may be considered the last step in a twenty-year development of different forms of e-participation in the public sector directed at enhancing civic engagement and strengthening the legitimacy of governments and citizens' trust in public institutions (Le Blanc 2020). E-participation takes on a multitude of different forms from informing citizens to collaborating with them and from public service delivery to political agenda-setting (Le Blanc 2020). According to Le Blanc (2020, 9) "*In many cases, making a participation practice digital mostly allows for doing more, faster and cheaper*".

Research in the field of e-participation points to the fact that in spite of great expectations, e-participation has overall not succeeded in transforming democracy (Bastick 2017; Le Blanc 2020). On the contrary, e-participation possibilities are largely applied in ways that reproduce existing democratic processes and power relations. According to Bastick (2017, 10): "*The Internet has largely been applied to further the political status quo rather than exploring alternative democratic futures.*" A recent review of research in the field of e-participation, thus, concludes that it is unclear whether the increased use of e-participation processes has indeed translated into in broader or deeper citizen participation (Le Blanc 2020).

The perspective of crowdsourcing and techno-politics

From the perspective of techno-politics, ITC-assisted co-creation platforms are but one of multiple types of ITC facilitated co-creation that constitute a transition *'from e-Government (citizen as customer) to we-Government (citizen as partner)'* (Linders 2012). In Linders terms, the virtual participation platforms in Reykjavik and Barcelona may be categorized as a 'citizen sourcing' type of we-government.

Also, the term citizen-sourcing is central to understanding the democratic ideals inspiring the development of virtual co-creation platforms. The notion of 'crowdsourcing', i.e. a combination of the open innovation-concept of outsourcing with the idea of 'wisdom of crowds' are central notions in the ambition of fundamental democratic change brought forward by activists in both Reykjavik and Barcelona. The democratic ideal of the 'crowd' as opposed to representative democracy is expressed as follows by Tormey (2015, 119): *"Swarms and crowds obey a different logic to those engaged in representative politics ... Individuals engaged in swarm politics are themselves actors. More than this they are not directed by someone, but rather part of an ecology that is itself without direction from above or anywhere else for that matter"*.

This alternative democratic ideal has been labelled 'techno-politics' and rests on the following basic ideas: 1. The internet and digital platforms constitute possibilities to transform democracy into a direct, non-hierarchical, network-based form of democracy 2. Representative democracy should not be trusted and is un-necessary – rather, individual citizens should be enabled to participate directly through digital platforms 3. Through these platforms, individual citizens have the possibility to interact like 'crowds' and 'swarms' without being governed by others (Tormey 2015; Curban, Peña-López, and Haberer 2017; Castells 2015).

Possibilities and limitations of ICT facilitated co-creation – from a democratic perspective

The following paragraph will discuss the democratic possibilities and limitations of ICT facilitated co-creation in terms of spurring civic participation and facilitating collaboration and power-sharing with citizens. It poses three central questions and answers them by drawing on empirical research, using the cases of Reykjavik and Barcelona as illustrative examples.

To which extent do the platforms for virtual co-creation lower the threshold of participation and expand citizen participation?

Research shows that digital citizen engagement has the potential to lower the 'threshold' of participation by offering an easily accessible and user-friendly channel, thereby allowing more citizens to participate. However, it has proved a challenge to attract groups of citizens who are not normally willing to participate, e.g. in planning processes (Schröder 2014; Randma-liiv and Vooglaid 2020). Digital citizen engagement platforms, furthermore, tend to require a lot of marketing initiatives to create visibility and awareness among citizens (Schröder 2014).

A limitation of virtual platforms is connected to the so called 'digital divide' that may exclude groups of citizens from participating. Le Blanc (2020, 16) point to three layers of digital literacy apart from physical access to ICT: The skills to operate computers and the Internet; the skills to look for and analyze information; and the skills to use web 2.0 functionalities to achieve one's individual goals. In general, e-participation has proved most successful when linked to or combined with events or processes of face-to-face participation that may serve to bridge the digital divide.

Case illustration:

The digital co-creation platforms applied in Reykjavik and Barcelona have both succeeded in attracting relatively large numbers of participants. In Reykjavik, 12 % of the inhabitants contributed via the Better Districts platform during 2019. Citizens at the age of 35-45 turned out as the easiest to engage, whereas younger and elderly citizens have proved more difficult to reach. It has taken several years and a lot of marketing and social influencer initiatives to direct citizens towards Better Districts (interviews, Reykjavik).

Barcelona's Decidim platform has had more than 1,5 mio. visits in the period of 2016-19 (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2019). Decidim has managed to increase the diversity of citizens participating, particularly through supplementing the digital platform through face-to-face meetings, facilitation of participation through civil society organisations and deliberately seeking to minimize the digital divide by providing special support for citizens lacking digital and other participation skills (Peña-López 2017).

To which extent do virtual co-creation platforms grant citizens agenda-setting and decision-making power?

A basic feature of the ICT facilitated platforms of co-creation is the access for citizens to communicate their ideas, opinions and proposals, ultimately affecting the political agenda setting and priority of local politicians. Engagement through digital platforms/channels has the potential of communicating ideas and preference of citizens in a quick and simple way to planners and policy makers. The question is now: To which extent do digital co-creation platforms contribute to transforming the power relations between citizens and public institutions by sharing political agenda setting and decision-making power?

The answer from empirical research is discouraging: Overall, there seems to be a reluctance on the part of political systems to genuinely share agenda setting and decision making power with citizens (Le Blanc 2020; Fung 2015; Bastick 2017). Summarizing a review of 20 years e-participation development, Le Blanc states (2020, 28) that e-participation *“has generally not translated into broader or deeper citizen participation.the reluctance of political systems to genuinely share agenda setting and decision-making power seems to explain much of the observed limited progress”*. Thus contradicting the somewhat optimistic notion of the techno-political approach to power-sharing happening as a result of digital platforms.

Fung (Ibid 2015) launches the concept of ‘trivial’ citizen participation, i.e. participation that does not in any significant way transform the roles or shift the power relations between citizens and politicians. According to Fung (Ibid 2015, 15): *“There are many different ways to restrict participation so that, at the limit, it is trivial: participants exercise little influence over outcomes, the agenda of issues that they consider can be highly constrained, or the resources and authorities invested in a participatory process can be tiny”*. Apart from a low level of responsiveness of politicians towards citizens, research also points to organizational capacity and competences in administrative and political organizations as a limitation. Thus, it has proved a challenge for administrative and political systems to process and translate the input from citizens coming in through digital participation channels (Schuurman et al. 2012; Schröder 2014).

Case illustration:

The crowdsourcing platform Better Reykjavik applied by the city from 2010 serves as an illustration of the challenges, digital crowdsourcing may pose for political and administrative systems. The ideas harvested from the citizens did not in any significant way transform the political agenda or influence the way, in which the administration or politicians worked. The reasons: A lack of organizational capacity and resources in the city administration to back up the inputs from citizens. The administrators of the municipality were not sufficiently geared for the cross-sector collaboration needed to process ideas from citizens and did not receive extra resources for this task. The same was true for the political system: The city council committed itself to formally processing the highest-ranking citizen ideas once a month. This resulted in an 'overload' of ideas to be processed politically. The Better Reykjavik platform has slowly withered over the years and is in the process of being replaced (interviews, Reykjavik).

The case of Barcelonas Decidim platform, on the contrary, may serve as an example of the organizational and institutional support needed to make digital co-creation work. In Barcelona, Decidim is perceived as part of a systemic change transforming both the administrative and the political system. The city council, thus, aims at supporting the democratic transformation institutionally, allocating resources to improve the working conditions of civil servants and supporting them in collaborating with citizens by offering training and guidance. Also, all city councilors have signed a new codex for political ethics aimed at transforming the political culture by increasing transparency, avoiding corruption and supporting the accessibility and responsiveness of politicians (Barcelona en Comú 2015; P2P Foundation 2019; interviews, Barcelona).

To which extent do virtual co-creation platforms contribute to solving the democratic challenges of cities?

This question is highly relevant to the challenges facing cities - both in terms of *legitimacy* and *efficiency*. Research points to the fact, that in general, virtual platforms for co-creation carry a risk of low democratic quality. Digital participation platforms are characterized by researchers as 'thin participation' as opposed to 'thick participation'. 'Thin' democratic participation engages citizens as individuals and does not support mutual learning, dialogue or collaboration

(Nabatchi and Leighninger 2015). Democracy researcher Graham Smith (2019) warns against the absence of deliberation in digital participation and a tendency to focus solely on numbers: *"..we have a real tension here between digital and deliberative democracy...I think the digital people are obsessed by numbers, and the funny thing is that this can very easily end up as an old politics – who is shouting the loudest? How many people are 'liking'? That reminds me of standard electoral politics"*.

In terms of efficiency, a central question is: To what extent are digital co-creation platforms suited for dealing with complex issues and conflictual interests that characterize the 'wicked problems' facing cities? In opposition to the optimistic view of the techno-political approach, Lember et al. (2019, 1666) point to some limitations of digital co-creation when dealing with complex issues: *"Conflicting interests and diverging values among stakeholders, the inability of data and algorithms to mirror the complexity of societies, unevenly spread technological capabilities and other factors make digital coproduction a fundamentally ambiguous, open-ended and contested process"*.

Also, the potential 'wisdom of the crowd' highlighted by the techno-political approach is contradicted by empirical research. In a case study of a digital crowdsourcing platform (The Ghent Living lab in Belgium), Schuurman et al. (2012) found a low level of innovativeness. This is in line with previous research results showing that crowdsourcing often leads to mainly incremental ideas.

Case illustration:

The case of Better Districts in Reykjavik illustrates that the digital platform may at best serve as first step in a longer process of participation and dialogue but may not in itself be expected to transform the relation between citizens and public administration. Face-to-face meetings and dialogue with citizens have been added in Reykjavik to qualify suggestions and facilitate community building around local development. Over the years the use of the co-creation platform has been developed both on the side of the public administration and of the citizens supplementing the digital platform with face-to-face community building and deliberation (interviews, Reykjavik).

The case of Decidim Barcelona illustrates a paradox in digital co-creation: How may digital platforms inviting citizens to participate individually be used for solving the collective challenges of the

city? This dilemma is raised by one of the social activists behind Barcelona en Comu, who is also a researcher. He reflects critically on the capacity of the co-creation platform Decidim to support collective reflection and action: *“We need more space for collective reflections. A platform such as Decidim invites contributions from individuals – making it difficult to form collective arenas.. we miss the possibility of thinking and discussing collaboratively”* (interview, Barcelona).

Conclusion

This article explores the possibilities and limitations of ICT-facilitated co-creation in meeting the democratic challenges currently facing many cities both in terms of *legitimacy*, i.e. citizens’ participation, trust and support for the political system – and in terms of *efficiency*, i.e. the ability of the political systems to solve wicked problems. The article draws on qualitative case-studies of two front-runner cases of virtual co-creation platforms in the cities of Reykjavik and Barcelona, that were launched in response to widespread citizen protests with a hope of transforming democracy.

The analysis shows that virtual platforms do offer some democratic possibilities by lowering the threshold of participation and allowing more citizens to participate. However, a limitation to digital participation is the so-called ‘digital divide’ that may be bridged by linking or combining ICT-facilitated participation with face-to-face participation. In terms of power-sharing with citizens, co-creation facilitated by ICT tends to mirror the challenges identified in co-creation face-to-face, a major limitation being a reluctance of administrative and political systems to invest resources and build organizational capacity for genuinely sharing agenda setting and decision-making power with citizens. A systemic change in terms of organisational and institutional support is needed to support digital co-creation.

Furthermore, digital platforms are not per se suited for solving complex issues. Techno-optimistic ideals of solving wicked problems through harvesting ‘the wisdom of the crowd’ do not find support in the data. On the contrary, virtual platforms for co-creation carry a risk of ‘thin’ democratic participation that is not well suited for working with the complex issues and conflicting interests currently facing cities.

The article contributes to the research field of co-creation by supplying in depth knowledge on co-creation in cities through digital platforms. However, the empirical basis of this study is relatively limited and could be strengthened by studying more cases of ICT-based co-creation in cities.

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“Samskaping” i norsk offentlig sektor

Endringer, opportunistisme eller symbolpolitikk?

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Abstract

“Co-creation” in Norwegian public sector – Changes, Opportunism or Symbolism?

The Norwegian word for co-creation, “samskaping”, is a new-constructed word that during the last 5 years has become a key concept in the public sector. How to understand this conceptual change? By leaning on theories about organizational diffusion and translation, the article explores to what extent we are witnessing a real versus more symbolic change. The article analyses the spread of co-creation based in web-searches in Norwegian public websites. The analysis shows that while “samskaping” at the national level mostly relates to welfare services (elderly care), the local level displays a more mixed picture where “samskaping” also relates to regional and local development. Relating to translation theory, this preliminary analysis indicates that the drive towards co-creation is propelled by a mixture of different motivations, spanning from more interaction with citizens, opportunistic use of co-creation, and more symbolic functions.

Keywords: Co-creation, translation, public sector, municipalities, document study

Innledning

Inntil nylig var “samskaping” (samskabelse) et helt ukjent ord på norsk, og google-søk så sent som 2014 gav bare en håndfull treff, og knapt noen av treffene var relatert til offentlig sektor (Røiseland og Lo 2019). I dag kan vi konstatere at “samskaping” er blitt et svært mye brukt og mye omtalt begrep innen norsk offentlig sektor, og den nær eksplosive interessen for dette begrepet gjør det spesielt interessant å studere utbredelsen i akkurat Norge. Men utover at ordet eksisterer, vet vi lite om hva det innebærer i praksis, hva ordet er uttrykk for, og innenfor hvilke sammenhenger, politikkområder og styringsnivåer “samskaping” brukes. Er vi vitne til en reell endringsprosess i tråd med begrepets faglige innhold, eller er det snarere snakk om et overflatisk motefenomen? Eller er det snakk om en form for pervertering, der “samskaping” brukes opportunistisk for å realisere forskjellige andre målsetninger enn de som teorien om samskaping peker på?

Ifølge den tilhørende faglitteraturen handler samskaping om et likeverdig samarbeid mellom ulike typer aktører. Mange forfattere knytter samskaping først og fremst til typiske tjenestesektorer. Teoretisk sett er det imidlertid snakk om et bredt fenomen som kan finnes i så å si ethvert offentlig politikkområde, på ethvert styringsnivå og i enhver sektor, og derfor kan man tenke seg at samskaping også har relevans innen politikkområder med større innslag av forvaltning og regulering.

Å undersøke hvilke norske politikkskategorier begrepet knyttes til, samt på hvilket styringsnivå og i hvilke kommuner, er interessant nok i seg selv. I tillegg vil mønsteret som avtegner seg være egnet til å indikere noe om hvordan vi bør forstå det som skjer – er det snakk om reelle endringer eller først og fremst mote og symbolikk? Hvis det er snakk om reelle endringer, hvilke endringer er det i så fall? Artikkelen rapporterer fra en enkel web-basert dokument-studie, der målet har vært å kartlegge forståelser av og motiver for samskaping i norsk offentlig sektor.

Hvorfor samskaping?

Det faglige begrepet “samskaping” har sitt opphav *utenfor* offentlig sektor, i første rekke innen markedsøkonomi, hvor “co-creation” knyttes til samproduksjonsprosesser (opplevelsesturisme, flatpakket møbel) og produsent-konsument-relasjoner i designprosesser (Ramaswamy and Ozcan 2014; Redlich et al. 2019). På minst to måter kan denne markedsteorien også ha relevans for offentlig sektor. For det første er mange offentlige tjenester, f.eks. eldreomsorg, samskapende i sin natur, og forutsetter bidrag fra både tjenesteyter og bruker (Osborne et al. 2013). For det andre inviterer samskaping til å se på tjenstedesign og politikkutvikling som prosesser hvor brukere og borgere både kan og bør trekkes aktivt inn (Bovaird og Loeffler 2016).

Selv om samskaping er en bred kategori, ligger kjernen i selve ordet. “Sam” betyr at ulike aktører utveksler ressurser, mens “skskaping” henspiller på at noe blir realisert som ellers ikke ville blitt til virkelighet. Mer presist vil vi oppfatte samskaping som “a process through which two or more public and/or private actors attempt to solve a shared problem or task through a constructive exchange of different kinds of knowledge, resources, competences and ideas that enhance the production of public value” (Torfing et al. 2019). Begrepet reflekterer dermed en oppfatning av borgerne som aktive og ansvarlige partnere, framfor passive mottakere (Pestoff 2009).

Den teoretiske litteraturen kan by på en lang meny av potensielle motivasjoner for å gjøre samskaping til en gjennomgående strategi i offentlig sektor. Samskaping kan øke offentlige myndigheters legitimitet gjennom deltakelse og medvirkning, og gjennom bedre og mer treffsikre løsninger (Voorberg et al. 2015, 1349; Fledderus 2018). I tillegg argumenteres det for at kompliserte og sammenflettede problemer som klima, kriminalitet og flytningskrise bare kan løses gjennom samarbeid mellom offentlige aktører, borgere, sivilsamfunn og næringsliv (Torfing et al. 2019), og at samskaping kan styrke deltakernes eierskap til løsninger, og på den måten bidra til både mindre endringsmotstand og bedre konfliktløsning (Benjamin og Brudley 2018). Dessuten kan samskaping bidra til kompetanseoppbygning, og styrke rollen til både borgere og lokalsamfunn (Voorberg et al. 2015; Brandsen et al. 2018), samt at samskaping også blir sett som en kilde til innovasjon (Lund 2018).

Mange av disse positive egenskapene kunne være skrevet fram gjennom å bruke andre begreper enn “samskaping”. Derfor er det ikke gitt at vi bør se på “samskaping” som noe unikt i forhold til eksempelvis “collaborative” eller “interactive governance” (Ansell og Torfing 2021). Utgangspunktet her er imidlertid et annet, nemlig at i nyere tid har disse ideene blitt solgt inn, med stor suksess, under overskriften “samskaping”. Vi mangler likevel systematisk kunnskap om hva denne endringen innebærer i praksis.

Teorier om idespredning og oversettelse

At ord og begreper reiser på tvers av faglige disipliner, politikksektorer og landegrenser inviterer til såkalte translasjonsteoretiske analyser og betraktninger. Selv om vårt lille empiriske materiale ikke tillater oss å gå i dybden, vil vi likevel peke på noen aktuelle og alternative teoritradisjoner som kan kaste lys over hvorfor ideer spres, hvilke motiverende drivkrefter som er i spill, og hvordan dette kan tenkes å komme til uttrykk rent empirisk.

Organisasjonslitteraturen kan vise til flere og delvis motstridende teorier om hvordan ideer spres og oversettes til nye kontekster (Wæraas og Nielsen 2016). Den dominerende teoriretning blant forskere som skriver om samskaping, og som også gjennomsyrrer vår egen beskrivelse så langt, kan omtales som et *kunnskapsbasert* perspektiv. Perspektivet har en instrumentell forståelse av oversetting på tvers av organisasjonsgrenser, og er opptatt av hvordan ideer spres og tilpasses gjennom endringsagenter (Horsbøl 2018) og “boundary spanners” (Sørensen et al. 2020).

Et alternativt perspektiv, det *institusjonelle*, vil først og fremst være opptatt av de organisasjonsprosessene der ideer først løsrives fra sin opprinnelige kontekst for deretter i bli introdusert i en ny og annerledes kontekst hvor ideen framstår som passende og “tidsriktig” (Czarniawska 1996; Røvik 2011). I et slikt perspektiv vil samskaping kunne framstå som et motepreget ord som ikke alltid er ment å fylles eller bli fylt med et reelt innhold.

I et *kritisk* teoriperspektiv vil vi fokusere mest på interesser og maktforhold, og hvordan nye ideer blir en anledning til å fremme interessene til dem som har definisjonsmakt. For eksempel kan samskaping bli sett på som en metode for å kutte i offentlige budsjetter, eller redusere de ansattes innflytelse over eget arbeide (Davies 2011; Wæraas og Nielsen 2016).

Datamaterialet i denne artikkelen tillater ingen tradisjonell test av disse perspektivene. Først og fremst er målet vårt å demonstrere hvilken potensiell forklaringskraft perspektivene kan ha. Vi vil derfor argumentere for at perspektivene gir et bra utgangspunkt for å formulere hypoteser om spredningsmønsteret av “samskaping” på tvers av sektorer, kommuner eller forvaltningsnivåer. Tabell 3 lanserer tre forskjellige hypoteser vi kort vil diskutere.

Tabell 3: Tre antakelser om spredning og oversettelse av samskaping

Teoretisk perspektiv	Antakelser om spredning av samskaping:	Empirisk uttrykk
Kunnskapsbasert	Det er stor variasjon i hvordan samskaping knyttes til ulike sektorer fordi det kreves ledere som evner å tilpasse den overordnede ideen til den spesifikke sektorkonteksten.	Ingen systematisk variasjon med hensyn til sektorer, kommuner eller nivå.
Institusjonelt--	Kommunesammenslåing og behov for ny kommuneplan i 2020 skapte et vindu som kunne fylles med samskaping. Den overordnede ideen er vag, og ingen garanti for at faktiske endringer finner sted.	Systematisk variasjon mellom kommuner
Kritisk	Samskaping oppfattes av ledere som en besparelses-strategi der brukere og borgere kan avlaste den offentlige budsjettbyrden, og derfor finner vi samskaping først og fremst i forbindelse med store og dyre velferdstjenester.	Systematisk variasjon mellom sektorer

I et *kunnskapsbasert* perspektiv vil vi forstå samskaping som et overordnet prinsipp som må tilpasses, og denne tilpasningen krever ledere og ansatte som har tilstrekkelig kunnskap, kompetanse og læringsevne. I utgangspunktet er det grunn til å anta at disse lederne og ansatte er spredt fordelt på sektorer og kommuner, og derfor forventer vi ingen spesiell systematisk variasjon med hensyn til sektorer, kommuner eller nivå.

I et *institusjonelt* perspektiv peker norske kommunesammenslåinger seg ut som en utløsende faktor for at samskaping er satt på dagsorden. I 2020 ble mange norske kommuner slått sammen til større kommuner. Nye kommuner trenger ny kommuneplan, og for dem som skrev utkast til disse planene framstod “samskaping” som et passende ord som både kunne forene tidligere kommuner, og samtidig peke framover. Gitt dette institusjonelle perspektivet

kan vi dermed forvente at det finnes en systematisk variasjon mellom kommuner siden de i ulik grad har hatt behov for å lage nye kommuneplaner.

Et *kritisk* teoriperspektiv åpner for at lederes motivasjon for å introdusere samskaping i seg selv er verdt å studere nærmere. I dette tilfellet kan “samskaping” for eksempel framstå som en oppskrift for å lette den offentlige budsjettbyrden gjennom å overlate flere oppgaver til brukere og deres pårørende. Gitt dette perspektivet vil vi forvente at samskaping framstår som mest aktuelt og interessant på områder med stor offentlig ressursinnsats, og at særlig eldreomsorg vil peke seg ut som en sektor som har omfavnet begrepet “samskaping”. Rent empirisk vil dette komme til uttrykk gjennom at det er stor systematisk variasjon med hensyn til sektor, men mindre på tvers av kommuner.

Data og metode

Analysen nedenfor er basert på dokumenter identifisert gjennom websøk på hhv. “regjeringen.no” (portal for statlig forvaltning) og utvalgte kommuners websider. Vi søkte både på “samskap*” og “samskaping”, og søkene gav en rekke treff, blant annet i nyhetssaker. Dette innledende søket ble deretter avgrenset gjennom at vi sorterte bort rene medieoppslag om samskaping og dokumenter hvor ordet “samskaping” er nevnt uten noen øvrig informasjonsverdi. Til sist satt vi tilbake med et sett av dokumenter som vi gjennomgikk (se tabell 1). Disse dokumentene omtaler samskaping, og ofte nevnes ordet en rekke ganger i dokumentet.

Tabell 1: Websøk etter “samskap*” på offentlig websider.

	Nasjonalt – «regjeringen.no»	Kommune A: Kristiansand	Kommune B: Stavanger	Kommune C: Trondheim	Kommune D: Bodø
Innbyggertall	Hele landet	86'	131'	182'	50'
Styrende koalisjon siste 8 år	Stabilt borgerlig / Høyre	Vekslende, nå sosialdemokrati / grønn	Vekslende, nå sosialdemokrati / grønn	Stabilt sosialdemokrati / grønn	Stabilt, sosialdemokrati / grønn
Treff på «samskap*»	24	34	13	54	41
Identifiserte og gjennomgåtte dokumenter	8	30	4	23	14

I tillegg til å dekke det statlige nivået, har vi valgt ut fire større norske by-kommuner som ivaretar behovet for en viss geografisk spredning. De fire kommunene er regionale sentra, og de er blant annet vertskap for universitet og forskningsmiljøer.

Vår metode har flere svakheter, f.eks. kan det være forskjeller i publiseringspraksis på kommuners webside slik at viktige dokumenter utelates fra analysen. Men siden formålet med analysen er å tegne et foreløpig og grovt bilde av hvordan ordet samskaping brukes i norsk offentlig sektor, mener vi likevel at data har tilstrekkelig kvalitet.

Analyse

Søk på ulike typer offentlige portaler gjør det raskt klart at “samskaping” i mindre grad brukes i statlige dokumenter (regjeringen.no = 24 treff) sammenliknet med i kommunene (kommune*-samskaping = 63.300 treff). Det kan indikere at ordet “samskaping” først og fremst har interesse for norske kommuner i kraft av deres oppgaveansvar.

Likevel finnes det i alt 8 stortingsmeldinger som bruker ordet “samskaping” på ulike måter. Dette er dokumenter hvor regjeringen redegjør for sin politikk overfor den folkevalgte forsamlingen (Stortinget). Meldingene handler om eldreomsorg, skole, barnehage, kulturmiljø, folkehelse og frivillighetspolitikk, men de fleste gir lite informasjon utover at ordet “samskaping” nevnes. To av meldingene har imidlertid en mer inngående behandling.

En stortingsmelding om *Morgendagens omsorg* (Meld.st.29 (2012-2013)) er blant de tidligste norske offentlige dokumentene som omtaler samskaping. Meldingen beskriver samskaping på denne måten: “Samskaping blir en metode for å aktivere ressurser på tvers av samfunnet. Dette krever interaksjon, deltakelse og felles problemløsning mellom brukere, pårørende, ansatte i førstelinjen og fra eksperter. Samskaping blir i denne sammenheng en bevegelse bort fra et mottaker- og konsumentperspektiv til et medborgerperspektiv, der folks dagligliv og egne ønsker, behov og mål blir tatt på alvor og lagt til grunn for tjenesteutformingen” (s. 51). Meldingen understreker at dette fordrer en ny type relasjon mellom bruker og ansatt, og peker også på at frivillige fra sivilsamfunnet kan bli en viktig kilde til utvikling og innovasjon i omsorgstjenestene.

Den andre meldingen, som bærer tittelen *En innovativ offentlig sektor* (Meld.st.nr 30 (2019-2020)), bruker også begrepet samskaping relativt hyppig, men her følger ingen definisjon. Første gang “samskaping” benyttes i meldingen er i forbindelse med en beskrivelse av hvordan meldingen i seg selv er produsert: “I arbeidet med meldingen har det vært et mål å ha en åpen og inkluderende prosess. Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet har derfor brukt metoder som har lagt til rette for samskaping og nytenking” (s. 11).

Mens dette representerer den statlige tilnærmingen til “samskaping”, finner vi et mer variert bilde på kommunalt nivå. I *Stavanger kommune* nevnes “samskaping” i den overordnede kommuneplanen. Under overskriften “Fra servicekommune til samskapende samfunnsutvikler” heter det blant annet: “Vi må gå bort fra forestillingen om at kommunen er en servicebutikk, og heller se på kommunen som en akselerator i lokalsamfunnsutviklingen (..) fra kommunen og de til kommunen og vi” (s. 9). Den overordnede planen er imidlertid lite konkret på hvordan samskapingen skal skje i praksis, utover at samskaping defineres som “samskaping er når ansatte, politikere, næringsliv og innbyggere utvikler og gjennomfører nye løsninger sammen” (ibid). I Stavanger omtales også samskaping som strategi for helse- og velferdsområdet. Men også her brukes begrepet mest i overordnede dokumenter og mindre i mer operative dokumenter.

Også i *Kristiansand* omtaler kommuneplanen “samskaping” som en overordnet strategi. Ett av fire “satsingsområder” heter “Samskaping som drivkraft”, og handler om kommunens rolle som tilrettelegger, pådriver, samarbeidspart og nettverksbygger for utviklingen av landsdelen (s. 7). Med andre ord er det først og fremst i forbindelse med regional utvikling, næringsutvikling og innovasjon at samskaping trekkes fram, og begrepet er i mindre grad koblet til kommunen som organisasjon eller velferdsprodusent. Byens universitet har “samskaping” som overordnet visjon, og kommuneplanen gir inntrykk av at aksene kommune-universitet ses på som en nøkkel for samfunnsutviklingen. Siden samskaping er nevnt i kommuneplanen, er det også mange henvisninger til samskaping i mindre plansaker, men det er vanskelig å se hvilken praktisk betydning visjonen har i konkrete reguleringssaker. I motsetning til det statlige nivået, er det ingenting i vårt materiale som tyder på noen kobling mellom begrepet “samskaping” og

eldreomsorg, og generelt er det få dokumenter på velferdsområdet som viser til samskaping.

Tabell 2: Oppsummering, “samskaping” nasjonalt og i fire norske bykommuner

	Nasjonalt	Kristiansand	Stavanger	Trondheim	Bodø
Involvert i kommunesammenslåing	-	Ja	Ja	Nei	Nei
Samskaping som strategi i overordnet plan	Ja, i planer for omsorg og innovasjon	Ja, kommuneplan (Plan fra 2020)	Ja, kommuneplan (plan fra 2020)	Nei (Plan fra 2009)	Ja, kommuneplan (Plan fra 2018)
Politikkområder hvor “samskaping” brukes	Eldreomsorg, Innovasjon	Byutvikling, regional utvikling, innovasjon, medvirkning	Byutvikling, innovasjon, eldreomsorg,	Oppvekst/barn, reguleringsplaner	Byutvikling, innovasjon, eldreomsorg
Hva ønsker man å oppnå med “samskaping”	Bedre eldreomsorg, mer innovasjon	Vekst, Innovasjon, deltakelse	Innovasjons og deltakelse	Tryggere og bedre oppvekst	Innovasjon, deltakelse, legitimitet

I *Trondheim* er det mange treff på ordet “samskaping”, men begrepet kan vanskelig sies å utgjøre en overordnet strategi siden det ikke nevnes i kommuneplanen. “Samskaping” brukes hyppigst i en rapport om barnepolitikk, der en ekspertrapport bestående av barneforeldre, og med bistand fra et forskerteam, har foreslått nye strategier. Utover dette dokumentet, handler de fleste dokumentene om barn, barnehage, barnevern og skole, altså utpregede velferdsområder. Men det er vanskelig å lese ut av dokumentene hvordan samskaping forstås, og hva det i praksis skulle innebære. Et unntak er et par byggesaker/reguleringsaker, der det drøftes hvordan samskaping som prinsipp legger konkrete føringer på utformingen av fysiske omgivelser.

Også i *Bodø* inngår “samskaping” i kommuneplanen, og omtales som ett av åtte satsningsområder. Planen argumenterer med at kommuner “som samskaper med sine innbyggere, står bedre rustet til å håndtere komplekse samfunnsutfordringer”, og dette knyttes blant annet til innbyggerinvolvering og legitimitet. Samskaping forstås som at “ulike aktører blir gitt muligheten til, og blir satt i stand til å kunne delta på lik linje med alle andre” (s. 11). I kom-

munen brukes også “samskaping” i flere delplaner, f.eks. i planer for en ny bydel, og i kommunedelplanen for helse, omsorgs og sosialtjenestene (2018-2030). I flere av dokumentene knyttes samskaping til behovet for økt deltakelse, og samskaping utlegges som et nytt prinsipp.

Analysen av det nasjonale nivået og de fire kommunene er oppsummert i tabell 2. Tabellen viser at det er variasjon både med hensyn til *om* samskaping inngår i sentrale planer, og innenfor *hvilke* sektorer samskaping kommer til uttrykk. Der det nasjonale nivået i stor grad knytter samskaping til eldreomsorg, er bruken av ordet mer variert i kommunene.

Analysen over gir en pekepinn på hvordan norsk offentlig sektor har oversatt ideen om samskaping. Mens det statlige nivået først og fremst har knyttet “samskaping” til eldreomsorg, så er bruken av ordet adskillig mer variert på kommunenivå. Selv om det ikke er mulig å trekke bastante slutninger om hva som preger denne translasjonsprosessen, så kan vi likevel knytte noen kommentarer til de tre hypotesene vi diskuterte tidligere i artikkelen.

I et *kunnskapsbasert* perspektiv vil mønsteret i tabell 3 kunne tolkes dithen at det finnes mange ledere og ansatte i norsk offentlig sektor som ønsker å eksperimentere og innovere, og at disse er spredt på ulike kommuner og i ulike sektorer. Derfor framstår det litt tilfeldig i hvilke sektorer og kommuner samskaping blir en strategi.

Et *institusjonelt* perspektiv kan knyttes til kommunesammenslåinger og nye planbehov som en utløsende faktor for at “samskaping” introduseres som overordnet strategi. Poenget er da at “samskaping” er akkurat passe abstrakt til at det ikke truer eksisterende interesser, samtidig som det viser vei framover. To av kommunene (Kristiansand og Stavanger) i vårt materiale passer til denne beskrivelsen, slik at vi dermed ikke kan utelukke dette som en mulig bakgrunn og forklaring.

Et *kritisk* perspektiv vil i første rekke peke på hvordan ledere kan bruke en ide som “samskaping” for å fremme egne interesser. Dette perspektivet blir ikke minst aktuelt når det gjelder det nasjonale nivået, og hvordan “samskaping” der knyttes til eldreomsorg. Som en tjenestetung og dyr sektor er innsparingspotensialet stort dersom deler av den offentlige omsorgsbyrden blir flyttet over på eldre selv og deres pårørende.

Avslutning

Målet med denne enkle analysen er ikke å bekrefte eller avkrefte de tre perspektivene på oversettelse. Analysen viser, mest sannsynlig, at vi snakker om reelle endringer, men også om opportuniste og symbol-politikk. Det analysen derfor demonstrerer er at alle tre perspektivene framstår som lovende innfallsvinkler for mer systematiske empiriske studier. Mye av den eksisterende forskningen har en tendens, implisitt så vel som eksplisitt, til å ta utgangspunkt i bare ett av disse perspektivene (Wæraas og Nielsen 2016), f.eks. slik at forskeren enten skriver om samskaping og samproduksjon utfra et overveiende kritisk perspektiv (Fotaki 2015), eller overveiende utfra et kunnskapsbasert perspektiv (Ansell og Torfing 2021). Analysen i denne artikkelen peker snarere på verdien av å kombinere perspektivene i en empirisk analyse av samskaping, basert på et tyngre empirisk materiale enn det som stod til rådighet i denne artikkelen.

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When peer support workers engage in co-creating mental health services

An unexplored resource in mental health service transformation

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Abstract

Worldwide, there is an increasing interest in employing citizens with lived experience of mental health challenges. They enter mental health services as peer support workers (PSWs). Their objective is twofold – to ensure service users' involvement in service production and bring a service user perspective to service development. PSWs' engagement in mental health services has both a moral and a pragmatic intention. Including those whose work is planned for (or PSWs) is generally portrayed as fulfilling a societal and moral obligation. When those affected are included, outputs (such as service provision) will be more effective. This conceptual paper discusses the conditions in which PSWs can inform new practice generation and promote innovative mental health services. Theoretical perspectives from public sector innovation studies illustrate how PSWs may play an essential role in co-designing new and improved services and engage as partners in shaping and co-creating service priorities.

Keywords: Co-production, co-creation, public sector innovation, mental health services, peer support workers (PSWs)

Introduction

People are increasingly employed in mental health settings based on their lived experience of mental health challenges (Vandewalle et al., 2016). They are engaged in multiple settings and roles, and their contributions can include training and education, advocacy, consultancy, management of community sector agencies and case management services (Repper and Carter 2011). Most of the roles in this workforce do not involve direct one-on-one support for service users except the peer support worker (PSW) role (Collins, Firth, and Shakespeare 2016). PSWs are typically described as service providers in frontline positions where they give social, emotional, and practical support to people who struggle with mental health challenges (Watson 2019). Their objective is twofold – to ensure service users’ involvement in service production and bring a service user perspective to service development. Integrating PSWs in the mental health workforce is a strategy for increasing mental health systems’ responsiveness to service users’ needs and goals. Furthermore, PSWs are believed to be valuable sources of expertise when understanding and translating service users’ perspectives into policies and practices (Gillard et al. 2014).

This article discusses how knowledge from public sector innovation (PSI) studies can add an essential dimension to the established literature about peer support in the mental health field. The article brings together PSI research and literature from peer support studies to discuss the conditions under which PSWs can promote innovative practices in mental health services by their involvement in collaborative interactions, described as co-production and co-creation. PSI studies have paid considerable attention to innovative changes at service organisations and the practical solutions for achieving such changes (De Vries, Bekkers, and Tummers 2016). PSI’s knowledge and concepts used to describe the conditions for such changes may be valuable for understanding and engaging PSWs in services and service development.

This article first describes peer support in mental health services and the relevant conditions for PSWs roles and positions in the interactive and collaborative processes. Moreover, the article considers how these conditions can be essential when PSWs intend to inform a new practice generation and become “lead users” in setting

service priorities and (re)designing new and improved mental health services.

Peer support work in mental health services

International pressure for mental health reform in the early twenty-first century revealed the prominence of recovery-oriented services and the acceptance of lived experience expertise (Byrne, Stratford, and Davidson 2018). Mental health research seems to have primarily focused on demonstrating why people with lived experience (PSWs) should be involved in the services and direct attention to the inclusion of PSWs in achieving social justice for service users. The research on peer support in mental health has focused on three areas: 1) Randomised Controlled Studies and high-quality clinical trials, 2) studying what works to achieve an organisational transformation or cultural workplace shift, and 3) what unique qualities PSWs bring to the services. This last category of studies is essential because if there is no consensus on “the core” of peer support work, neither the relevance of the clinical trials nor the attempts to achieve organisational transformation can be successful. A systematic review documents a lack of attention to core peer work principles when measuring outcomes (King and Simmons 2018), and the understanding of the peer roles’ actual value and scope is still evolving (Gillard et al. 2015). Most studies concentrate on PSWs in one-on-one support, aiming to empower service users. There are only a few examples where PSWs are involved in designing or creating new service solutions or roles as initiators in mental health services (Åkerblom and Ness 2021).

Peer support worker roles and conditions

Overall, three types of peer support services exist: peers in existing clinical roles, peers helping in traditional services, and peers delivering structured curricula (Chinman et al. 2016). The approaches differ in how PSW roles and activities reflect core peer work principles. Furthermore, PSWs’ involvement in interactive processes ranges from manualised activities to open and negotiable social, emotional, and practical support. When PSWs describe the support they prioritise, they typically point out what they “got” from professionals who “crossed the limits” (Topor and Matscheck 2021) or

what they felt they needed but did not receive during critical periods (Åkerblom, Agdal and Haakseth 2020).

When PSWs are engaged in the services, their permanent presence entails learning the services from the inside, learning the organisational practice and “language”, and becoming part of the organisation. When PSWs work in teams with mental health professionals, they also come closer to the clinical practice. This leads to the development of long-term relationships with professionals and relevant partners in the broader service system. These positions in the services also mean that a service user perspective can be directly applied in service development.

Peer support workers and social capital

PSWs themselves often describe their sense of responsibility for persons they serve and express their desire to do their civic duty to help (Byrne et al. 2013). PSWs in frontline positions build trust and enhance the legitimacy of the services, and they are known to manage to involve citizens who are typically referred to as “hard to engage”. PSWs are often described as having an extensive network and social capital that allows them to engage the different actors in developing a robust commitment. PSWs who engage in mental health services are often linked to or sometimes even hold positions in the community and non-governmental organisations (Åkerblom, Agdal and Haakseth 2020). This encompasses a structural component, such as being members of the organisations, and an attitudinal component, such as shared norms of reciprocity and trust with service users, thereby including bridging and bonding capital (Putnam 2000). When PSWs were introduced into mental health services in England, studies showed that a clear majority of PSWs were recruited through informal connections, often through their roles as user representatives, or from organisations and self-help groups in the voluntary sector (e.g., Gillard et al. 2014). A recent Norwegian study confirms PSWs’ connections and partial anchoring in the voluntary sector (Åkerblom, Agdal and Haakseth 2020).

Peer support workers as boundary spanners

PSWs exist between two distinct identities – service users and mental health workers. They use this position to translate different knowledge, views and practices and facilitate interactions among

the involved actors. PSWs' liminal position, capacity for empathy with service users and extensive toolbox enable them to be mediators of different actors, discourses and forms of knowledge. Gillard et al. (2015) use the concept of a "bridging function" and explain that PSWs use their liminal position to support service users in communicating with mental health workers and the larger community. Meerkerk and Edelenbos (2018) use the concept of boundary spanners to describe persons who function as intermediaries. They further explain that boundary-spanning activities include "translating and transforming knowledge, facilitating interaction, building relationships, and coordinating activities across boundaries" (Meerkerk and Edelenbos 2018, 6).

Recognising the value of peer support workers tacit knowledge

When their orientation is facilitated, PSWs can revisit their experiences as service users and reconnect with this knowledge from a PSW position. Several PSWs mention that their experiential knowledge can be tacit or implicit and challenging to express (Åkerblom, Agdal and Haakseth 2020). Tacit knowledge is typically described as comprising skills, ideas or know-how, as well as beliefs and mental models that enable it (Collins 2013). Sometimes, even the "tacit knowledge holder" is described as unaware of this knowledge and how it might be valuable for others because it is "un-cognised", and the person is unaware of the factors that contribute to the problem-solving, while observers can recognise such factors (Collins 2013). For this reason, tacit knowledge can be challenging to share and make explicit. Recognising the value of tacit knowledge and materialising it is critical in co-creation processes. When participants in these interactive processes have a mutual contextual appreciation, their shared experiences can enable this tacit knowledge to be exposed and valued. Understanding and exploring PSWs' tacit knowledge are vital in co-creating services, setting priorities, and designing new and improved services.

Peer support workers as the outermost service links

PSWs are described as occupying a "liminal space" in that they exist between two distinct identities: the role of service users and mental health workers (Watson 2017). PSWs most often hold front-line positions, which means that they are mostly the primary con-

tact points for citizens in the service delivery. In frontline positions, PSWs engage service users in the service, and their engagement is the critical determinant for the service outcome (Magnusson 2003). Furthermore, frontline workers are viewed as vital sources of innovative ideas and user-generated feedback (Engen and Magnusson 2015). They are believed to record the service users' problems and put forward new service ideas or unique, memorable solutions accordingly. Involvement in developing ideas and establishing goals and priorities is especially relevant as it is likely to prevent process-efficiency considerations from superseding user needs (Engen and Magnusson 2015).

Peer support workers as “lead users”

The concept of “lead users” was introduced by von Hippel (1986) in marketisation research. Lead users can provide valuable insights into service users' needs and further “prototype” solutions for novel services. Von Hippel (1986) discovered that when lead users were identified in surveys by their “high unmet needs”, they consequently missed out on a vital lead user group, who, on the contrary, were characterised by the fact that they had fulfilled former high needs or solved problems. This lead user description fits PSWs characterised by having overcome or managed to live well with their mental health challenges. PSWs involvement in generating and screening ideas also increases the likelihood of acceptance by the service users and improves the quality of innovation outcomes.

Peer support workers adjust service delivery to service users' needs

Understanding service users' experiences and perspectives and translating them into policies and practice are valuable sources of increasing mental health systems' responsiveness to their needs and goals. For this purpose, a particular strategy is integrating PSWs into the mental health workforce (Gillard et al. 2014). In line with this strategy is a public service-dominant approach to public service innovation, which puts the service users' experiences and knowledge at the heart of effective service design and delivery (Osborne, Radnor and Nasi 2013, 146). Co-production describes the collaborative and interactive process between service providers and users to produce and deliver a predetermined service (Brand-

sen and Honingh 2016). From this perspective, the critical challenge is to find a suitable mechanism for realising the potential of user knowledge and ascertaining that the co-production parties possess the necessary skills to use these mechanisms (Osborne and Strokosch 2013).

Osborne and Strokosch (2013) describe different modes of co-production, which target diverse aims and take place at varying levels. They use the term “consumer co-production” to explain the collaboration between the provider and the user at the operational level of service provision, which mainly aims to empower users. Collaborative efforts at the strategic level aim to bring in service users’ perspectives and improve the quality of existing services, which they call “participative co-production”. Finally, they use “enhanced co-production” to describe collaborative efforts connecting operational and strategic levels. Enhanced co-production requires genuine partnerships between providers and users and intends to challenge the whole paradigm of public service production and transform service delivery (Osborne and Strokosch 2013, 40).

In the public sector, participation and cooperation (for instance, by involving citizens) constitute the second most common motivation for innovation (De Vries, Bekkers, and Tummers 2016). A systematic review of citizens’ involvement in interactive processes in public services distinguishes among several types of citizen roles – “co-implementors”, “initiators”, and “co-designers” – which differ in their degree of involvement (Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers 2015). The co-implementor role typically describes citizens engaged in the co-production of predetermined services. In the literature, PSWs usually are described as “co-implementors” (Åkerblom and Ness 2021). This co-implementor role can be compared to what Osborne and Strokosch (2013) identify as consumer co-production. Research in the mental health field has established that PSWs who engage in such consumer co-production contribute to increased participation and self-determination by service users (Gagne et al. 2018) because PSWs at the operational level of service provision adjust some of the standardised service delivery to the service users’ needs.

According to Osborne and Strokosch (2013), what they describe as participative co-production at the strategic level has a more significant potential to change practices. In mental health services, the

standard method to bring in a service user perspective at the strategic level is to involve user representatives in committees deciding about services in general. This involvement is believed to enhance the services' relevance, legitimacy, and effectiveness (Sandvin Olsson et al. 2020). However, the effects of such user involvement on service or system levels are understudied (Langøien et al. 2021), and its potential effectiveness is unknown. Nevertheless, this method to bring in service users' perspectives is a time-limited activity and often tokenistic and therefore quite unlikely to improve the quality of existing services.

On the contrary, a more promising approach seems to be including PSWs, who work in specific and relevant services. This will increase the likelihood of participative co-production to influence the improvement and quality of existing services. PSWs, together with user representatives, could simultaneously help minimise the risk of PSWs not daring to oppose the services in which they have become involved in the operations and delivery. This could help connect the operational level (PSWs' consumer co-production) with the strategic level (user representatives as committee members) to pursue what Osborne and Strokosch (2013) call enhanced co-production, whose aim is to challenge the whole paradigm of public service production and transform service delivery.

Peer support workers advancing service development

A service-dominant approach to public sector innovation points out that citizens need to be involved in the early stages of service production and decision-making processes to change service systems (Osborne and Strokosch 2013). Such involvement in the early stages of service development aligns with the initiator and co-designer role described by Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers (2015). When PSWs participate in defining common problems and then designing new and improved solutions, this can be described as co-creation. While consumer co-production is aimed at improving individual services, co-creation seeks to develop service systems. Co-creation refers to processes where two or more public and private actors come together to tackle complex societal challenges (that one part alone cannot solve) and collaborate to define common problems and design and implement new and better solutions (Torfing, Sørensen, and Røiseland 2019). Co-creation is considered a vital

tool in enhancing innovation and improving the relevance of services. Co-creation processes are complex, often time-consuming and dependent on equal and long-term relationships. Consequently, it is essential to recruit several intermediaries or boundary-spanners capable of linking and translating different forms of knowledge in co-creation processes (Ansell and Torfing 2021).

PSWs occupy a liminal position between service users and professional service providers and between the services and the community, user organisations and the broader service system. In this position, they can use their social capital and engage as lead users to ensure input efficiency while increasing output legitimacy. In the literature, social capital is mentioned as essential for building co-creation projects (Voorberg et al. 2015). PSWs' role as co-implementors involved in solely consumer co-production can be somewhat limited compared with the role of boundary spanners and lead users.

The permanent presence of PSWs offers a golden opportunity to utilise their knowledge and position in the interactive processes aiming to re-design the service systems. As lead users prototype new service solutions, PSWs may transform services according to the increasing demands and challenges, better than earlier attempts with consultation models in user boards. On the contrary, when PSWs have not been involved in setting service priorities or designing solutions, they might not have ownership of the service they have to deliver. As the outermost link that provides a predetermined service, PSWs, nevertheless, act as representatives of the services. When this service is not considered valuable by service users, PSWs potentially lose some credibility. Further, PSWs in such roles will also contribute less to shaping service priorities or designing new and improved services.

Peer support workers gaining ground in mental health services

Successful innovation implies a breakthrough of new practices, making them the self-evident way of doing things in an institutional field. A way forward from new practice generation to changes in institutional design can be through policy. Policy documents and regulations are viewed as essential drivers of innovation in the public sector (De Vries, Bekkers, and Tummers 2016) because public

services must comply with the same regulations from central authorities. Zeng, Chung, and McNamara (2020) find in a study that statutory policies guiding mental health practice have the power to shape the organisational culture, the associated workforce and the operational capabilities of organisations that employ PSWs. The organisational context of mental health services is critical for implementing PSWs, regardless of policy intent. For PSWs to gain ground in mental health service organisations, their practice requires support from strategic leaders responsible for translating policy into practice and their mental health practitioner's colleagues.

Studies have highlighted apparent differences in how PSWs are involved in different organisational settings (Gillard et al. 2015) and the danger of tokenism, where PSWs are assigned a symbolic role in various public sector services without real influence. There is little research from the introduction of PSWs in a Scandinavian context. The Scandinavian countries are characterised by a large public sector that finances and produces most welfare services (Ibsen et al. 2021). The distinctiveness of mental health services lies in being strongly regulated by law, and statutory policies dominate the authorising environment of these services. Professions play an essential role (Torfing et al. 2020), and statutory policies confer procedural power to mental health practitioners. This means that mental health practitioners either can advance a practice involving PSWs or hinder it. This may explain why an implementation gap occurs, whereby the intentions and expectations of mental health policy directions are not realised in practice.

PSWs aims to enhance service user engagement and bring in a service user perspective, which implies changing the power balance favouring service users. From a practice perspective, this means that professional service providers must sort out how they can make their own professional knowledge relevant while recognising its limitation and the need to mobilise other forms of knowledge and experience. In some way, this means that they must fundamentally rethink their purpose. Some professional service providers also must “unlearn” their previous practice based on evidence-based knowledge and sometimes even make a conscious break from the previous value system that shaped their professional training and practice. Professional service providers may experience a “disruption of power balance”, and a possible adverse effect

will occur if this change results in further concentration of power in the hands of the professionals (Meijer and Thaens 2021).

PSWs different involvement in interactive processes in the services will likely achieve diverse outcomes. When the practice field prepares for and facilitates interactive and collaborative processes, administrators need to transfer knowledge from research to situations in practice quickly. We, therefore, need to be clear when we use concepts to prevent a “skin agreement”. Consumer co-production refers to the interactive process where the service providers and service users apply their resources and capabilities in service production and delivery, aiming to produce and deliver a predetermined service. PSWs involved in such an interactive process may adjust and improve services to meet the service user’s needs, but such processes will not be subject to innovation, defined as developing and realising new and disruptive ideas (Torfing, Sørensen, and Røiseland 2019). A recent study demonstrated that staff members with addiction experience engaged as frontline workers in consumer co-production had bounded efficacy and limited influence over organisation-level changes (Park 2020).

Conclusion

Several conditions are relevant for PSWs engagement to transform mental health services. PSWs use their social capital and build service users’ trust, and engagement. PSWs involvement in consumer co-production is essential because it increases participation and self-determination for service users. Nevertheless, PSWs’ potential to bring the service user perspective to service development remains inadequate. PSWs’ tacit knowledge and frontline positions justify a lead user role in service development, while PSWs in lead user positions can push the pace towards more service user-oriented solutions. PSWs’ position between service users and service professionals and between services and civil society (user organisations and community services) is crucial. It can be utilised by recognising their boundary spanner role. Even though PSWs’ permanent presence within the services enables them to develop long-term relationships with professionals, their existence in some situations implies that professionals must rethink their purpose. At last, a conceptual clearance between co-production and co-creation can

better prepare practices to utilise PSWs' competence in mental health service transformations.

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Creating Equality for those in Crisis

Transforming Acute Inpatient Mental Health Services through Co-Production

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Abstract

The 21st century has seen an increasing focus on the concept of co-production in seeking to tackle the tokenistic approach often taken by services to recovery in mental health. It originated from the scholarly work of Elinor Ostrom in America in the 1970's and was further developed through the works of Edgar Cahn. In a bid to create a service that is more recovery orientated, many community mental health services have adopted co-production as a foundation for all work they conduct with service users/family members and carers. It is reported that co-production can be transformative in practice if done correctly. More specifically, this can include circumstances where individuals are presenting in crisis. However, there is a paucity of research/perspectives in this specific area. The aim of this perspective paper is to highlight such literature whilst

also debating the ethical considerations to co-production within the acute inpatient mental health services.

Keywords: Co-Production, Ethics, Recovery, Acute Inpatient, Service Improvement

Introduction

Co-production is a concept that is difficult to define due to its complex history within a variety of services (Brandsen and Honingh 2015; Filipe et al. 2017). The principle was conceptualised through the work of Elinor Ostrom in the 1970s and has grown exponentially since. Co-production was further developed by Anne Coote (2000) and Edgar Cahn (2000) who proposed its use within public and health services. Co-production as a principle, is intrinsically linked to that of recovery. Recovery, according to Anthony (1993) is a process whereby one lives a satisfying, hopeful and contributing life even with the presence of mental health challenges. This new understanding of what recovery means led to a recovery movement which sought mental health reform so that services would become less coercive, and more recovery orientated.

Co-production, in recent years, has been identified as one such principle/approach that could support services in this endeavour (Norton 2019). Given the rise of the recovery movement, co-production has become central to developing mental health services. Ireland, like many other jurisdictions have begun to embrace a recovery philosophy. This has become evident through national frameworks and policies including '*Sharing the Vision*' (Department of Health 2020) and '*A National Framework for Recovery in Mental Health*' (Health Service Executive 2017). However, inpatient services still operate under the premise of the biomedical model for several reasons. This includes professionals' unwillingness to change. It also due to a risk adverse and blame culture brought about through legislation for those working in the system (Vaeggemose et al. 2018; Norton 2021). As co-production has evolved, its use within acute services has been posited by authors such as Alakeson and colleagues and Norton (2019). However, little to no method or guidance has accumulated so far into how such practices can occur within such settings. As such, the aim of this paper is to highlight and debate the ethical considerations of co-production

within acute inpatient mental health services. Finally, this paper will also provide accounts from experiential and learned knowledge perspectives into this issue.

Co-Production in the Acute Inpatient Setting – What does the Evidence Tell us?

There is a paucity of evidence into co-production within inpatient settings. Reasons for this include the dominance of the biomedical approach along with ethical considerations which need addressing in such settings (Tuurnas et al. 2015; Vaeggemose et al. 2018; Norton 2019). This is imperative due to the risk of co-production becoming an unfulfilled ethos for mental health services. It is also important because if we are to embrace the recovery philosophy moving forward, co-production needs to be in every aspect of the service (Norton 2019; Swords & Houston 2021). The biomedical model has been dominant within mental health services for many years. This model supports a power imbalance between treating physicians and the service users who utilises services. Co-production is strongly associated with empowerment, which historically has often conflicted with the biomedical model (Hayes and Han-nold 2007; Kirkegaard & Andersen 2018). As a result, having co-production within acute mental health services creates an ideological conflict with service norms (Pinfold et al. 2015). This may cause resistance from traditional staff to uphold its values despite a willingness to do so (Bhaskar and Danermark 2006).

Another reason for the lack of co-productive practice within acute mental health services relate to the many ethical considerations associated with co-production in such settings. Generally, service users are admitted to acute inpatient settings for several reasons. One of which includes the lack of capacity to give informed consent to treatment regimens (Sugiura et al. 2020). The question here relates to the ability of a person to comprehensively provide informed consent to join the co-productive relationship (Norton 2019). As stipulated through the perspectives below. Co-production is quite easy to implement in such settings as it is a way of working rather than an additional task needed to be done. As Alakeson et al. (2013) states, if co-production is fully embraced by a service, then the principle can be used in every therapeutic interaction, including crisis.

The Multiple Realities of Co-Produced Healthcare in Inpatient Settings

In the following section, both authors present perspectives on co-production within acute services, using an auto-ethnographical approach (Méndez 2013). This methodology allows for researchers to make sense of a phenomenon based on their own experiences. It is important to highlight that both authors have been researching the challenges of recovery and co-production in recent times. These reflections are based on such projects undertaken. Given the lack of guidance regarding co-production in acute settings, it is imperative that we explore the narratives of those on the frontline in order to derive recommendations for practice.

The Lived Experience Perspective

When I first used services, it was for the positive symptoms of schizophrenia. This was a very daunting time for a young student nurse. Despite such depictions I imagined from my love of TV shows, the acute mental health services in my locality were different. However, despite this, there were traits of the old system still at play. Psychiatry still ruled over such settings and bared overall responsibility for the treatment of service users. Consequently, the biomedical model was evident in services. I remember queues of individuals lining up by the nurse's station waiting for medications, with little interaction from staff beyond this. Coercive treatment was still a feature, with the backing of governmental legislation such as *'The Mental Health Act 2001.'* However, despite this, snippets of recovery and co-productive practice seeped through to my care.

An example of co-production in action within inpatient settings came from a psychiatric nurse. One morning, a nurse was doing his morning rounds, dressing beds for individuals in the ward. A classic case of delivering rather than facilitating one might say. However, co-production came when he arrived to dress my bed. I remember getting into a conversation with him about my occupation of the time: nursing. We discussed how beds were dressed in the general wards compared to here. Suddenly, he asked me what way I would like my bed dressed. Seems like a simple gesture, but for me this always stuck out as the start of my recovery. Someone saw me for who I was, not a disease, but a person with unique qualities and

needs. However, this was also an example of good co-productive practice. My opinions were sought. It was not tokenistic, it was genuine. I remember dressing my bed with him that day. Every step of the process was co-produced as I co-decided what order the sheets were put on and how the sheet ends would be folded. This may seem overly simplistic, but I felt valued in the interaction. My lived experience knowledge and expertise as a student nurse was drawn on. The nurse focussed on my strengths rather than my deficits. There was a sense of mutuality as he asked about my nursing experience and compared it to his own. There was reciprocity as he learned as much from me as I did from him. It was through this one interaction that I came to understand the true essence of co-production. It's as much about connecting with the individual and taking their will and preference under consideration within the co-productive space than just needing to get the job done.

As you can see from this simplistic but effective co-productive interaction, many of the characteristics that make up the principle are present (Health Service Executive 2018; Norton 2019). When I discuss co-production, I am always told, this can work in the community but how can this work within an inpatient setting. People are incapacitated, they have no opinion. The answer is simple, all one needs to do to practice in a co-productive way is to take a genuine interest in the person. Look at them as a unique person with unique interpretations of the world around them. The person may become an inpatient for numerous reasons, and as highlighted above can be there involuntarily, however, one can still practice in co-production if one simply considers the service user's point of view. Remember co-production is not a one-sided relationship. It is reciprocal, meaning that there is give and take in the relationship. Both parties, whether capacitated or not, can still work together, listen to each other, and develop a care plan that is conducive to everyone's needs without necessarily becoming uncompliant with governing bodies. As my inpatient stay continued, the therapeutic effects of this interaction were noted, which resulted in me being given the task, along with this nurse, of dressing every bed within the inpatient unit. Something that at the time I found utterly fulfilling.

A Service Provider Perspective

Co-production focuses on changing the historical nature of everyday social relationships within mental health provision. It seeks to change the experiences of stakeholder groups from a construction of mental illness which is driven by a paternalistic discourse, to one which cultivates choice and autonomy. It is important to note that this is comparable to the development of new ways of thinking, interacting, and experiencing recovery in the late twentieth century (Swords & Houston 2020).

It is seen in the literature (Sugiura et al. 2020) how countries, especially in the westernised world, are seeking to address the shortcomings of legislation in relation to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Sugiura et al. 2020). This is something which can hinder or support the process of co-production, especially in acute inpatient settings. However, the culture within services extends far beyond these legislative frameworks.

This was evidenced by Stainszewska et al. (2019) in their systematic review of the experiences of inpatient mental health services. There were four interlinking themes identified as core tenets of inpatient service experiences. Firstly, high quality relationships were viewed as fundamental in these acute settings. Secondly, mitigating against the possibility of coercion. Thirdly, a physical environment which is safe and promotes opportunities for development, and finally, authenticity in terms of the experiences of patient-centred care.

Reflecting on research from one of the lead authors of this paper (Swords 2021), participants who were involuntary or voluntary admitted agreed that it was the appropriate decision to take at the time. However, once admitted and their symptoms stabilised, individuals believed that they should be supported to engage in co-produced opportunities regarding the incipience of their recovery process.

Reflecting on the systematic review findings from Stainszewska et al. (2019), the term authenticity is particularly important for the process of co-production. It asks to what extent are people their true self when engaging and interacting with one another in this social world. Often, this takes place within the intersubjective space of everyday social interactions between stakeholder groups (Swords & Houston 2021). This space involves two or more people coming together and co-constructing a particular account of events (Walsh

& Lenart 1967). Intersubjectivity stems from the work of Alfred Schutz, who introduced the phenomenological study of society (Harrington 2000). It is in this space that the most intrinsic roots of culture are cultivated. Consequently, inpatient services must focus on the intersubjective spaces when creating opportunities for co-production.

The philosophy of personal recovery is unique and subjective (Lovell et al. 2020). For all stakeholders, language is the medium for how these experiences of co-production are constructed (Burr 1995; O'Reilly & Lester 2017; Swords & Houston 2021). These experiences are reflected in the thinking and understanding people have of services. People become 'conditioned' in their interactions due to the discursive practices which dominate the co-constructed meaning-making activities, including co-production. On paper, co-production is viewed as the process which can lead to better outcomes regarding recovery moving forward (Norton 2019; Swords 2019).

Given these reflections, the following section provides a framework for cultivating and understanding the everyday intersubjective spaces of in-patient mental health services. This can contribute to the process of creating equality in the relationships between users and providers of services moving forward.

Social Constructionism: Plausible Ethical Framework for the Implementation of Co-Production

One plausible solution to creating a co-production space within such services is to adopt and implement a social constructionist framework [Table 1]. The theory of social constructionism describes peoples' interpretation of reality as being understood as the product of their interactions with others in society, as well as their own life experiences (Berger & Luckman 1966; Burr 1995; Swords & Houston 2021). Overtime, these social interactions lead to normative expectations on how those using and providing services should interact on an everyday basis. There is a growing body of evidence claiming that the dominant discursive practices within mental health services are being driven by a neo-liberal agenda (Jorgensen 2020; Moth 2020). The left column of the Table below represents the key pillars of Vivien Burr's (1995) interpretation of social constructionism. The right column illustrates how Burr's framework could

be used to make sense of in-patient service culture surrounding co-production.

Table 1: The Core Tenets of a Social Constructionist Framework

Core Concepts	Deconstructing Service Culture
All Knowledge must be Questioned	No one account regarding mental illness/ challenges + recovery + co-production tells the full truth. Multiple realities constructed by discursive practices.
Historical and Cultural Specificity of Social Reality	What are the normative social artefacts within a specific service culture regarding mental illness/ challenges + recovery + co-production?
Symbolic Interactionism	What identities of patients, families, professionals, and policy are being constructed through social interactions within in-patient services?
Essentialism/Anti-Essentialism	To what extent is a person's mental health challenges/ experiences + recovery beyond human influence? Are there limits to human agency?
Language	How is language structured and shaped regarding mental health challenges/ illness + recovery + co-production within service culture?
Discourse	How has language been normatively structured in everyday service interactions – Focus on the “meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements” (Burr,1995, p.48) which reflect different experiences of mental illness/ challenges recovery + co-production.
Power	To what extent do in-patients have access to the capabilities needed for human flourishing?

Reflecting on the table, and focusing on in-patient services, a critical gaze must be taken to everyday discursive practices. Whether this is person-centred care plans, family meetings, interdisciplinary assessments, interagency meetings, and discharge planning. This also

extends to any policies and procedures underpinning these everyday service delivery activities. Ultimately, these are all products of human actions, which are the outcomes of social interactions. They can contribute to normative, co-constructed accounts of co-production (Hjelm 2014; O'Reilly & Lester 2017).

Therefore, by understanding the dominant discursive practices of these normative social interactions, there is a possibility for co-production to have successful outcomes. Table 1 provides possible questions that can help services to understand such discursive practices. Within the analysis of discourse, questions of who has the power arises. In other words, what body of knowledge is supporting the dominant narrative being co-constructed within each opportunity for co-production? Historically, interdisciplinary constructions of service delivery have been dominated by the biomedical paradigm (Norton & Swords 2020; Swords 2019). Therefore, in crises cultures, the risk narrative has, and continues to be a dominant discourse (Higgins & McGowan 2014; Perkins & Repper 2016; Swords and Houston 2020). Consequently, the concern for co-production is that the discursive practices of the biomedical model, combined with risk adverse actions, will limit the opportunities for choice, autonomy, and equality in decision-making (Sugiura et al. 2020).

Following consideration and application of the questions from Table 1, discussions concerning co-production opportunities within in-patient service delivery must start with questions of ontology (Swords & Houston 2021). Often, service delivery has already established an 'epistemological way' of understanding mental health, illness, and recovery. These include different perspectives from all stakeholders, including service users' and their families. They all bring their own perspectives of how mental health challenges and recovery should be understood and addressed.

From a service provider perspective, by beginning from a position of 'we know what is needed here', can lead to co-production becoming another driver of maintaining the 'status quo'. Instead of starting from this position, discussions should begin with an ontological understanding of how it has manifested for each person – 'their way of being in the world regarding their mental health challenges'. These questions must extend to interdisciplinary teams, families, and if plausible, community services. This involves people

reflecting on their own constructions of mental health, illness, and recovery, establishing an authentic narrative for each recovery journey. Reflective frameworks such as Houston's (2015) could be used alongside the social constructionist framework illustrated in Table 1. Houston's framework asks individuals to reflect on their own identity, and how this has been shaped by their experiences – childhood, education, family and work being 4 important identities one holds in their everyday life (Goodman 2012).

Extending beyond the deconstruction of the different competing epistemes embedded in service culture, co-production can begin with questions of what exactly is human flourishing? Translated from Aristotle's idea of 'eudaimonia', each individual's recovery process should focus on how they can reach their full potential (Ghaye 2010; Hinchliffe 2004). In conjunction with applying the theory of social constructionism (See Table 1), the capabilities model could cultivate and support an individual's agency, seeking to promote their capacity to reach their full potential (Nussbaum 2000; Sen 1993). Nussbaum identifies 10 factors which should be viewed as the necessary factors to reach human flourishing by using the capabilities model (Shinn 2014). This particular model could offer new possibilities for in-patient services moving forward and should be further explored.

This can contribute to recovery and co-production converging, rather than potentially diverging (Swords 2019). The capabilities model can provide a broad framework to adopt by key stakeholder groups once questions of ontology and human flourishing have been explored and identified. This can lead to recovery outcomes not being determined by pre-ordained assumptions. Instead, each unique subjective journey can be validated and supported through co-production. To support the claims made above, the following implications for practice were identified:

- 1 A recognition that co-production on paper and in reality, are two separate entities. Therefore, there needs to be a deconstruction of the everyday normative actions of key stakeholder groups who are constructing co-produced initiatives.
- 2 Third level education should adopt a co-productive approach to the training of staff so that future employees incorporate the perspectives of lived experience in all sectors.

- 3 When beginning co-produced initiatives and care plans, services must begin first with a focus on human flourishing. They must begin with questions regarding ontology. This can lead to a more authentic narrative of what personal recovery could be.
- 4 Given the complex history of co-production within a variety of services, the evidence base for co-production, specifically towards mental health services needs to be further developed to support its implementation.
- 5 If co-production is about constructing a journey with opportunity, choice and fulfilment, there is a requirement to integrate and consider the capabilities model.
- 6 Despite the lack of evidence, national and international policy needs to provide clear guidance on the implementation and sustainability of co-production in such settings moving forward.

Limitations

This paper presents some theoretical possibilities when considering how services improve their approach to co-production within in-patient settings. These reflections are from recent research projects undertaken and completed by both authors. However, there are limitations to the paper. In order to further strengthen these theoretical ideas and contributions, further research would be needed to strengthen the evidence base for the claims made by the authors. Furthermore, it only takes into consideration the Irish context, and therefore, no generalisations can be made beyond Ireland.

Concluding Comments

This paper focussed on co-production in acute mental health services. It has examined the evidence base for co-production in such settings. Building on the dearth of evidence published, the authors presented new possible avenues to explore regarding creating equality in acute mental health services. Furthermore, we co-constructed several necessary implications for co-production to converge with aspirations of personal recovery moving forward. This aligns with the vision proposed by Alakeson and colleagues that could lead to systemic change for mental health services. In other words, an acute service that is participatory in nature, and embeds co-production in every interaction.

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Samskaping som revitalisering av samfunnsarbeid i sosialt arbeid – mulighet eller blindspor?

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Abstract

From being an important approach in the 1970s community work today has a weakened position in social work. Individual oriented positions dominate. The development could be seen as paradoxical since the term co-creation simultaneously has obtained a prominent position in welfare policy. However, even if both concepts share the prefix “co”, the terms have very different backgrounds. Community work has its roots in a bottom-up perspective and a left-wing ideology. The co-creation approach has its background in innovation literature where it has moved from the private to the public sector and is mainly introduced by the state authorities. Besides expressing democratic intentions co-creation is also associated with the goals of efficiency and increased sustainability in the welfare area. The article will discuss whether the co-creation concept might contribute to a revitalisation of community work or if such a strategy would imply a dead end if the original intentions of community work should be sustained.

Keywords: Social work, community work, co-creation, social mobilisation, social innovation

Innledning

Samfunnsarbeid har i dag en svekket posisjon i sosialt arbeid. Individorienterte tilnærminger dominerer feltet. Samtidig har begrepene samskaping og samproduksjon fått en stadig mer framtredd posisjon i velferds- og sosialpolitikken. Tilsynelatende kan dette framstå som et paradoks. Selv om begrepene har samme prefiks, "sam", har begrepene ulike bakgrunner og forhistorie. Den dominerende forståelsen av samfunnsarbeid har røtter i et nedenfra-perspektiv og med vekt på å fremme maktutjevning og å oppheve undertrykking og marginalisering. Samskaping og samproduksjon har sin bakgrunn i innovasjonslitteraturen der de har beveget seg fra privat til offentlig sektor og der begrepene har blitt introdusert "ovenfra" fra statlige myndigheter. Samtidig som de uttrykker demokratiske målsettinger knyttes begrepene til mål om økt effektivitet og bærekraft på velferdsområdet.

Artikkelen redegjør for det historiske og kontekstuelle utgangspunktet for de ulike begrepene og hva som er felleselementer og forskjeller mellom dem. Med dette som utgangspunkt diskuteres om/i hvilken grad samskaping og samproduksjon kan innebære en revitalisering av det kritiske samfunnsarbeidet. Den viser til at det ikke er entydige svar på dette, men at det vil avhenge av hvilken forståelse som legges til grunn for samskaping/samproduksjon. Et hovedpoeng er at om samskaping skal framstå som en revitalisering av den kritiske tradisjonen i samfunnsarbeid må det innebære en erkjennelse av at samfunnsarbeid kan handle om å gå inn i et spenningsfelt med motstridende interesser og maktulikheter. Det dominerende harmoniperspektivet som preger samskapingens litteratur må overskrides.

Samfunnsarbeidets plass i sosialt arbeid

Samfunnsarbeid er ikke noe entydig begrep. I nordisk språkdrakt er begrepet en oversettelse av det engelske begrepet "community" der den mest presise oversettelsen trolig vil være "fellesskap" framfor "samfunn". Community-begrepet kan både relateres til geografiske avgrensninger, sosiale systemer og organisasjoner, og til ulike former for interessefellesskap knyttet til f.eks. kulturell identitet eller livsvilkår (Turunen 2009). Poppo (2015) karakteriserer begrepet i like stor grad som en ideologisk konstruksjon som en nøktern be-

skrivelse ved at det gir normative assosiasjoner til de tette, nære og gode fellesskapene.

Historisk knytter Popple (2015) begrepet til to ulike og konkurrerende hovedstrømninger; en konsensusorientert tilnærming med utgangspunkt i idealistiske, altruistiske organisasjoner som den britiske Settlement-bevegelsen, og en annen med utgangspunkt i radikale sosiale bevegelser med sikte på å fremme frigjøring og uavhengighet for undertrykte og marginaliserte grupper. Strømningene har siden eksistert side om side.

Da samfunnsarbeid kom inn som et perspektiv og en arbeidsmåte i sosialt arbeid på 1960-tallet var det den siste tilnærmingen som kom til å dominere. Samfunnsarbeid skulle handle om strategier og metoder for å møte lokale behov og å mobilisere lokalsamfunn og ressurser for å fremme sosial endring og utvikling (Turunen 2009). Endringers skulle skje gjennom en mobilisering nedenfra, og samfunnsarbeid beskrives som arbeidsmåter der sosialarbeideren i tett samarbeid med de berørte arbeider for endringer på system- og samfunnsnivå (Hutchinson 2004, 2010). Arbeidet kunne anta ulike former, men skulle uansett alltid innebære å jobbe sammen med grupper som ønsket å bedre egen og andres livssituasjon. I Norge ble samfunnsarbeid en del av sosionomutdanningen på 1970-tallet (Hutchinson 2010).

Målene med samfunnsarbeid synes å overensstemme godt med målformuleringene til de internasjonale organisasjonene for sosialt arbeid og utdanningene i sosialt arbeid (International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) og International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW)). Samfunnsdimensjonen står der sentralt. Følgende definisjon ble vedtatt på generalforsamlingen til IFSW og IASSW i 2014:

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that facilitates social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance (IFSW 2014).

I dag har imidlertid samfunnsarbeid en svekket posisjon innenfor sosialt arbeid. I en nordisk studie konkluderer Turunen (2009) med at samfunnsarbeidsprosjekter i de nordiske velferdsstatene nærmest har opphørt ved starten av det 21. århundre. I en komparativ studie av samfunnsarbeid i Sverige og Tyskland konkluderer Sjöberg et al. (2018) med at samfunnsarbeid kjennetegnes av sviktende ressurstilgang og at perspektiver knyttet til kollektiv empowerment mangler i det sosiale arbeidet. I en undersøkelse blant sosionomer i de tre nordligste fylkene i Norge fant Hutchinson (2010) at bare 28 prosent hadde brukt noe som lignet samfunnsarbeid de siste seks månedene. Over 90 prosent mente at de ikke brukte en faglig forsvarlig tidsmengde på samfunnsarbeid. I Norge ble den eneste masterutdanningen i samfunnsarbeid lagt ned fra 2021 og lagt inn som en fordypning i en bredere masterutdanning i sosialvitenskap¹.

Med utgangspunkt i det britiske samfunnet viser Popple (2015) hvordan samfunnsarbeid innenfor en ny-liberal velferdsmodell i økende grad overlates til frivillige organisasjoner og grupperinger som arbeider innenfor vanskeligstilte områder. Organisasjonene arbeider utfra en konsensusorientert tilnærming der innbyggerne oppmuntres til aktivitet og deltakelse for å bygge gode nærmiljøer, men uten at det tas opp og settes på dagsordenen hvordan produksjon og reproduksjon av ulikhet resulterer i vansker og problemer i lokalsamfunnene. Organisasjonene kan dermed også bidra til å dekke over og legitimere offentlige velferdskutt. Turunen (2009) mener at i en nordisk kontekst har samfunnsarbeid slik det var kjennetegnet i 1970-årene blitt kooptert og lagt inn i samarbeidsprosjekter med lokale eller nasjonale programmer og prosjekter med hensikt å fremme integrasjon, aktivisering og økonomisk vekst.

Samtidig som samfunnsarbeidet svekkes, viser en rekke studier til hva som karakteriseres som en individualisering, terapeutisering, instrumentalisering og byråkratisering av det offentlige sosiale arbeidet. I faglitteraturen har kritiske stemmer etterlyst en gjenreising av den sosiale dimensjonen illustrert gjennom titler som "Reclaiming social work" (Ferguson 2008); "What happens to the social in social work?" (Hanssen et al. 2015); "Back to the 'social' of social work: Reviving the social work profession's contribution to the promotion of social justice" (Kam 2014); "Values in Social Work: Reconnecting with Social Justice" (Fenton 2016). Utviklingen knyttes til ny-liberale strømninger med økt press for å få ned de offent-

lige velferdsutgiftene og med vekt på enkeltindividets ansvar for egen velferd og til den økende innflytelsen New Public Management (NPM)-inspirerte tilnærminger har hatt i sosialt arbeid med vekt på standardisering og såkalte evidensbaserte metoder (Popple 2015; Forde & Lynch 2014; Sjöberg et al. 2018)

Utviklingen synes å ha skjedd uten mye motstand og kritikk fra profesjonene og utdanningene. Mange sosialarbeidere synes å ha tatt utviklingen for gitt og anser verdier som sosial rettferdighet, diskriminering og strukturelle innflytelsesfaktorer å ligge utenfor sitt ansvarsområde (Fergusson 2008; Fenton 2016; Thorén & Salonen 2014). Oppmerksomheten strekker seg ikke utover det relasjonelle og interaksjonen mellom bruker og tjenesteyter (Kokkin 2005).

Avgrensningen av rollen synes også å ha blitt tydeligere i seinere år og i større grad å kunne spores hos yngre og nyutdannede sosialarbeidere enn hos eldre. Dagens søkere til utdanningene innenfor sosialt arbeid er oftere enn tidligere tilbøyelige til å forklare sosiale problemer som knyttet til individet og hans eller hennes feilvalg (Gilligan 2007). De er mer opptatt av prosedyrekunnskap og mindre opptatt av profesjonell kunnskap som kan sette dem i stand til å forstå brukernes situasjon bedre (Preston-Shoot 2011).

Fra samfunnsarbeid til samskaping

Samtidig som samfunnsarbeid er en tilnærming som i synkende grad anvendes i det sosialfaglige arbeidet, har målsettingene om samarbeid og medvirkning fått stadig sterkere gjennomslag i velferdspolitikken gjennom begrepene samskaping og samproduksjon. Definisjoner av disse begrepene glir i stor grad over i hverandre, og de brukes gjerne om hverandre i empiriske studier (Voorberg et al. 2015).

Samproduksjon omtales som et viktig element i så vel Clinton- som Obahma-administrasjonens velferdspolitik i USA (Alford 2009). I Storbritannia har “co-production” vært en hovedstrategi i velferdspolitikken gjennom skiftende regjeringer siden New Labour introduserte begrepet i 2007. Gjennom dokumentet “Putting People First” ble grunnlaget lagt for visjonen om “the Big Society” der intensjonen var å “rulle staten tilbake” og gi sivilsamfunnet mer makt (Tortzen 2019; Carr 2012; Needham & Glasby 2014). I de nordiske landene har tenkningen preget offentlige dokumenter utover på 2000-tallet (Häggroth 2005, Kommunenes Landsforening 2013,

Regeringen 2013, Askheim 2017). Røiseland og Lo (2019) viser til at et søk på samskaping på norske nettsteder på Google viste en økning på antall treff fra 50 i 2014 til 30 000 i 2019.

Som ordlyden indikerer står partnerskapet, samarbeidet og samspillet mellom ulike aktører i fokus i samproduksjon og samskaping. De gode tjenestene skal skapes sammen med de involverte. Det gjelder brukerne, men i begrepene inkluderes også pårørende, sivilsamfunnet og frivillige lag og foreninger. Lokalsamfunnet og nærmiljøet står i sentrum.

Samskabelse kan defineres som prosesser, hvor to eller flere aktører indgår i et tverrgående og ideelt sett likeverdige samarbejde med henblik på at skabe nye og bedre løsninger på felles problemer og utfordringer (Hagedorn Krogh, Sørensen og Torfing 2020: 52).

Begrepene har slått særlig gjennom på helse- og velferdsområdet, eller hva Tortzen (2019: 39) kaller "bløde sektorer" der det er direkte kontakt mellom borgerne og fagprofesjonelle. Også innenfor sosialt arbeid har begrepet gjort sitt inntog. På den europeiske konferansen om forskning i sosialt arbeid (ECSWR) i 2021 var flere symposier og sesjoner rettet mot samskaping og samproduksjon (ECSWR 2021).

Samproduksjon og samskaping knyttes til en ny styringslogikk i offentlig sektor som vokste fram på 2000-tallet under betegnelsen new-public governance (NPG) (Tortzen 2019; Pierre & Peters 2000; Kjær 2010). Tilnærmingen innebærer en bevegelse bort fra både en hierarkisk samfunnsstyring, men også en markedsinspirert New Public Management -modell (NPM) (Fledderus et al. 2014; van Eijk og Steen 2014). I stedet innebærer NPG en styringslogikk basert på samstyring og tillitsbaserte relasjoner mellom offentlige myndigheter, private bedrifter og organisasjoner, ofte omtalt som "løst koblede systemer" (Willumsen, Ødegård og Sirnes 2020, 24).

Samproduksjon og samskaping er en viktig del av den økende opptattheten av innovasjon i offentlig sektor. Hagedorn Krogh et al. (2020) refererer til Voorberg, Bekkers og Tummer (2013) som slår fast at "samskabelse i bund og grund handler om at utvikle og realisere nye og innovative løsninger gjennom samarbeid" (s. 52). Samproduksjon/ samskaping knyttes her først og fremst til det som

omtales som “sosiale innovasjoner” (Tortzen 2019; Willumsen og Ødegård 2015). EU-kommisjonen (2011) understreker at sosial innovasjon handler om å mobilisere borgerne til å bli aktive deltakere i innovasjonsprosessen, og i innovasjonslitteraturen refereres det ofte til EUs definisjon av sosial innovasjon:

Social innovation is about new ideas that work to address unmet needs. We simply describe it as innovations that are social in their ends and needs. Social innovations are new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relationships and collaborations (Murray, Calulier-Grice & Mulgan 2010, 3)

Betegnelsen brukes gjerne om innovasjoner på velferdsområdet. Det er ikke minst her sosial innovasjon ses som en mulig gevinst av samskapingen (Tortzen 2019). I politiske styringsdokumenter utover på 2000-tallet framstår i økende grad innovasjon på helse- og velferdsområdet som strategi for å gjøre tjenestene bedre, men samtidig for å øke deres bærekraft og gjøre dem mer effektive ved at kostnadene kan reduseres.

Samfunnsarbeid og samskaping – hva er likt, og hva er ulikt?

På mange måter kan det oppleves som et paradoks at samfunnsarbeid har fått en stadig mer perifer plass i sosialt arbeid samtidig som begrepene samskaping og samproduksjon får en stadig sterkere plass i velferdspolitikken. Hva er likheter og hva er forskjeller mellom begrepene? Og gir den økende oppmerksomheten på samskaping/samproduksjon muligheter for en revitalisering av samfunnsarbeidet?

Både samfunnsarbeid og samskaping har demokratiserende ambisjoner. Samtidig er det teoretiske grunnlaget og den kontekstuelle innpakningen av begrepene ulik.

Da samfunnsarbeid hadde sin glansperiode i 1970-årene var det som nevnt preget av venstreradikale strømninger som preget så vel studentbevegelsen og sosial- og velferdspolitikken (Turunen 2009; Sjöberg et al. 2018). Paulo Freires frigjøringspedagogikk var en viktig teoretisk inspirasjonskilde for samfunnsarbeidet (Breivik og

Sudmann 2015). Gjennom dialog og kollektive bevisstgjøringsprosesser skulle avmektige grupper bevisstgjøres, deres ressurser skulle utløses og mobiliseres mot krefter som undertrykte dem og holdt dem nede i en avmaktssituasjon.

Samproduksjon og samskaping framstilles også i offentlige policydokumenter som et demokratiprojekt. Tortzen (2019) omtaler dette perspektivet som en empowermentforståelse av samskaping som har som siktemål å øke brukernes innflytelse. Demokrati-perspektivet ses dermed også som en vei til å endre på makt- og rollefordelingen mellom det offentlige og borgerne og sivilsamfunnet. Gjennom samskapingen overlates større innflytelse til disse aktørene. Tjenestebrukerne ses som kompetente samfunnsborgere med ressurser og kompetanse som kan bidra til å gjøre tjenestene bedre og med rett til å ha innflytelse over tjenester som angår dem.

Med utgangspunkt i en "forskningsreview om samskabelse" peker likevel Agger og Tortzen (2015) på at det foreligger to ulike normative forståelser av samskabelse, som opererer side om side: empowerment- eller demokratiforståelsen og en effektivitetsforståelse. Tortzen (2019, 45) karakteriserer det som "samskabelsesbegrepets janusansikt" der begrepet har både en mørk og en lys side: Den lyse siden framhever de demokratiske intensjonene og potensialene i et likeverdig samarbeid på tvers av sektorer og aktørgrupper, mens den mørke dekker over en neo-liberal tilnærming med fokus på offentlige innsparinger og privatisering og der offentlige velferdsoppgaver ønskes veltet over på borgere, frivillige og sivilsamfunn (van Houdt et al. 2011).

Den radikale, samfunnskritiske tilnærmingen til samfunnsarbeid har sitt utgangspunkt i grupperinger som har opplevd seg som undertrykte og marginaliserte, og tenkningen har således et nedenfra og opp (bottom up) perspektiv der hensikten er å oppheve undertrykkningen og fremme maktutjevning og rettferdighet. Begrepene samskaping og samproduksjon har sitt grunnlag i forvaltningen med primær målsetting å skape innovasjon og fornyelse i tjenestene. Overordnede mål er å gjøre tjenestene mer bærekraftige samtidig som de offentlige kostnadene kan reduseres. Et sentralt virkemiddel for å realisere slike mål er å involvere og ansvarliggjøre brukerne og borgerne mer generelt. I den norske stortingsmeldinga "En innovativ offentlig sektor" (Meld. St. 30 2019-2020) framstilles regjeringens mål som en effektiv offentlig sektor som leverer gode

tjenester til innbyggerne, har høy grad av tillit i befolkningen, og finner nye løsninger på samfunnsutfordringer i samarbeid med innbyggerne, næringslivet, forskningsmiljøer og sivilsamfunnet. Det understreke der at innovasjon i offentlig sektor kan bidra til langsiktig og bærekraftig effektivitet (s. 5-7)

Samskapingen ses med andre ord her primært som et svar på ressursknappheten i den offentlige velferdsproduksjonen. Internasjonal forskning dokumenterer også at hovedparten av initiativene som settes i gang er drevet av det offentlige, og den peker på at borgere/sivilsamfunn ofte dras inn i prosessene på et relativt seint tidspunkt (Agger og Tortzen 2015).

I litteraturen om samskaping og samproduksjon glimrer maktperspektivet med sitt fravær (Askheim 2016; Barnes et al. 2007; Jenhaug 2020). Torfing et al. (2012) framstiller det som at både forskere og praktikere ser samskapingprosessen som en pragmatisk, problemløsende prosess som er fri for makt og politikk. Det legges et harmoniperspektiv til grunn der de ulike aktørene ses som å ha felles interesser i å komme fram til de gode, helhetlige løsningene gjennom samskapingprosessen.

Det finnes riktignok også unntak fra den dominerende harmonitenkningen. Needham og Carr (2009) skiller mellom samproduksjon som beskrivelse (description), anerkjennelse (recognition) og forvandling (transformation). På det laveste nivået (description) handler samproduksjon om en innrømmelse av at alle tjenester er avhengige av en viss input fra brukerne. Her slås det bare fast at eksisterende tilnærminger til offentlige tjenester er samproduserende. På mellomnivået (recognition) ses samproduksjon på som et verktøy for anerkjennelse av tjenestebrukerne og deres pårørendes ressurser og bidrag inn i tjenesteproduksjonen for å skape bedre og mer bærekraftige tjenester. Det kan innebære at mer ansvar legges på brukerne, men uten at det har konsekvenser for hvordan tjenestene styres og leveres. Det transformativt nivået innebærer en forskyvning av maktforholdene i tjenesteproduksjonen der brukerne ses som likeverdige eksperter og der brukermakten styrkes i planlegging, styring og utøving av tjenestene. Needham og Carr påpeker at for at et slikt partnerskap skal fungere fordrer det at brukerne blir "empowered" og at deres kompetanse og ressurser aksepteres og anerkjennes, men også at tjenesteyterne forholder seg til risikoene de kan oppleve at maktforskyvningen kan innebære.

To act as partners, both users and providers must be empowered. Co-production means involving citizens in collaborative relationships with more frontline staff who are able and confident to share power and accept user expertise (Needham og Carr 2009, 1).

Den ideologiske dobbeltheten som preger de ulike tilnærmingene til samfunnsarbeid, kan med andre ord gjenfinnes i samskapingen. Hvilken betydning som får gjennomslag og hegemoni vil dermed også ha betydning.

Kan samskappingsbegrepet revitalisere samfunnsarbeidet?

Samtidig som samfunnsarbeid har en svekket posisjon i sosialt arbeid, har en "effektivitetsforståelse" som Agger og Tortzen (2015) knyttet til samskaping satt sitt preg på samfunnsarbeidet (Popple 2015). Parallelt med at offentlige utgifter til sosialt arbeid skjæres ned og arbeidet får en sterkere individorientering, overlates hva som kan defineres som samfunnsarbeid mer til ikke-offentlige aktører og frivillige. Tilnærmingene har gjerne et konsensusorientert, kommunitaristisk utgangspunkt der lokalsamfunnene framstilles som harmoniske enheter der individene skal stimuleres til aktivitet og deltakelse i sine lokalsamfunn. Gjennom gjensidige relasjoner i velferdsproduksjonen skal det kunne skapes økt tillit og samhold mellom ulike aktører, nye relasjoner og et nytt verdifelleskap. Analyser av maktforhold og intensjoner om kollektiv bevisstgjøring og mobilisering av marginaliserte grupper er fraværende (Forde & Lynch 2014; Sjöberg et al. 2018). Shaw (2013) knytter utviklingen til Mayo's (1994) skille mellom en teknisk (technisist) og transformativ tilnærming til samfunnsarbeid. Skillet er i hovedsak politisk fundert. Mens den "tekniske" tilnærmingen er initiert ovenfra og innrettet mot tilpasning til "verden som den er" ved f.eks. å utvikle motstandskraft mot endring, er den den transformative initiert nedenfra og innrettet mot å handle med sikte på å endre maktforhold i retning av mer sosial rettferdighet og likhet.

På denne måten blir dermed også likhetspunktene mellom samfunnsarbeidet slik det har utviklet seg og hva Agger og Tortzen (2015) karakteriserer som den effektivitetsorienterte forståelsen av samskaping store. I stedet for at samskaping bidrar til å revitalisere

en samfunnskritisk tilnærming til samfunnsarbeidet, kan det bekrefte og styrke en konsensusorientert, harmonibasert tilnærming som dekker til strukturelle årsaker til ulikhet og marginalisering.

Hutchinson (2004) påpeker at det sosialpolitiske mandatet for sosialt arbeid og de oppgavene de offentlige sosiale institusjonene har gir gode muligheter for å revitalisere samfunnsarbeidet. Willumsen & Sirnes (2018) argumenterer for at sosial innovasjon og samskaping kan være en relevant referanseramme for sosialt arbeid i form av samfunnsarbeid, og at sosialt arbeid i form av samfunnsarbeid kan spille en vesentlig rolle i kommunalt innovasjonsarbeid. Sosialarbeideren kan være med på å identifisere mål og bidra til endring ved å knytte sammen nøkkelpersoner i kommunene og andre organisasjoner, fasilitere tverrprofesjonelt samarbeid og nettverksarbeid og bidra til å bygge opp deltakernes kapasitet til å gjøre noe sammen. De argumenterer for at sosialarbeiderprofesjonen har særskilte forutsetninger for å gå inn i en ny rolle som ressursfrigjørende og mobiliserende samfunnsarbeider i kommunene, og at samfunnsarbeid er en relevant metode for borgerinndragelse og medvirkning. Sosialt arbeid, særlig i form av samfunnsarbeid, kan dermed få en viktig anvendelse framover - både for å motarbeide sosial ulikhet og fattigdomsrisiko, og for å bidra til innovasjon i velferdstjenestene. Sosialarbeidere framstilles med gode faglige forutsetninger for å mobilisere innbyggere og involvere berørte aktører.

Samtidig påpeker Willumsen og Sirnes at dersom sosiale innovasjoner utøves uten analyse av interessemotsetninger, maktstrukturer i samfunnet og etiske dilemmaer, kan det være fare for at samfunnsverdier i form av menneskerettigheter, demokrati og personlig integritet ikke ivaretas tilstrekkelig. De minner videre om at det er viktig å ta høyde for at samfunnsarbeid kan representere et spenningsfelt mellom motstridende interesser. Sosialarbeidere har som andre yrkesgrupper en lovfestet lojalitetsplikt til sin arbeidsgiver som kan utgjøre en begrensning dersom det er behov for å ivareta bruker-interesser som er i konflikt med arbeidsgivers oppdrag. Et samarbeidsorientert og dialogbasert partnerskap kan dermed representere både et konstruktivt utgangspunkt for sosialarbeiderne, men kan også framstå som en harmonimodell hvor endringer implementeres som en ukritisk iverksetting av myndighetenes velferdspolitik. En kritisk, endringsorientert innretning til samfunnsarbeidet vil kreve at samfunnsarbeid som metode i sosialt arbeid

revitaliseres, både i utdanningen og i praksisfeltet. En revitalisering vil fordre kunnskap om og innsikt i maktforhold og mulige interesse-
semotsetninger for å forstå hvilke mekanismer som er virksomme, et fokus på sosial rettferdighet som retning i arbeidet.

Oppsummerende er det vanskelig å gi et entydig svar på spørsmålet om begrepsovergangen fra samfunnsarbeid til samskaping innebærer en mulighet for en revitalisering av samfunnsarbeidet eller om den først og fremst blir et blindspor. En positiv konsekvens kan innebære at det gis legitimitet for å styrke det sosiale arbeidet på flere nivåer enn det individuelle. Arbeid på samfunns- og organisasjonsnivå får styrket legitimitet. Svaret vil likevel først og fremst avhenge av hvilken forståelse av samskaping som legges til grunn. En transformativ tilnærming til samskaping og samproduksjon slik Needham og Carr (2009) definerer det, vil ha store likhetspunkter med hva Mayo (1994) karakteriserer som en transformativ innretting av samfunnsarbeidet. Legges den effektivitetsorienterte tilnærmingen til grunn, vil samskapingsperspektivet derimot befeste en konsensusorientert, harmonibasert tilnærming som kan dekke til strukturelle årsaker og maktforhold og vil kunne motvirke mobilisering for endring nedenfra. Det vil dermed kunne innebære en ytterligere avpolitisering av sosialt arbeid. En kritisk tilnærming til diskursene bak samskaping og samproduksjon blir dermed viktig for utviklingen av samfunnsarbeid i sosialt arbeid framover.

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Note

- 1 Vedtak i høgskolestyret for Høgskulen på Vestlandet 18.06.20 om å utrede en ny masterutdanning "Master i sosialvitenskap".

Hvilke posisjoner kan være vanskelige å innta i forskning for medforskere som er avhengige av hjelpeapparatet?

Om samskappingsprosesser med medforskere fra marginaliserte grupper

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Abstract

The article is based on two PhD studies in which marginalized co-researchers who depend on the aid apparatus contribute to co-creation of research. The first study includes parents whose children are placed in public care; the other study includes homeless people. In the article, we want to explore the co-creation process between researchers and co-researchers in research where the co-researchers have a background from marginalized groups that depend on the aid apparatus. Findings from our studies indicate that such a dependency can act as a barrier to critical research or critical actions in two ways: 1) It is difficult to be critical of one's own position, and 2) It is difficult to be critical to the aid apparatus. The article concludes that the two positions are different but that they ser-

ve the same purpose: it is strategic to position oneself in certain ways when a lot is at stake.

Keywords: Co-research, marginalization, co-creation, homelessness, child welfare.

Introduksjon

Å involvere de som er berørt av forskningen i selve forskningsprosessen kan forstås som et modusskifte i forskningen som er i tråd med politiske, faglige og etiske krav til forskning nasjonalt og internasjonalt (Askheim, Lid & Østensjø 2019; Nowotny et al. 2001). I denne artikkelen vil vi presentere og diskutere erfaringer fra to Ph.D.-studier som innlemmet marginaliserte brukere som var avhengige av hjelpeapparatet som medforskere. Vi har valgt å bruke betegnelsen medforskning om det å forske sammen (Borg & Kristiansen 2009). I våre forskningsprosjekter fungerte medforskerne som rådgivere vi lyttet til og diskuterte med, men der vi tok alle formelle beslutninger. Begrepet marginalisering beskriver en situasjon der en befinner seg et sted mellom ytterpunktene inkludert og ekskludert i samfunnet, eller å være utenfor makt eller innflytelse (Halvorsen 1996). McLaughlin (2010) hevder forskning har vært undertrykkende for marginaliserte grupper, og Månsson (1991) fremhever at forskning primært har tjent etablerte og ressurssterke interesser. Å involvere marginaliserte brukere av hjelpeapparatet i forskning kan være en måte å fremme deres interesser og å øke deres makt og innflytelse (Andreassen et al. 2019). Mye av litteraturen om medforskning har satt søkelys på hvorvidt forskningen blir bedre (Malterud & Elvebakken 2019), og om brukeren får økt innflytelse (Beresford 2000; McLaughlin 2010). Det har vært mindre søkelys på prosessen med å skape forskning sammen med brukere (Hersted et al. 2020). Noen studier har problematisert medforskerens rolle i forskning (Moltu et al. 2012), og deres rom for å være kritiske innenfor en forskningsdiskurs (Eriksson 2018). Det vi imidlertid ikke har funnet i forskningslitteraturen er marginaliserte medforskeres rom for å være kritiske når de befinner seg i et avhengighetsforhold til hjelpeapparatet. Forskningsspørsmålet vi utformet var: *Hvilke posisjoner kan være vanskelige å innta i forskning for marginaliserte medforskere som er avhengige av hjelpeapparatet?*

Makt og posisjonering

Vi forstår vårt empiriske materiale gjennom et sosialkonstruksjonistisk perspektiv, der forskning oppfattes som en kulturell prosess hvor kunnskap skapes i sosiale fellesskap (McNamee 2010). Hva som er tillatt å si når, og til hvem i slike fellesskap påvirkes av det Foucault (1980) kalte diskurser. Diskurser kan beskrives som normer og regler definert av et fellesskap. For å definere disse må man ha makt. Makt defineres av Foucault (1980) som produktiv, og kommer til syne i moderne, demokratiske samfunn som en styring av individers tenke- og handlemåter. Denne styringen begrunnes i vitenskapelig kunnskap, som for eksempel definisjonen av god omsorg og hvilke merkelapper som skal henges ved de som strever med et rusproblem.

Innenfor en diskurs får man både tildelt, og man inntar aktivt ulike posisjoner (Harré & Langenhove 1991). Disse posisjonene står i forhold til hverandre, slik at ens posisjon vil avhenge av hvordan den du samhandler med er posisjonert eller har posisjonert seg selv. Fordi posisjonene er begrunnet gjennom rådende diskurser, vil de gi mening både for personen selv og for andre. Hvordan man er posisjonert vil ha betydning for ens identitet og rolleforståelse, og siden posisjoner er dynamiske, vil både posisjonene, og forståelsen av egen identitet og rolle kunne endre seg i møtet med nye personer og situasjoner. På denne måten er det mulig å endre egen posisjon, og innta det Harré & Langenhove (1991) kalte for strategiske posisjoner. Nelson (2001) viser hvordan det kan være særlig aktuelt for marginaliserte mennesker å gjenopprette sin identitet fra noe hun beskriver som en *“ødelagt identitet”*. I denne artikkelen bruker vi diskursbegrepet og posisjoneringsteori til å utforske hvilke posisjoner som kan være vanskelige å innta for marginaliserte medforskere som er avhengige av hjelpeapparatet i samskapingen av forskning.

Metodisk design og etiske betraktninger

Empirien som ligger til grunn for artikkelen er hentet fra våre to Ph.D.-studier. Den første studien, som pågikk i perioden desember 2015 til april 2020 omhandler oppfølging av foreldre etter omsorgsovertakelse (Syrstad 2020a). Seks foreldre og syv terapeuter fra familieverntjenesten i Norge ble intervjuet i to fokusgrupper og ett individuelt intervju med det formål å utforske oppfølgings-

tilbudet familieverntjenesten hadde tilbudt denne foreldregruppen. En medforskergruppe bidro i forskningsprosessen. Prosessen med å forske sammen er utforsket i studiens tredje delstudium (Syrstad 2020b), og det er denne studien som ligger til grunn for artikkelens empiri. To foreldre som var fratatt omsorgen for sine barn, to saksbehandlere fra barnevernet, to terapeuter fra familieverntjenesten og tre forskere deltok i gruppen. Siden artikkelen handler om marginaliserte medforskere som er avhengig av hjelpeapparatet, har analysen som ligger til grunn i denne artikkelen et eksklusivt søkelys på de to foreldrene sin rolle som medforskere. Dataene utgjør transkriberte opptak av fire medforskertreff i perioden juni 2016 til august 2017, der både intervjuguide og analyser ble diskutert. To av treffene varte i fem timer, mens de to andre varte ca. to timer. Foreldrene representerte begge kjønn, og begge var i aldersgruppen 30-40 år. Det teoretiske grunnlaget for studien var en sosialkonstruksjonistisk forståelse om at individer skaper mening gjennom de diskursive fellesskapene de var en del av, og at de posisjonerte seg og ble posisjonert i interaksjonen med sine omgivelser (Harré & Langenhove 1991; McNamee 2010).

Den andre Ph.D.-studien er en studie av egenorganisering blant bostedsløse. Empirien består av feltnotater og intervjudata fra et aksjonsforskningsprosjekt som foregikk fra 2015 til 2019. Prosjektet som helhet hadde 55 deltakere og inkluderte individuelle intervjuer, dialogkonferanser og etnografisk materiale (Aaslund 2021). I arbeidet med dataene var fire prosjektansatte og fire beboere sentrale medforskere. Av beboerne var tre menn og en kvinne. De prosjektansatte var i starten tre menn og en kvinne, senere to kvinner og to menn. Alle var over 35 år. De fleste prosjektansatte hadde egen erfaringsbakgrunn, mens prosjektleder hadde helse- og sosialfaglig utdanning. Samskapingsarbeidet knyttet seg til en kritisk-utopisk aksjonsforskningstradisjon (Nielsen & Nielsen 2006), som vektla sammenhengen mellom strukturer, posisjoner og diskurser, og målsetningen med arbeidet var å bidra til materiell og symbolsk endring av deltakernes situasjon. Dataene til denne artikkelen er produsert i perioden august 2018 til januar 2019, og omfatter notater fra analysesamarbeid og skriving av et bokkappittel, referater fra samarbeidsmøter, og feltnotater fra observasjoner og feltsamtaler.

Vi har foretatt nye gjennomlesninger av det empiriske materialet fra de to Phd-studiene. Første gjennomlesning foregikk på deskriptivt nivå, hvor vi nærleste empirien på langs, med det mål å finne empiri som knyttet seg til utfordringer med å involvere marginaliserte medforskere som var avhengig av hjelpeapparatet i forskning. Deretter leste vi intervjuene på tvers (Haavind 2000), hvor vi lette etter mønster eller fellestrekk, så vel som hva som skilte seg ut. Poenget med en slik analytisk fremgangsmåte var å utvikle forståelser som strakk seg utover den enkelte deltagers fortelling (Kvale & Brinkmann 2015). Etersom vi allerede hadde identifisert utfordringer med å involvere medforskere som var avhengige av hjelpeapparatet i forskning som felles omdreiningspunkt for de to studiene, var lesingen av empirien målrettet. Siden prosjektene hadde ulikt forskningsdesign og forskjellig tematikk, var et slikt omdreiningspunkt nyttig i det analytiske arbeidet med å finne mønstre.

Begge studiene er godkjente av Norsk senter for forskningsdata, og de har fulgt de forskningsetiske retningslinjer som forventes av kvalitativ forskning om sensitive tema. Vi har utelukket alle personidentifiserbare detaljer for å ivareta medforskernes anonymitet. Alle ble informert om at de når som helst kunne trekke seg uten å måtte oppgi grunn.

Artikkelens metodiske utgangspunkt, altså to ulike empirisett fra to ulike studier, kan være problematisk. De to studiene hviler på ulike metodiske design, både når det gjelder formål, spørsmålsstilling, datainnsamling og analyser. Vi mener likevel at sammenkoplingen av studiene kan forsvares ved at vi fant et felles omdreiningspunkt knyttet til makt og marginalisering, som vi begge hadde blitt opptatt av i våre ph.d.-studier. På denne måten gikk vi dypere inn i en bestemt tematikk ved å sammenkoble eksempler fra to ulike studier. Vi vil nå utdype hva vi fant i våre studier knyttet til problemstillingen om hvilke posisjoner som kan være vanskelig å innta som en marginalisert medforsker som er avhengig av hjelpeapparatet.

Funn: Det kan være vanskelig å være kritisk til egen posisjon

De to foreldrene som deltok som medforskere i studien om oppfølging av foreldre etter omsorgsovertakelse, forteller begge at deres rolle og posisjon kunne være krevende. En av foreldrene fortalte

hvordan hun i starten av forskningsprosessen var mest opptatt av å få fortalt sin historie, som handlet om det maktovergrepet hun mente hun hadde blitt utsatt for av barnevernet da omsorgen ble tatt fra henne. På siste medforsker møte sa hun at hun trodde dette handlet om at hun ønsket å få sympati fra de andre i gruppa, ved at de skulle forstå hvor dårlig hun hadde blitt behandlet. En av medforskerne som representerte barnevernet fortalte at dette ble en krevende rolle for henne å være i, da hun ble sittende som forsvarer av barnevernet. For meg som forsker åpnet forelderens historier opp for følelser knyttet til den sorgen foreldrene beskrev, og jeg måtte være særlig oppmerksom på at jeg ikke mistet mitt kritiske blikk. Samtidig ble det vanskelig for representanten fra barnevernet som var med i medforskergruppen, da hun ble en slags skyteskive for foreldrene. For meg ble dette tydelige eksempler på krevende og vanskelig samarbeid mellom to parter, samtidig som jeg måtte ivareta begge interesser. Måten jeg løste det på var å gjennomføre samtaler med partene i etterkant. Den samme forelder kom også med et innspill på første medforsker møte om at jeg som forsker måtte være forberedt på at foreldrene jeg skulle intervjuer ville fortelle meg historier som ville sette dem i et godt lys, i håp om at de ville komme godt ut av det når forskningen skulle publiseres. Hun sa: *“Ingen vil fortelle deg historier som setter dem i et dårlig lys. Det ville i så fall vært veldig dumt å gjøre”*. Dette kan forstås som er parallellprosess til hva hun selv gjorde i medforskergruppen. Uansett gjorde det meg oppmerksom på hvordan foreldrenes historier kunne være uttrykk for den marginaliseringsprosessen en omsorgsovertakelse kan være, og at de fortalte historier de tenkte de selv ville kunne komme godt ut av.

Til tross for at foreldrene så ut til å fortelle historier som satte dem i et fordelaktig lys, fortalte likevel en av foreldrene at hans posisjon endret seg underveis i forskningsprosjektet. Han sa: *“Ja jeg sitter jo med helt andre tanker og en helt annen måte å kritisere barnevernet på nå, ettersom jeg forstår mer av helheten av prosjektet”*. Han beskrev hvordan det å være medforsker i forskningsprosjektet hadde gitt ham en kunnskap og en innsikt som gjorde ham bedre i stand til å være kritisk til egen rolle og ikke bare rette kritikken mot barneverntjenesten. Dette ga meg som leder av forskningsprosjektet nye muligheter til å analysere materialet sammen med foreldrene. Foreldrene bidro aktivt i analyser som ble svært viktige for

forskningsresultatene, som for eksempel hvorfor både de og andre foreldre strevde med å forstå hvorfor barnevernet hadde tatt fra dem omsorgen for deres barn.

Det kan være vanskelig å være kritisk til hjelpeapparatet

Forholdet til hjelpeapparatet, marginalisering og medforskning påvirket hverandre i bostedsløshetsprosjektet. Dette ble spesielt tydelig høsten 2018 da to prosesser foregikk samtidig. Det ene var avslutningen av et bokkapittel vi skulle skrive sammen om språk og marginalisering. Det andre var at organisasjonen som eide lokalene og hadde garantert for utgiftene den første tiden, besluttet å legge ned hele prosjektet med boliger og arbeidsplasser for deltakerne.

Enkelte beboere mobiliserte til motstand mot beslutningen om nedleggelse, og én beboer ble intervjuet av flere aviser. Han fortalte om prosjektet og resultatene, og kritiserte beslutningen om å gjøre deltakerne bostedsløse og arbeidsløse. Dette fikk mye oppmerksomhet, og organisasjonen reagerte på at han hadde kontaktet media. De beskrev personen som "sårbar", og at det var "uklokt" å kontakte media på denne måten. Enkelte beboere reagerte også på at denne beboeren hadde kontaktet media. På et beboerstyremøte uttrykte noen at det var en for konfronterende strategi, som gjorde mulighetene for å finne en forhandlingsløsning dårligere. Noen mente også at avisartikkelen bidro til å stigmatisere beboerne: *"Vi ønsker å være anonyme. Vi var enige i det som sto, men det skadet jo noen på huset her. Hun hadde ansvar for mye penger og blir tatt inn på teppet: - Er det et sånt hus du bor i?"* Arbeidsgiveren hadde sett adressen det ble referert til i artikkelen, og reagerte på at hun bodde i et hus der det var mange med tidligere rusproblemer. En annen uttrykte: *"Noen syntes at det med media var greit og noen ikke. Han sa unnskyld. Men han fortsetter å gå til media. Det var mange som var negative. Men han fortsetter. Da tar han ikke hensyn".*

Disse erfaringene påvirket også forskningssamarbeidet. Som forsker hadde jeg også uttalt meg i avisartikkelen. Etter erfaringene med avisartikkelen spurte jeg både beboere og de ansatte hva de tenkte om bokkapitlet vi skulle publisere sammen. Flere mente at det var nødvendig å anonymisere medforfatterne. For å unngå at beboerne ble assosiert med bostedsløshet og rusproblemer, innebar dette også å anonymisere navnet på prosjektet. Erfaringene med avisartikkelen gjorde dem bekymret for om det kunne føre til stig-

matisering og ytterligere marginalisering, utenfor deres kontroll. De ønsket heller ikke å eskalere konfliktnivået med organisasjonen. Noen av de ansatte var uenig i dette. De mente det var viktigere enn noensinne å vise fram de positive resultatene fra prosjektet med navn, og at bokkapitlet uansett ikke inneholdt noe kontroversielt, siden det var skrevet lenge før konflikten. Det ble et dilemma mellom hva som ville være det beste for prosjektet, og de enkelte deltakernes sårbarhet. Etter grundige diskusjoner med alle involverte bestemte jeg meg for å stryke medforskerne som forfattere av bokkapitlet og anonymisere prosjektet. Bakgrunnen for beslutningen var det forskningsetiske kravet om å "beskytte mot skade og urimelige belastninger". Konsekvensen ble at alle medforskernes stemmer ble borte i formidlingen, av hensyn til de som hadde mest å tape blant medforskerne.

Diskusjon: Å innta kritiske posisjoner når mye står på spill

Å ivære medforsker i samskappingsprosjekter kan være utfordrende når egeninteresser i kraft av å være en marginalisert bruker som er avhengig av hjelpeapparatet også må tas hensyn til. Dette kommer tydelig til uttrykk i studien der foreldre er fratatt omsorgen for sine barn ved at de posisjonerer seg på en måte som viser dem fra deres beste side. Dette kan forstås både som en slags gjenreising etter den marginaliseringsprosessen det innebærer å bli fratatt omsorgen for sine barn, og det kan forstås som at de er strategiske i valg av posisjonering for å kunne oppnå goder som å få tilbakeført barna sine og/eller få mer samvær med dem (jf. Harré & Langenhove 1991). Historiene foreldrene velger å fortelle kan dermed forstås ut fra hva som står på spill for dem (jf. Frank 2005). Og det er ofte mye som står på spill når man har blitt fratatt omsorgen for sine barn. Hva de velger å fortelle kan handle om det Nelson (2001) beskriver som en gjenreisingsprosess etter å ha fått "ødelagt" sin identitet som "god forelder", som det marginaliseringsprosessen en omsorgsovertakelse innebærer kan beskrives som (Syrstad 2020b).

Å ikke evne å innta en posisjon der man er kritisk til egen posisjon som forsker kan stride imot sentrale krav til forskning (Kvale & Brinkmann 2015). Medforskning innebærer de samme kvalitetskravene som annen forskning (Askheim & Høiseth 2019; Malterud & Elvebakken 2019). Å innta en kritisk posisjon som forsker kan beskrives som det Foucault (1980) omtalte som å bli en del av

forskningsdiskursen. Det kan hende det var dette som skjedde når den ene forelderen fortalte at han etter hvert som han skjønnte mer av forskningen og sin egen rolle også kunne innta en posisjon der han var mer kritisk til egen rolle. Å bli en del av en forskningsdiskurs kan innebære økt innflytelse fordi medforskeren bidrar mer aktivt i analysen (Moltu et al. 2012), men samtidig kan en innordning innenfor et diskursivt fellesskap begrense medforskernes muligheter for å være kritisk fordi man må være kritisk innenfor en bestemt institusjonell logikk (Eriksson 2018). En fare ved å bli med i et forskningsfellesskap som marginalisert bruker er at man inntar rollen som *“superbruker”* for å oppnå *“goodwill”* hos forskerne (jf. Moltu 2012), og at behovene og interessene til en marginalisert gruppe som man ønsker å fremme forsvinner. Brukere som deltar i forskning kan dermed komme i et krysspess hvor de kan bli anklaget for å stå i ledtog med *“fienden”*, og fremme kritikk mot gruppen de representerer (jf. Moltu et al. 2012; Syrstad 2021). Det kan hende det var noe av dette krysspesset brukerne i bostedsløstprosjektet kjente på i forhold til hvorvidt de skulle innordne seg organisasjonens interesser eller være kritiske. Dermed kan det å delta som medforsker når en er i en marginalisert posisjon som er avhengig av hjelpeapparatet bli en vanskelig posisjon å være i.

Å være en medforsker som opplever å være i en marginalisert posisjon og avhengig av hjelpeapparatet kan også gjøre det vanskelig å være kritisk til hjelpeapparatet man er avhengig av. I studien av mennesker som opplevde bostedsløshet, kom utfordringene til uttrykk ved at medforskerne risikerte konsekvenser knyttet til tilgang på bolig og/ eller arbeid. Slik risiko kan være ulikt fordelt. I vår studie hadde noen allerede funnet seg ny bolig, mens andre var avhengige av organisasjonen for å få et nytt sted å bo. For de som var mest avhengig av organisasjonen kunne det se ut som om det ble viktig å distansere seg fra de mest kritiske røstene. Enkelte var i ferd med å etablere seg i arbeidslivet og var opptatt av å ikke assosieres med rusavhengighet og bostedsløshet, mens de mest marginaliserte sto så langt unna arbeidslivet at de kanskje ikke hadde så mye å tape. Slike prosesser kan gjøre det vanskelig å oppdage de kompliserte strukturene marginalisering foregår i og det som kan forstås gjennom Foucaults begrep om disiplinerende makt (1980). Mennesker i marginaliserte posisjoner kan også ha vanskelige relasjonserfaringer som kan være en ekstra barriere for å hånd-

tere konfliktfylte relasjoner ansikt til ansikt, eller inngå i kritiske diskusjoner. Järvinen og Mik-Meyer (2003) hevder at mennesker som innordner seg institusjonens rammer blir ansett som samarbeidsvillige, mens de som ikke gjør det anses som rigide og i mangel av selsinnsikt. Dermed kan det forstås som strategisk eller klokt å innordne seg institusjonens krav, definisjoner og forventninger, og å distansere seg fra de som ikke blir oppfattet som samarbeidsvillige. Det er dette Harré og Langenhove (1991) kaller en strategisk posisjonering. Dette vil igjen innebære at det er klokt å ikke være for kritiske til systemet.

Konklusjon: Å posisjonere seg strategisk for å oppnå goder

Felles for våre funn fra de to ph.d.-studiene var at medforskerne representerte marginaliserte brukere som var avhengige av hjelpeapparatet. De var marginaliserte i kraft av å være ekskludert av samfunnet ved at de hadde blitt fratatt omsorgsretten til barna sine, og ved at de sto utenfor boligmarkedet. Samtidig var begge gruppene avhengige av hjelpeapparatet, foreldrene for å oppnå goder som samvær og mulig tilbakeføring av sine barn, og de bostedsløse i form av tilgang til bolig. En likhet mellom de to studiene var at det kunne virke som om mye sto på spill i rollen som medforsker, og at de inntok en posisjon som kunne fremme deres interesser. Det som imidlertid var en interessant forskjell, var at dette kom til uttrykk på ulike måter. Foreldrene som var fratatt omsorgen for sine barn så ut til å kritisere barnevernet og i liten grad innta et kritisk blick på egen rolle og posisjon. Dette kan forstås som en gjenreise av egen identitet som "god forelder" etter å ha vært gjennom en marginaliseringsprosess en omsorgsovertakelse kan sies å være. Det kan også forstås som en strategisk posisjonering overfor et hjelpeapparat de var avhengige av for å oppnå målet om tilbakeføring av barnet sitt. Likevel kan man stille spørsmål ved hvor styrket de kommer ut av det dersom de ikke inntar en kritisk posisjon til egen rolle i forskning. Faren ved en slik ensidig vektlegging av systemet som den "onde" part er at historien fremstår som lite nyansert og balansert og dermed får liten analytisk betydning i forskningen. På den annen side er det betimelig å spørre hvilke forventninger vi skal ha til at brukere skal og bør ha et analytisk blick på egne historier, og hvilken rolle de dermed skal ha i medforskning.

I bostedsløst prosjektet valgte medforskerne å nedtone kritikk av organisasjonen. Her så det ut til at taushet til noe som kunne anses som kritikkverdig ikke ble uttalt. Dette var en annen posisjonering enn foreldrene inntok, men hensikten med de to posisjoneringsformene kan forstås som sammenfallende: å posisjonere seg strategisk for å oppnå goder fra et hjelpeapparat de både følte seg marginaliserte overfor, og som de følte en avhengighet til. En konklusjon vil dermed kunne være at det vil være bestemte posisjoner som marginaliserte brukere som er avhengige av hjelpeapparatet velger å innta som medforskere fordi det er mye som står på spill for dem. Ettersom brukerinvolvert forskning får økt aktualitet, anbefaler vi mer forskning knyttet til muligheter for å være kritisk når man befinner seg i marginaliserte posisjoner der man er avhengig av hjelpeapparatet.

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Social research at a time of fast feedback and rapid change

The case for ‘slow science’

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Abstract

This contribution offers a reflection on the shift in social science towards participative enquiry and collaborative research practices. In doing so, the paper challenges the common conception that the methodological indeterminacy that participatory research may occasion undermines its scientific credentials by rendering its processes and outcomes vulnerable to idiosyncratic events, subjective interpretations, local variability and chancy outcomes. The focus of the article is not just that participatory processes require research flexibility to enhance the pragmatic outcomes of research, but that the researcher’s theory and methodology may need to be recalibrated from discipline-controlled givens to publicly-negotiable points of departure. This latter point expands the paper’s argument to advocate for research that has “the power to be affected” (Hardt 2007, x) by the views, feelings and experiences of those it targets, and of those affected by its processes and conclusions. Using video-reflexive ethnography to illustrate this point, the article exemplifies what it means for the *researcher(s)* to be affected by the constraints

inherent in their own research approach and disciplinary priorities (Iedema 2021).

Keywords: participative research, slow science, affect, reflexivity, video-reflexive ethnography

Introduction

This contribution offers a reflection on the shift in social science towards participative enquiry and collaborative research practices. This shift occurs at a time when there is a growing general sentiment that science and technology – collectively constituting a ‘scientific-technocratic order’ - are becoming less accessible to public involvement. This is due to this scientific-technocratic order becoming embedded in “computerized networks that provide few meaningful possibilities for citizen participation” (Fisher 1999, 295). Counter-balancing this, the last two to three decades have witnessed a corrective to this scientific-technocratic opacity, with efforts afoot to optimise public involvement in science in various ways and to various degrees (Strasser et al. 2019). Specifically, the shift towards participative enquiry may be seen to be part of this development to ensure that those who are the object and subject of (social) science are able to maximise the appropriateness of its foci, directions, operations and applications.

Today, participative enquiry and collaborative research practices generally are integral to how many research projects around the world are designed. In the UK, involving service providers and service users in studies of service processes and in discussions about outcomes is now *de rigueur* from a grant funding perspective. The UK’s National Institute for Health Research initiated a public involvement drive titled INVOLVE (superseded in 2020 by the NIHR Centre for Engagement & Dissemination¹). Endeavours such as these are aimed at optimising citizen involvement in and public understanding of healthcare (service) funded projects. What these developments confirm is that the label ‘expertise’, besides being associated with knowledge, specialisation and professionalism, may now also be applied to very different epistemic practices anchored in first-hand experience, lived reflection and creative-artistic dis-

covery. In all, life world and science now find themselves on a different, if not more equitable, footing than was the case in the past.²

The deliberative orientation of participative enquiry soon became prominent in domains like collaborative public planning (Innes and Booher 1999) and community development (Craig, Mayo, and Popple 2011). These domains have exploited for considerable time now the community building opportunities that are inherent in public deliberation. As Craig *et al* suggest, public deliberation is unique as it harbours the possibility of participants co-creating 'live meaning' on the strength of their current socio-political circumstances and evolving experiences. Involving the public in this way results in ...

an 'embodied argument' [since it is] a continuing search for new forms of social and political expression, particularly 'at the grassroots level' (within a participatory paradigm), in the light of new forms of political and social control. (Craig, Mayo, and Popple 2011, 7)

The aim to ensure that research *across the board* engages with 'new forms of social and political expression [arising from] new forms of political and social control' has recently been articulated with renewed conviction in Isabelle Stengers' *Another science is possible: A manifesto for slow science* (Stengers 2018). In this book, she defines 'slow science' in opposition to 'fast science'. The latter prioritises outcomes achieved through practical inflexibility and methodological intransigence that are touted as instantiating 'scientific rigour'. This rigour offers material evidence and procedural reassurance for fast science's claim to be able to realise objectivity: its 'point of view from nowhere' (Nagel 1989). In contrast, slow science prioritises openness to and deliberation with those represented by, interested in, targeted with and affected by scientific research outcomes. The direction and effect of such deliberations are 'soft' in so far as that they remain open-ended and under-determined.

The present paper explores the implications of Stengers' slow science argument for science generally and for social science in specific. In exploring these implications, the paper questions the common conception that methodological indeterminacy undermines scientific endeavours by rendering their processes and outcomes vulnerable to idiosyncratic events, subjective interpretations, local

variability and chancy outcomes. The unique focus of the present article and less frequently discussed in the social science literature, however, is not just that participants' involvement may engender research foci, processes and insights that move beyond the remit of what researchers might be able to conceive or achieve on their own. In this paper's conception of 'slow social science', the researcher's theory and methodology are recalibrated from discipline-controlled givens to publicly-negotiable points of departure. This latter objective requires the paper to connect Stengers' slow science argument to the idea of research that has "the power to be affected" (Hardt 2007, x) by the views and feelings of those it targets and those affected by its findings and conclusions (Iedema 2021).

Science that commands 'a power to be affected'

Spinoza (1632-1677) conceived of people's 'power to be affected' as a critical feature for them to be able to assume the role of early modern citizen who cohabitates in and provides the socio-cultural condition of possibility for the then emerging nation states (Steinberg 2020, 2018). Citizens could not be people who adhered rigidly and defensively to their own habits, knowledges and mores. They needed to be people who were able to discern and acknowledge (critically or imitatively) the validity of the values, ideas and expectations of others around them. Spinoza's 'power to be affected', then, was and is a power that grew (grows) from people being able to negotiate diversity and achieve a measure of allegiance under circumstances of significant socio-political change and religious tension.

For Spinoza, it was neither the novel practices, knowledges and riches of mercantilism, nor the fear inspired by increasingly well-organised and newly bureaucratised-militarised state power that took priority and precedence over the formation of the early nation state. For Spinoza, paramount was *affect*; that is, people's ability to be affected by, and through that learn from and be motivated to negotiate novel forms of life into being with *other* others – people assuming the role 'fellow citizens'. Spinoza's emerging citizenry was instructed to be sufficiently open to (i.e. affected by) different others to experience, question, and alter its own responses to a multiplicity of contrasting and at times incompatible views and practices (Steinberg 2018).

We can draw a parallel between Spinoza's 17th century psychopolitics and today's science. As did the 16th century pre-nation state denizen, 20th century science prioritised its own practices and values. It pursued the economic-procedural goals of discovery and progress at the expense of openness before those whom it affects in their everyday lives. Isabelle Stengers refers to this science as 'fast science' (Stengers 2018). Having come up against its own limits (Latour 2018), 21st century science has had to 'slow down' in the face of environmental degradation; that is, take time to account for the views of stakeholders who may be affected by the findings and outcomes such science produces. This is 'slow science' (Stengers 2018) as it displays a 'power to be affected' by those whom it analyses and whose lives it affects. It balances scientific expertise and affect by positing dynamic public deliberation as its own condition of possibility and legitimacy.

Social science has also slowed down. It invented action research, participatory inquiry, appreciative inquiry, and a host of other approaches that have sought to involve research subjects in decisions about what to study and how (Creswell 2009). In effect, these are examples of slow *social* science that operate at the intersection of affect, openness, expertise, analysis and complexity. Its researchers are 'passivity competent' actors (Sloterdijk 2013) whose ...

... passivity competent conduct belongs to the play / game intelligence that defines all people living in the contemporary networked world, where we cannot make a move without also being moved. ... Allowing oneself to be affected symbolises the situation of all those who intervene in themselves through allowing others to intervene in them ... [this makes possible] participation in unfamiliar competences [Fremdcompetenz].³ (Sloterdijk 2009, 593/4)

While Sloterdijk does not invoke Spinoza explicitly, his 'passivity competent conduct' is conditional on Spinoza's 'power to be affected'. Hardt's rendering of Spinoza's premise may clarify its connection to Sloterdijk's conception:

The greater our power to be affected... the greater our power to act [and] every increase of the power to act

and think corresponds to an increased power to be affected - the increased autonomy of the subject, in other words, always corresponds to its increased receptivity. (Hardt 2007, x)

Our increased receptivity manifests as passivity competent conduct: we can now register and respond to subtle and rapid changes in our environment and relationships.

The rationale for this receptivity and passivity-competent conduct is found in the rising complexity of contemporary existence (Beck 1992; Giddens 1990; Castells 2000; Sloterdijk 2013). Our interest in affect, receptivity and passivity competent conducts, and researchers' interest in participative social science, thus mark the contemporary intensification of change, pace and movement that is increasingly apparent across identities, practices, communities and cultures.

Implications for (social) science

Science has met the demands of rising contemporary complexity by expanding its data remit, speeding up the pace of feedback, and compressing the distance between knowledge and life. Expanding its remit is achieved through multiplying data points. Speeding up feedback is achieved through the automation of data processing and results deployment. Compressing the distance between science and life occurs through colonising growing swathes of life as data sources and feedback domains.

These developments notwithstanding, their progressive technologisation risks reifying their operations and response modes, denying them input from relevant unanticipated perturbations and unsuspected developments. While science is increasingly able to keep abreast of rapid and subtle changes in its target domains, its exponential automation decreases its ability to attain the power necessary 'to be affected' for it to open up to more than that which it has pre-determined to be of scientific interest and importance.

A power to be affected, by contrast, manifests in science's openness to the concerns of an expanding set of people, and broadening feedback about issues affected by it and by what it brings forth. Here, the aim of progress is balanced against the aim of re-

ceptivity to life world experiences of impact. This is what defines Stengers' slow science: a science that considers its effects on people and places, and one that alters its assumptions, processes and outcomes accordingly.

When it comes to studying social life, social scientific endeavours are now prioritising deliberative engagement with complex forms of life over adherence to methodological schemas and programmes. One example of this trend is 'post-qualitative inquiry' (St. Pierre, 2018; Lather and St. Pierre 2013). Post-qualitative inquiry calls into question the priority given in qualitative research to scientific rigour and pre-determined methodology in a world that is increasingly complex and therefore increasingly entangled:

... entanglement makes all the categories of humanist qualitative research problematic. For example, how do we determine the 'object of our knowledge' – the 'problem' we want to study in assemblage? Can we disconnect ourselves from the mangle somehow (Self) and then carefully disconnect some other small piece of the mangle (Other) long enough to study it? (Lather and St. Pierre 2013, 630)

For these scholars, the principle of rigour and the constraint of methodology, instead of legitimising the research that is conducted following their rules and procedures, are reframed as the researcher's taken-as-given attachments that serve to buttress researcher identity:

The ethical charge of our work as inquirers is surely to question our attachments that keep us from thinking and living differently. (Lather and St. Pierre 2013, 631)

This critique then homes in on the following convention: science defines the phenomena, including any complexities, that warrant being analysed, and it frames these phenomena in ways that at once accommodate and consolidate researchers' 'attachments': their training, practices and theorisations. Questioning these conventions as arbitrary attachments, the post-qualitative critique insists that

... we have to ask whether we have become so attached to our invention – qualitative research – that we have come to think it is real. Have we forgotten that we made it up? Could we just leave it behind and do/live something else? (Lather and St. Pierre 2013, 631)

It is here that the post-qualitative critique meets the argument developed above for research to assume ‘the power to be affected’. The post-qualitative critique refuses to sweep the ‘mess’ that is social research (Law 2004) under the carpet, and resists attempts to render invisible the whole ‘hinterland’ of complexities that is the full intensity of social life. Put differently, this critique prioritises sensitivity and responsiveness to the complexities it encounters over the methods promoted within research disciplines. Here is Law articulating similar convictions almost 20 years ago:

Method, then, unavoidably produces not only truths and non-truths, realities and non-realities, presences and absences, but also arrangements with political implications. It crafts arrangements and gatherings of things – and accounts of the arrangements of those things – that could have been otherwise. But how to think this? How to move away from the idea that method is a technical (or moralising) set of procedures that need to be got right in a particular way? How to move from the legislations that we usually find in the textbooks on method? Away from the completed and closed accounts of method? (Law 2004, 143)

As does Law, post-qualitative critique charges contemporary social science with failing to be sufficiently affected by the social complexities it studies when such science requires a predetermined methodology for encountering life. Post-qualitative enquiry’s insistence on relaxing social scientific attachments to the invention of qualitative research, like Law’s argument in favour of moving on from method, help clarify the implications of contemporary complexity for social science research. Here we see an inversion from research as knowledge-building endeavour to research as community generative dynamic. The latter can be called ‘spherogenic’

(Iedema and Carroll 2015) in that such research gathers stakeholders around a problem and initiates forums for their deliberation. It does this not simply to produce pragmatic outcomes, but also to experiment with its own methodological strictures and scientific assumptions.

Research and the power to be affected

One such spherogenic research modality is video-reflexive ethnography or VRE. VRE researchers prioritise the relational dynamics that ensue with participants – those interested enough to partake. Researchers arrive with some sense of what their study entails, but negotiate the interpretation and execution of their study with participants. VRE uses open-ended deliberation and video footage as more-or-less neutral meeting points. In generating, choosing and showing back footage, the researcher puts themselves at risk as their choices may be questioned, their interpretations corrected, and their conclusions challenged (Carroll 2009). For these dynamics to occur, footage of *in situ* practice is used as minimally-processed and publicly-accessible representational resource. The act of generating data (footage) that may be questioned and challenged sets up a productive tension between participatory social science – the dynamic that manifests when distance is created between observer and observed – and life.

Specifically, footage of *in situ* practice reveals what Ingold refers to as the experimental dimension of everyday life: “for the people who live there, quotidian life is experimental through and through” (Ingold 2011, 15). Social scientific analysis tends to gloss over the uncertain dynamics of *in situ* experimentation and prioritise a more general perspective that foregrounds regularities (cf. ‘discourses’, ‘practices’, ‘ethnomethodologies’, etc.). When negotiated with those who populate the footage or are familiar with the practice portrayed, such footage brings its affective, embodied, enspaced, political and situational dimensions to the fore. People’s habits and assumptions are bared, revealing the delicate character of *in situ* existence.

In this way, footage perturbs ordinary observer-observed configurations for both participants and researchers. On the one hand, the individual as the centre of agency becomes dispersed across affects, habits, moves, discourses, events. This decentring throws light on

the practised and habituated aspects of behaviour. It also reveals the delicate affective-pragmatic negotiations that take place 'under the radar', as these are now visible. This may produce defensive responses to problems, but it may also lead to actors exploring how they may be able to move forward into the future together. On the other hand, the footage renders the researcher(s) immediately accountable to participants for their data (footage) choices and feedback reasoning (the reasons for selecting situations for video-filming and for deciding on clips for feedback). Their accountability to participants is no longer dealt with purely in the abstract realm of the ethics application, but is now also rooted in the complex dynamic life world where their research, research relationships and research outcomes unfold.

It is here that research participation serves not in the first instance the pre-meditated interests of the researcher, as it now pursues the flourishing of all life. This pursuit of everyone's flourishing is also a Spinozan conception dictating the enhancement of people's agency, or to use Deleuze's expression, the creation of 'a world that is increasingly wide and intense':

It is no longer a matter of utilisations or captures, but of sociabilities and communities. How do individuals enter into composition with one another in order to form a higher individual, ad infinitum? Now we are concerned ... with a symphony of nature, the composition of a world that is increasingly wide and intense. (Deleuze 2005, 60)

This priority of life enhancement skews research towards the becoming of life without pre-empting or confining its methodology, quality, scope or directions. It also confirms the defining role of experimentation in life and this renders experimentation the *raison d'être* of participatory social research. It is now participants' and researchers' capacity to be affected, and its impact on their agency and life world, practically, methodologically and theoretically, that matter. Only once life has a chance to become more 'wide and intense' for participants and researchers, kicks in another but always secondary research intervention: the capture, or scholarly description, of how the relational and communicative dynamics of this endeavour have made life more 'wide and intense'.

Conclusion

This paper has engaged with the question of participative social science from the perspective of a research modality that prioritises its 'power to be affected'. This modality conceives of participation not as a means to satisfy pre-determined scientific goals, but as a dynamic that may render life more 'wide and intense'. The route that led to this position visited the slow science arguments articulated by Stengers, Spinoza's ethics that prizes our power to be affected, Ingold's caveat that everyday life is experimental through and through, and Sloterdijk's view on contemporary complexity as necessitating the capacity on the part of actors to recognise that making a move means being moved. The paper touched on critiques of social science that called into question its prioritisation of pre-determined methodologies and programmes. Lather, St Pierre and Law were mentioned as proponents of relaxing the rules governing social science research in order for such research to become more responsive and receptive to contemporary complexity, and become more flexible and learning-capable towards its own approaches deployed to apprehend social life.

The paper finished with a description of a research approach that instantiates these latter values. Video-reflexive ethnography was presented as example of research that invests first in enhancing life for and with those choosing to participate in its dynamic. No doubt, other approaches are similarly invested and focused on the enabling dynamics of social inquiry. For now, the argument in favour of research participation concludes like this: the novelty that springs from people being enabled to strengthen their practical and relational agency is of significance not just for life generally, but also for that unique modality of social science that chooses to engage with life's complexity. This modality of social science treats (a chosen dimension of) life not as fixable, accountable and describable object, but as a space where participants and researchers interact to enable their worlds and activities to become increasingly 'wide and intense'.

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Notes

- 1 <https://www.nihr.ac.uk/explore-nihr/campaigns/supporting-patient-and-public-involvement-in-research.htm>
- 2 For reasons of space, this article will not deal with the adverse ‘post-truth’ consequences of this emancipation which are eloquently detailed elsewhere (Fuller 2017; Higgins 2016), other than to investigate the effects of technologization on the practices of social knowing and communicating.
- 3 My own translation since the official English translation of Sloterdijk’s book (see bibliography) is suboptimal. The original German reads: “In Wahrheit gehört das passivitätskompetente Verhalten zur Spielintelligenz von Menschen in einer entfalteten Netzwelt, in der man keinen eigenen Zug machen kann, wenn man nicht zugleich mit sich spielen läßt. ... Sich-Massieren-Lassen symbolisiert die Lage all derer, die auf sich inwirken, indem sie anderen erlauben, auf sie einzuwirken ... Teilhabe an Fremdcompetenz.”

Mapping and understanding the potentials of co-creative efforts in museum experience design processes

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Abstract

In current museum practice, policy, and literature it is indicated that to be able to live up to today's communication standards in a museum context, different types of expertise need to come together in collaboration. However, in museum literature, collaborative projects have often been evaluated in terms of their overall perspectives and outcomes, rather than discussing how the collaborative and co-creative efforts are shaped and feed into the designs. Therefore, this paper suggests an initial framework for understanding and discussing collaborative constellations and co-creative processes in museum experience design, by presenting a Venn diagram. This builds on a case study of three recent collaborative constellations between designers, museum professionals and museum visitors.

Keywords: co-creation, co-design, museum experience design, collaboration, museums

Co-creation for Museum Experience Design

Collaborative processes have always been characteristic of museums. However, an increased focus on including and engaging museum visitors was fueled during the latter part of the 1900s, due in part to the movement ‘new museology’ (Vergo 1989) and developments in the visitor studies (Hooper-Greenhill 2006; Schiele 2016). Both suggested a redefinition of the relationship between museums and their publics with a focus on engaging the public as active interpreters of meaning-making and experiences (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006). The ‘new museology’ movement placed an increased focus on how museums could become more transparent and engage more diverse publics, through democratic and inclusive communication strategies, allowing perspectives from the users and communities who surrounded the institutions, or had a stake in the collections (Weil 1999; Stam 1993; Black 2005; McCall & Gray 2014). Such changes in museums are only further enhanced by pressure from an experience economy sector with increased users demands for personally designed experiences (Pine & Gilmore 2011; Skot-Hansen 2013). Furthermore, danish cultural policy is increasingly viewing arts and culture as an instrument for so called “wicked” (Andersen et. al. 2017) societal problems such as social and cultural inequality. This was manifested in the cultural policy strategi “Culture for all” of 2009 and since then, in the ongoing initiatives focused on how to include diverse users in the development of public cultural institutions, through strategies of user participation - and innovation (Kulturministeriet 2009; Kulturministeriet 2012).

In turn, danish museum practice is moving towards more collaborative and participatory strategies overall and are currently highly focused on *how* user-perspectives can enter the processes of interpretation, conceptual development, and design, with the aim of creating experiences that are both relevant and engaging for diverse users. By relevant and engaging, we mean experiences where the museums’ knowledge and/or collections are communicated and activated in ways that users understand and find meaningful and useful in relation to their own lives. As such there is a strong demand for concrete methods of how to make this happen, also recog-

nizing, as Knudsen and Olesen (2018) have indicated, that being able to live up to such communication standards requires different types of expertise to come together in collaborative constellations.

Many interdisciplinary collaborative projects between museum professionals, designers, and museum users, have been initiated and undertaken in Denmark in recent years e.g., research programs such as DREAM (2009-2015), the GIFT-project (2017-2019), Our Museum (2016-2021). However, Knudsen and Olesen (2018) argue that collaborative projects and processes have often been evaluated concerning the overall perspectives and outcomes, rather than discussing the complex challenges that arise during the collaboration. MacLeod, Dodd, and Duncan (2015) and Hughes (2015) recognize and discuss the interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary nature of exhibition design teams, but do not elaborate on collaborative aspects. MacLeod, Austin, Hale, and Hing-Kay (2018) explore experimentation, participation and collaboration between designers, users, museum specialists, and researchers in various formations, and underline Hughes' (2015) argument that designing an inspiring visitor experience, requires an army of exhibition professionals, which begs the question of why this area in museum design research is not more prominent.

We agree, that for museums to create the relevant and engaging user experiences that they aim for, different types of professional expertise and user perspectives ideally need to come together in co-creative collaborations. This standpoint also lies at the heart of Museum Experience Design, as a research field. We also agree that even if collaborative design processes are a common process in museums today, the complexities and actual co-creative efforts of these specific collaborations are still a rather poorly documented area within museum literature, even though the research field of co- and participatory design is a well-developed field on its own (e.g., Sanders 2008; Sanders & Stappers 2014). Co-creative design in museums specifically is however a highly relevant topic, since many museums and designers find it challenging to undertake collaborations and often fail to benefit from each other during the process, making the designs (and user experiences) weaker.

To frame the theoretical context of co-creation in museums, this study is set in the interdisciplinary research of *Museum Experience Design* (MxD) - a subfield of museum design research which has

developed significantly since 2000 (MacLeod et al. 2015). The research field is predominantly defined by Vermeeren and Calvi et al. (2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b), indicating a sharpened focus on experience design, user-centered approaches, and technologies in experience-making. Distinctively, MxD is focused on experience design enabled by technology, interaction design, and storytelling in the museum context. MxD can be argued to build bridges between the constructive approaches to exhibition-making focusing on the material and built environment (e.g., Dean 1994/2002; Dernie 2006; Hughes 2015) and the understanding of museum users experiences and meaning-making processes (e.g., Bedford 2014; Falk & Dierking 2013/2016; Hooper-Greenhill 1994; Roppola 2014). It does so by emphasizing mediated communication and how interaction is initiated and enhanced to enrich the overall museum experience.

A MxD co-creative framework

This paper proposes a first step towards a framework for visualizing, understanding, and discussing the dynamics of co-creative museum experience design. The intention is to create a foundation for discussing the complexities of collaborative processes (Knudsen and Olesen 2018; Hughes 2015) and as such, for understanding how collaboration takes shape and which challenges and potentials arise during the processes. The framework represents a specific collaborative construct between designers, museum professionals and users, seen in newer research projects such as *Our Museum* (2016-2021) and in many other recent and current collaborations funded by either universities or private funds. It is also a constellation typically discussed in current literature on co-creative dynamics in museum design e.g., Hughes (2015), MacLeod et al. (2015), and Knudsen and Olesen (2018). The three cases in this article represent the authors' experiences with this collaborative construct, in which we have had the role of designers, working in collaboration with museum professionals and museum-users. The empirical data on which each case is based, consists of field notes, visual material, and written documents from design activities during the processes and from joint evaluations undertaken by designers and museums in collaboration.

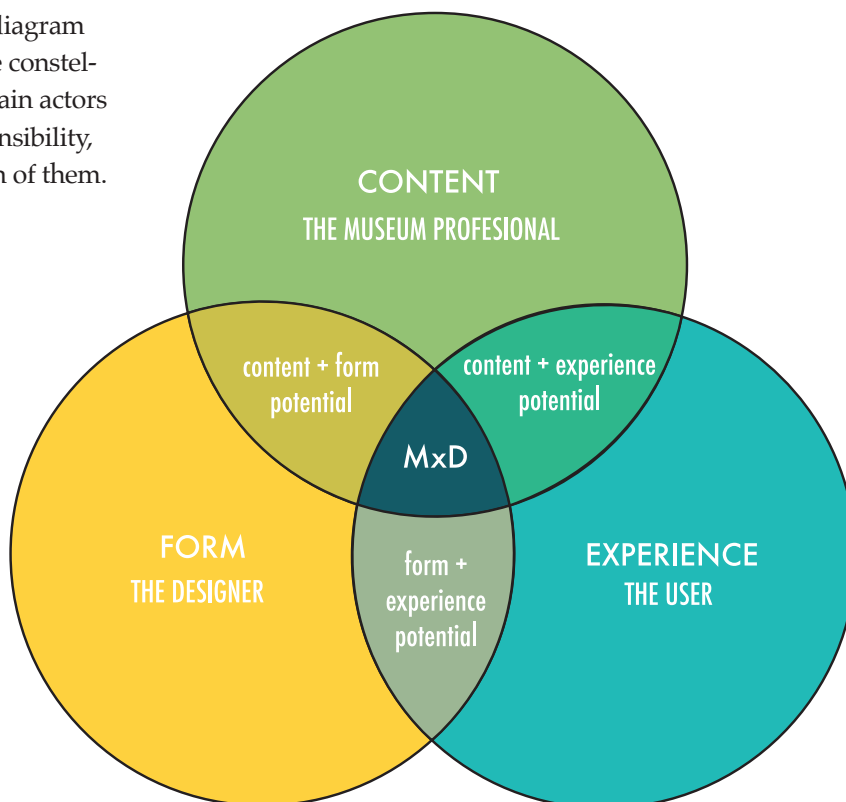
As a framework for illustrating and understanding the collaborative process and co-creative potentials, three dimensions are sug-

gested for consideration; *content*, *form*, and *experience* (fig. 1). These dimensions respectively represent, *the museum professional*, *the designer*, and *the user*. The division is meant to largely illustrate three typical roles in co-creative processes in museum experience design. *A museum professional*, e.g., a curator, considered a guardian of history and artifacts and with decision power regarding *content*. *A design professional* considered a specialist in communication and *form* and of user-centered design processes. And lastly, *the users*, considered specialists of their own personal meaning making and overall *experiences* of the designs.

The categories are set up to roughly illustrate a typical division of expertise in an MxD process. In practice though, each dimension can be represented by different professions.

By visualizing these collaborative dimensions through a Venn diagram, we suggest that designers, museum professionals, and users each have different competencies that intersect and that can come together through co-creative processes, to build the strongest possible MxD, illustrated at the center of the framework. The intersections between each of the dimensions can be further described as such: Between the museum professional and the designer is the potential of collaborating in a way that allows for *content + form* to develop jointly in a reciprocal process from the beginning of a project. *Content + experience potential* represents the potential of museum professionals and users working together on exploring and understanding how certain content can be understood and experienced. Lastly, *form + experience potential*, is the intersection between designer and user, representing the knowledge and understandings that they can share about the material, spatial and physically interactive possibilities, potentials, or limitations of a certain design. All three intersections have the potential to contribute to a strong MxD, but the potential needs to be utilized jointly *during* the development process.

Figure 1: The here pictured Venn diagram visualizes a common collaborative constellation in MxD comprising three main actors and their respective areas of responsibility, and the intersections between each of them.



To clarify, the distinction between collaboration and co-creation in this context, is defined in reference to Rill & Hämäläinen (2018). They understand collaboration as the general process of working together on a museum experience design, through contributions based on each participant's profession. Co-creation, however, is understood more specifically as different professions jointly creating together, through activities such as development workshops, design iterations, and continuous co-creative efforts that allow for a joint concept to be formed. Thus, co-creation *can* happen, but does not necessarily do so in all collaborations. The model is thus meant to provide a framework for considering these aspects of collaboration.

Three Cases of Collaborative Constellations

In this section, the framework will be used to retrospectively explore three recent danish collaborative projects in terms of their co-

creative efforts towards a strong MxD. In each case, one designer (also a researcher) collaborates with museum professionals and museum users on designing user-centered museum experiences, over a period of three years, with *Research Through Design* (Frayling 1993) and *Constructive Design Research* (Koskinen et al. 2011) as the main approaches. This places a strong emphasis on developing and testing prototypes, in relation to data collected by means of observations, interviews, workshops with museum professionals and users.

In neither case does the designer have prior expert knowledge about the contents of the museum's collections. Instead, designers are brought in to undertake design processes for new initiatives, in collaboration with the museum professionals and users, while also doing research into such processes.

To keep focus on the overall type of collaboration in this article, the museums have been anonymized and referred to as *an art museum*, *a cultural heritage museum*, and *a house museum*. Each case analysis aims to highlight the dominant characteristics of the collaboration, by outlining the constellation construct itself, how different actors have collaborated and how their competencies have intersected and come together. Finally, we discuss if and how co-creation has happened in each case.

An art museum

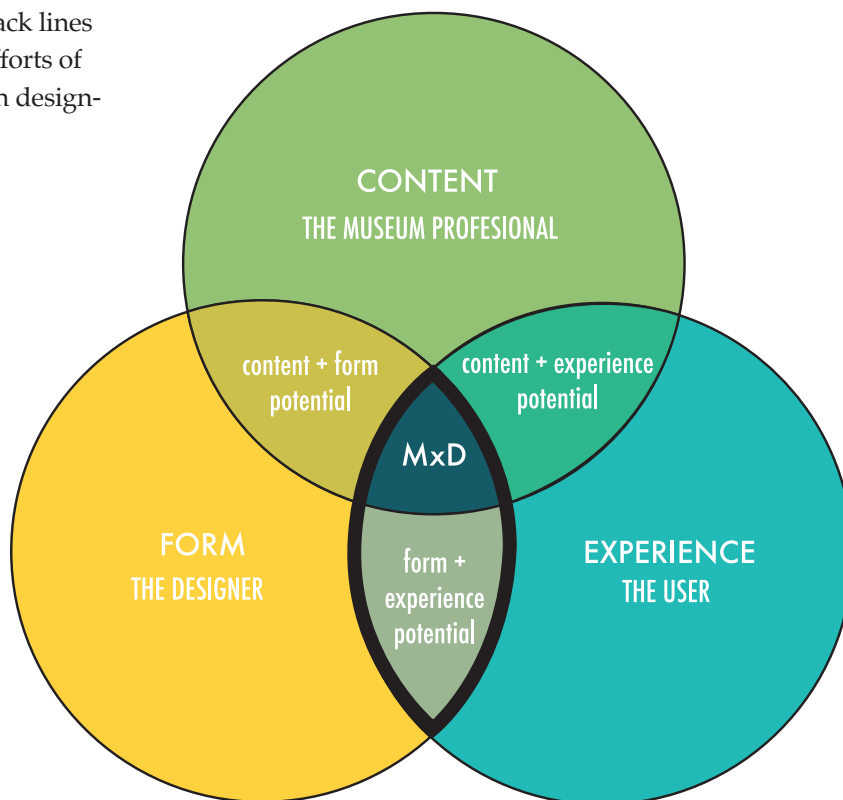
The small art museum collaborates with a designer who has a background in arts and visual culture. The project aims at attracting new and local users by developing new communication designs for the museum. The designer is only partially based at the museum during the project and does not participate in ongoing staff meetings. She holds meetings with the museum director about the overall development of ideas and designs but takes on the main task of the creative development and is thus responsible for idea generation, conceptual development, prototyping, and all contact with museum users. In this case, the actual collaboration between designer and museum professionals consists predominantly of museum professionals providing information or giving feedback on concepts already developed by the designer. In this sense, museum professionals do not take active part in the creative development and the designer ends up having an external role. She works mostly independently and does not consistently communicate ideas, develop-

ments, and insights on any staff meetings. The potential of utilizing expertise on both content and form (fig. 1), through joint and on-going mutual co-creation, is therefore not realized in this case.

The designs created in this case however, become strong in form, since the designer gains valuable insights from local citizens, who are also the target users. Through in-depth interviews, the users share knowledge about their museum experiences, and discuss ideas concerning technologies and interaction potentials with the designer, who uses such knowledge as a basis for developing the designs, thus making the users the main co-creators in the design process. As such, the design fundamentally grows from this intersection between *form* and *experience*, and in the end, many users also find the communication methods highly relevant and engaging (according to the evaluation undertaken as part of the project). There is no direct contact, however, between museum professionals and users during the development process. This means that any potential for museum professionals to learn about the users' interpretations of content and collection objects in ways that might benefit the design development, is absent in this case.

The co-creative potential, in this case, is predominantly realized between the designer and the users, while the potential between museum professionals and designers/users remains largely untapped. Since the museum professionals have been mostly on the side of the project, rather than co-creating the designs, they do not have any elaborate interest in or sense of ownership of the designs either, making it more difficult for them to understand and use the designs after the project has ended and the designer has left. As such, using the framework, we can see how the emphasis of this collaboration is placed between the designer (form) and user (experience) dimensions (see fig. 2).

Figure 2: The art Museum: The black lines emphasize the main co-creative efforts of this collaboration. Mainly between designer and user.

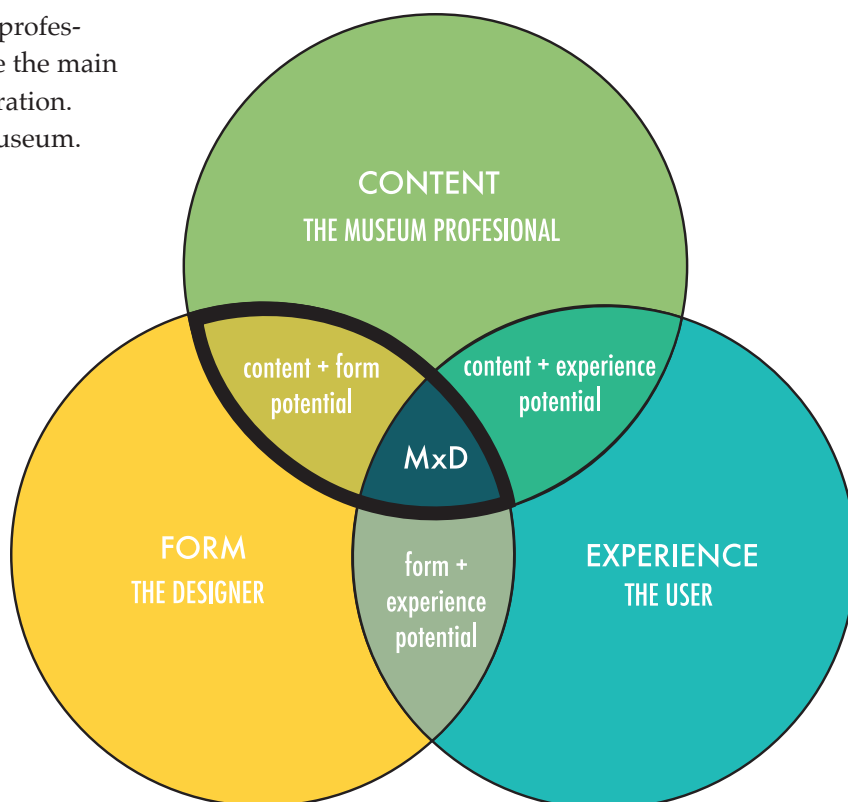


A Cultural Heritage Museum

The small cultural heritage museum collaborates with a designer from the experience design field. In this constellation, the designer collaborates primarily with one museum curator, while also occasionally in dialogue with other staff, and users about the creation of a new exhibition. The designer is considered a permanent staff member, and joins regular staff meetings, which allows continuous dialogue with the museum. In this sense, the designer is not considered an external, but is nevertheless the main designer, responsible for form e.g., giving shape to the exhibition, prototyping, and facilitating the design process. The designer is also in charge of any user research and contact. In this case, the museum curator plays a central part throughout the entire process, providing historical knowledge and artifacts. Co-creation is primarily executed through workshop settings, where tangible and generative elements drive the design development and create a space for a shared design lan-

guage. For each session, the different parties prepare and contribute to advancing to the next step of the development process. As an example, the museum curator finds source material, stories, artifacts, etc., relevant to the exhibition narrative. The designer chooses design elements able to communicate the narrative and plans out how to realize the interaction potentials through technologies, graphic styles, materials, or user insights. In the joint workshops, these efforts come together, and the project takes new form. In turn, collaboration in this case evolves through a co-creative process between the designer and museum curator making MxD a shared effort (fig. 3).

Figure 3: Designer and museum professional. The black lines emphasize the main co-creative efforts of this collaboration. Mainly between designer and museum.



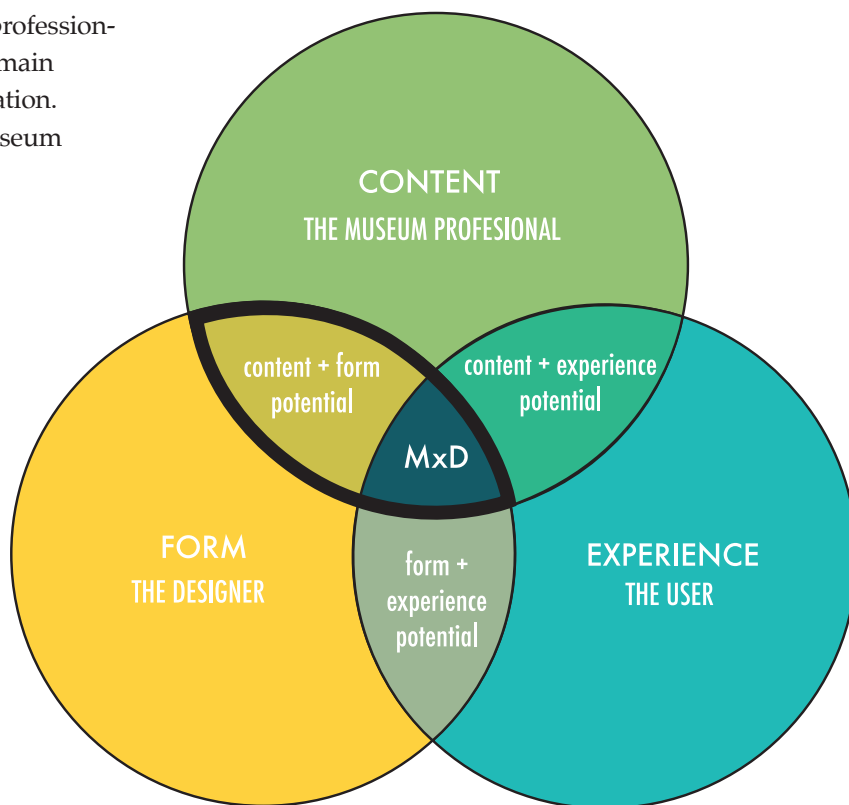
Users are also involved through continuous prototype testing to inform the design. The design process is not exactly participatory, but user-centered through the continuous dialogue with the museum

users. Returning to our framework, the collaborative nature of this case incorporates all three MxD dimensions to some extent. The main emphasis however is intentionally placed on the intersection between designer and museum professionals, since this specific project is also intended to introduce the museum to user-centered experience design methods, with a specific aim of creating sustainable changes in the museums approach to exhibition design. The advantage of having only two people working together in the co-creative process; decision making is quick and as the collaboration evolves, ideation becomes implicit in discussions as a shared understanding. The fragility of the constellation, however, is that only one person from the museum has been involved. In this case, this person leaves the museum, thus, leaving the museum without any permanent staff fully invested in the designs.

A House Museum

The house museum collaborates with a designer from arts and museum communication. The purpose of the project is to develop new methods for communicating about immaterial cultural heritage in the house museum setting, in ways that seem authentic to users. In this case, the designer has ongoing communication with the museum director but also works closely alongside two permanent museum curators. The designer is considered part of the permanent staff and joins all regular staff meetings, where ongoing work and ideas are presented, and feedback is given. Ongoing workshops and meetings are also set up between designer and museum curators, with the aim of establishing a shared design language and joint goals from the outset. Going forward, idea generation and content development is undertaken jointly, through discussions and use of design thinking exercises such as joint brainstorming, affinity mapping, and continuous discussions on the relationships between form and content. Thus, collaborators share professional expertise and influence each other during the process. This, more complex and practically demanding collaborative constellation where many museum professionals are joining the collaboration is rooted in a clear shared ambition to learn from each other at an early stage, and throughout the process, with the specific aim of creating a sustainable experience design.

Figure 4: Designer and museum professional. The black lines emphasize the main co-creative efforts of this collaboration. Mainly between designer and museum



This collaborative constellation demands more time, staff resources and compromise, on behalf of both the designer and the museum professionals. At times, decisions are harder to make, when multiple perspectives are involved. In the end however, the consistent and joint design exercises allow for the museum curators' knowledge on narratives and historical perspectives to blend with the designers' expertise on communication methods. This means that museum professionals alongside the designer, feel a sense of ownership of the designs, and can engage users in it, even after the designer has left.

In this constellation, users are brought in to test out prototypes along the way, but they do not join the actual co-creative design exercises. As in the other two cases, the designer also conducts user testing, user evaluation, and as such all direct contact with the users, while museum professionals are merely informed of the user

findings along the way, by the designer. Once again, users take on the role of informants, and not co-creators.

Discussion & Conclusion

As shown through the cases, MxD collaborations between museums, designers and users come in varied constellations. In each of the cases, the frameworks' three dimensions (and actors) are all engaged to some extent during the collaborative process, but in different ways. What the framework illustrates is that emphasis can be placed on different intersections, each with a unique potential for joint creation. What the cases also illustrate however, is that although there is a potential, it is not necessarily realized because some actors tend to work parallel or individually rather than actively co-creating something. Looking at the three cases, it also becomes clear via the framework, that the collaborative potential between museum professionals and users, is not fully realized in any of our cases. Users are still predominantly invited to join the design process at later stages when the basic concepts and ideas have already been decided on. This points to a possible weak spot in current collaborative MxD constellations. The final designs would most likely benefit from museums professionals and users collaborating more closely from the outset, making the content side of the designs more likely to develop *in relation* to user perspectives, rather than merely being tested on them later. Our three cases are placed at art and cultural history museums. We could however look towards natural history museums for inspiration, where methods from the field of *citizen science* is currently on the rise, including several collaborative MxD projects where users are included as vital resources in the process, from the outset of the projects.

The framework cannot and should not dictate specific collaborative approaches or levels of co-creation, but it can support the discussion of where and how co-creation can or should emerge or be strengthened. As seen in these cases, the three dimensions visualized in the framework, provide a foundation for both discussing the dynamics of an existing collaboration and planning a new one. It does so by allowing us to consider where and how co-creation could favorably emerge or be nurtured. Even if simplistic, the division of the collaborative constructs into form, content, and experience supports the identification of different roles and areas of main

expertise and responsibility, thus, providing a foundation for discussing how and between whom co-creation can happen.

Further development of the framework could be done in terms of expanding the number of collaborating roles and dimensions, since many museum collaborations include more than the three dimensions represented here. Further developments could also include a consideration of how to fully realize the collaborative potentials between each dimension, through the facilitation of co-creation with notions of third space communication and shared design language (Sanders & Stappers 2014), i.e., concrete suggestions on how to involve users, facilitate co-creation, or embed new technology or experience potentials. This should include a consideration of the broader research perspectives from co- and participatory design. In turn, providing museums with concrete tools for how to utilize the potential of each intersection and as such to live up to today's communication standards and demands for user-oriented exhibitions in museums.

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Tilrettelegging for samskapt FoU i et tverr-institusjonelt partnerskap om universitetsskoler

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Abstract

Co-creation of public services calls for new leadership actions putting a strong demand on leaders in traditional bureaucratic organizations. This study explores critical leadership actions enabling co-creation in cross-institutional partnerships. The study is based on data from a co-creation project in a cross-institutional university-school partnership. The project leader and the innovation leader have key roles in the partnership's infrastructure. Using complexity leadership theory as a theoretical lens, the paper examines how the leaders developed an inter-institutional network enabling 14 collaborative R&D projects between researchers and teachers. The

study suggests that formal and informal leadership actions aimed at creating cross-institutional managerial commitment, supporting emerging semi-structured planning, developing a broad targeted information strategy, and connecting people across institutions are vital for enabling co-creation in cross-institutional partnerships.

Keywords: co-creation, partnership, open-ended problems, complex adaptive systems, enabling leadership

Innledning

Samskaping stiller nye krav til ledelse i offentlig sektor og foregår stadig oftere i partnerskap som organisatorisk kontekst. Ledere må være gode til å mobilisere ressurser gjennom etablering og vedlikehold av relativt autonome nettverk (Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland 2019). De må videre kunne fasilitere prosesser og arbeidsformer som fremmer bærekraftige langsiktige løsninger (Agger og Torzen 2015; Rennemo 2019; Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland 2019).

Studier peker på at de nye ledelseskravene er vanskelige å oppfylle, delvis fordi offentlige ledere er tilbakeholdne med å gi slipp på tradisjonell styring og kontroll (Agger og Torzen 2015; Voorberg, Bekkers, og Tummings 2015). Utfordringene forsterkes innenfor rammene av tverr-institusjonelle partnerskap der ledelse skal utøves utenfor og i mellomrommet mellom involverte parters byråkratiske strukturer. Dette gjør seg også gjeldende i partnerskap i lærerutdanningen, der bl.a. asymmetriske forhold mellom partene er en utfordring (Lillejord og Børte 2016, 556). Asymmetrien kan skyldes tradisjonelle hierarkiske roller og relasjoner, der forskere blir sett på som kunnskapsgeneratorer og lærere som oversettere (Bryk, Gomez, og Grunow 2011; Furlong 2000; Lillejord og Børte 2016).

Utfordringene peker på behovet for empiriske studier av samskaping i tverr-institusjonelle partnerskap. Vi trenger bedre innsikt i hvordan samskaping kan ledes slik at tradisjonelle makt-ubalanser reduseres til fordel for mer likeverdige partnerskapsroller. Ifølge Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland (2019) er det også behov for mer kunnskap om ledelsesverktøy som kan brukes for å fasilitere ulike former for samskaping, samt effekten av disse.

Formålet med artikkelen er å bidra til mer kunnskap om hvordan ledelse muliggjør samskaping i tverr-institusjonelle partner-

skap. Problemstillingen er: Hva er kritiske ledelseshandlinger for å muliggjøre samskaping i tverr-institusjonelle partnerskap? Det empiriske materialet er data fra en casestudie av en tilretteleggingsprosess for samskapt FoU i et partnerskap om universitetsskoler i Norge.

Vi vil nå redegjøre for det konseptuelle, teoretiske og metodiske grunnlaget for vår studie. Deretter beskriver vi hvordan to ledere tilrettela for utvikling av et tverr-institusjonelt nettverk, som i sin tur muliggjorde 14 samskapte FoU-prosjekter. Casebeskrivelsen etterfølges av en analyse der svarene på vår problemstilling sammenfattes i en avsluttende konklusjon.

Ledelse av samskaping: Et teoretisk perspektiv

Det er det ikke gitt hvordan samskaping skal forstås, verken som begrep eller fenomen (Røiseland og Lo 2019; Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland 2019). Vår problemstilling nødvendiggjør dermed en konseptuell avklaring. Vi velger å ta utgangspunkt i hvordan forskere skiller samskaping fra henholdsvis samproduksjon og samarbeid.

Samskaping versus samproduksjon

I følge Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland (2019) involverer samproduksjon kun tilbydere og brukere av offentlige tjenester, mens samskaping omfatter et bredt spekter av private og offentlige aktører. Videre rettes samproduksjon mot produksjon av forhåndsdefinerte tjenester, mens samskaping innebærer komplekse problemstillinger og et langsiktig fokus på endring og innovasjon. Et lignende syn gjenspeiles i rolletypologier, der samskaping forbeholdes rolle-ner som sam-initiativtaker og sam-designer og samproduksjon knyttes til sam-implementør-rolle (Agger og Torzen 2015; Voorberg, Bekkers, og Tummers 2015; Røiseland og Lo 2019).

Ergo: Samskaping og samproduksjon knyttes til henholdsvis komplekse/enkle oppgaver, innovasjon/forhåndsdefinerte løsninger, et stort/smalt privat-offentlig mangfold og tidlig/sen involvering av private aktører i samskapingsprosessen. Samskaping bør derfor reserveres arbeid med åpne (wicked) problem (Amabile 1996; Rittel og Webber 1973; Head og Alford 2015), mens samproduksjon forbeholdes lukkede (tame) problem (ibid.)

Lukkede problem er pre-definerte, har ett korrekt svar og sikrer forutsigbarhet gjennom en gitt stegvis oppskrift for oppgaveutfø-

relsen (Amabile 1996; Oddane 2017). Aktørenes interaksjon ligner et stafett-løp der det offentlige overlater stafettpinnen til private/sivile aktører, som erstatter eller supplerer det offentliges innsats (Agger og Torzen 2015). Oppgaveløsingen er ingen skapende prosess, hvilket presiseres i ordet *samproduksjon*.

Åpne problem er komplekse ikke-rutinebaserte oppgaver som ikke kan løses ved hjelp av kjente oppskrifter alene (Amabile 1996; Oddane 2015; Oddane 2017). Problemløsingen er en uforutsigbar skapende prosess der problemdefinering er en vesentlig, retningsgivende del av arbeidet (Kay 1994; Amabile 1996). Situasjonen nødvendiggjør tidlig involvering av eksterne aktører (Oddane 2017) og åpner opp for større grad av samskaping (Agger og Torzen 2015; Ulrich 2016). Aktørene danner et samvirkende ensemble der de sammen skaper nye, fremvoksende løsninger (Uhl-Bien, Marion, og McKelvey 2007; Uhl-Bien og Arena 2018). Prosessen er *samskaping* i ordets rette forstand.

Samskaping versus samarbeid

Statsvitenskapelige tilnærminger reserverer samskaping til prosesser hvor en offentlig aktør utvikler og/eller produserer velferd sammen med ikke-offentlige aktører (Ulrich 2016, 2; Røiseland og Lo 2019; Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland 2019). Dersom en offentlig organisasjon har et tilsvarende samarbeid med andre offentlige aktører, defineres dette som samarbeid om velferdsproduksjon (Ulrich 2016). Vi utfordrer denne oppfatningen. Den utelukker vår case og andre relevante offentlig-offentlige partnerskap fra samskappingsstudier.

Vi betrakter samarbeid som synonym til samproduksjon og anbefaler at problemsituasjonens spesifikke ressursbehov skal definere skillet mellom samskaping og samarbeid. Dette begrunnes med systemteori og forskjellen mellom kompliserte og komplekse system (Uhl-Bien og Arena 2018). Et system er et sett av innbyrdes relaterte komponenter med et felles mål. Kompliserte system er strukturert for å løse lukkede problem. Skifte av systemkomponenter gir ingen merverdi fordi sluttresultatet er summen av enkeltkomponentenes innsats. Dette kjennetegner partnerskap innrettet mot samarbeid.

Komplekse system er utformet for å løse åpne problem. Systemets egenskaper og evne til problemløsning avhenger av både komponent-

tene og deres innbyrdes relasjoner. Dette gjør at løsningene blir noe mer og annet enn summen av enkeltkomponentenes innsats. Effektiv problemløsning nødvendiggjør et komplementært, potensielt synergifremmende mangfold som speiler problemets kompleksitet. Aktørenes relasjoner og interaksjonsformer avgjør om det oppstår synergieffekter av deres respektive kompetanser (Paldam 2020). Slik blir *oppgave-relevant mangfold*, ikke mangfold ensidig definert som offentlig-privat konstellasjon, det overordnede kriteriet for å skille mellom samskapende og samarbeidende partnerskap.

Samskaping, samproduksjon og samarbeid

Tabell 1 oppsummerer overnevnte drøfting av kriterier for samskaping, samproduksjon og samarbeid. Kursivert tekst tydeliggjør vår konseptualisering, som både videreutvikler og utfordrer eksisterende forståelser.

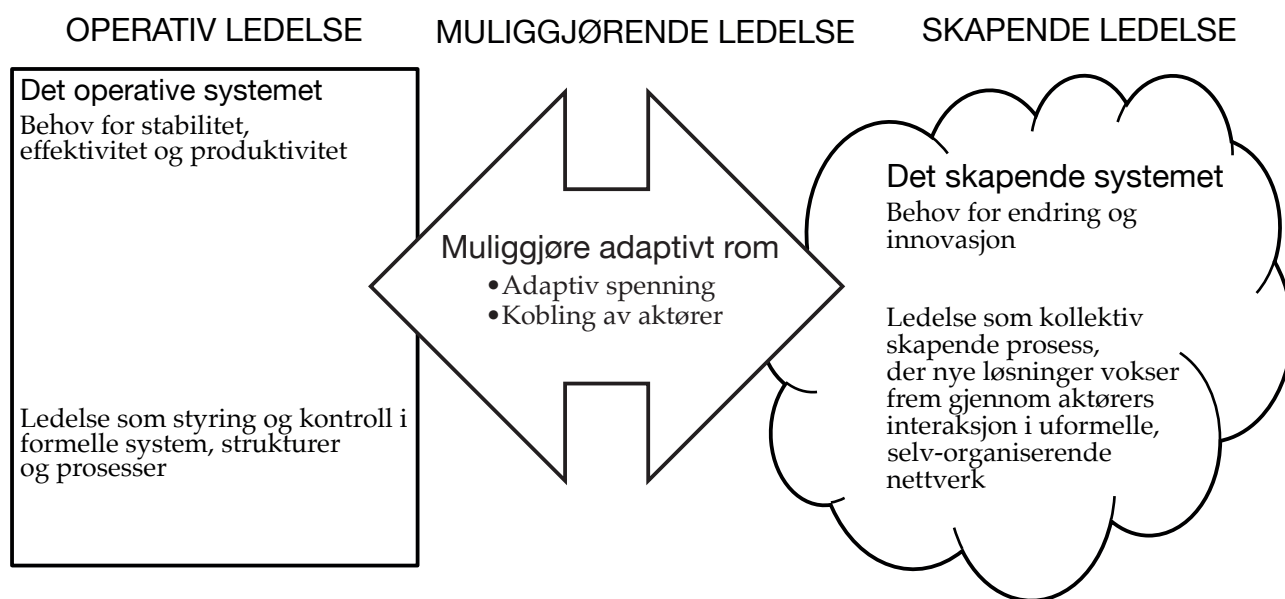
	Samskaping	Samproduksjon	Samarbeid
Problemsituasjon	<i>Åpne problem</i>	<i>Lukkede problem</i>	
Partnerskapets egenskaper	<i>Mulighet for synergi</i> <i>Komplekst system</i> <i>Komplementaritet</i>	<i>Ingen mulig synergieffekt</i> <i>Komplisert system</i> <i>Substitutt</i>	
Metafor for interaksjon	<i>Ensemble</i>	<i>Stafett-løp</i>	
Formål	Arbeid med komplekse problemstillinger	Leveranse av forhåndsdefinerte tjenester	
Fokus	Endring og innovasjon	Produksjon av spesifikke tjenester	
Ambisjon om styring og forutsigbarhet	Svak	Sterk	
Partnerskapets sammensetning	Bredt spekter av offentlige og private aktører	Smalt spekter av offentlige og private aktører (tilbydere og brukere)	Kun offentlige aktører
Rollebetegnelser private / sivile aktører	Sam-initiativtaker Sam-designer	Sam-implementør	

Tabell 1 Oversikt over kriterier for samskaping, samproduksjon og samarbeid

Inspirert av Torfing, Sørensen, og Røiseland (2019, 802) definerer vi samskaping som en prosess der to eller flere aktører med oppgave-relevant mangfold forsøker å løse et felles åpent problem. Med dette kan vi bevege oss videre til temaet *ledelse* av samskaping.

Ledelse i et kompleksitetsteoretisk perspektiv

Ledelse kan defineres som en prosess for å påvirke andre til å forstå og bli enige om hva som bør gjøres og hvordan, og prosessen med å tilrettelegge individuell og kollektiv innsats for å nå delte mål (Yukl 2020, 26). Uhl-Bien og Arenas (2018) kompleksitetsteoretiske rammeverk for organisatorisk tilpasning er relevant for å forstå ledelse av samskaping. Rammeverket belyser hvordan byråkratiske virksomheter kan ledes slik at de blir i stand til å møte endringsbehov på en konstruktiv måte. Ledelse forstås som en relasjonell, sosial og dynamisk prosess der aktører på mange nivå veksler på å lede. Rammeverket beskriver tre former for ledelse, som vist i Figur 1.



Figur 1 Ledelse for organisatorisk tilpasning (Basert på Uhl-Bien og Arena 2018)

Operativ ledelse er formell styring og kontroll knyttet til daglig drift, mens skapende ledelse er kollektive prosesser der nye løsninger skapes i uformelle selv-organiserende nettverk. Muliggjø-

rende ledelse handler om å åpne opp for endringsprosesser i spenningsfeltet mellom organisasjonens konkurrerende behov for stabilitet og endring.

Hovedutfordringen er å etablere, fremme og beskytte et *adaptivt rom* i organisasjonen. Det er fysiske, virtuelle og tidsmessige ressurser som gir rom for at aktører kan møtes, utveksle informasjon og skape løsninger i uformelle nettverk etter modell av komplekse adaptive system (KAS). KAS kan raskt og kreativt tilpasse seg omgivelsene.

Ledere kan muliggjøre adaptive rom gjennom etablering av strukturer og prosesser som skaper adaptiv spenning og ved å kople sammen aktører, ideer og ressurser til nettverk på kryss og tvers av organisatoriske grenser. Adaptiv spenning er endringspresset som oppstår når endringsbehov drives frem som motkraft til organisasjonens streben etter orden og stabilitet. Uten adaptiv spenning, ingen energi eller motivasjon for endring. Dette forutsetter aksept og motivasjon for endring i det operative systemet. Aktiv innsats for å overbevise operative ledere om nødvendigheten av ressurser og støtte til endringsprosesser, kan derfor utgjøre en vesentlig del av muliggjørende ledelse.

Adaptiv spenning er også en forutsetning for skapende ledelse. Spenningen oppstår når ledere legger vekt på å involvere et bredt mangfold av aktører i det skapende systemet. Ledere motiverer til deltakelse ved å peke på behovet for mangfold og at aktørene er gjensidig avhengige av hverandre for å løse felles problem.

Brobygging er en måte ledere kan legge til rette for rask informasjonsflyt i uformelle nettverk på kryss og tvers av formelle grenser. Dette innebærer å kople sammen aktører fra ulike grupper slik at de kan møtes, finne hverandre og danne nettverk som skaper nye løsninger.

Metode

I studien anvendes en sosialkonstruktivistisk og etnografisk tilnærming der vi med utgangspunkt i et singel-casedesign (Flyvbjerg 2010; Stake 2005) undersøker ledelse av samskaping i en partnerskapskontekst. Den valgte tilnærmingen er velegnet for å forstå kompleksiteten av det aktuelle sosiale fenomenet som studeres.

Førsteforfatter er ekstern forsker, mens andreforfatter har vært daglig leder av universitetsskolepartnerskapet siden 2015. Andre-

forfatter innehar dermed “a complete member role” (Adler og Adler 1987), med fare for at innsider-perspektivet blir dominerende og svekker studiens relevans. På den andre siden kan rollen styrke studien gjennom tilgang til “understanding in use” (Adler og Adler 1987).

Vi har eksplisitt adressert utfordringer og muligheter knyttet til forskerrollene våre gjennom hele forskningsprosessen fra datainn-samling, databehandling til analyse.

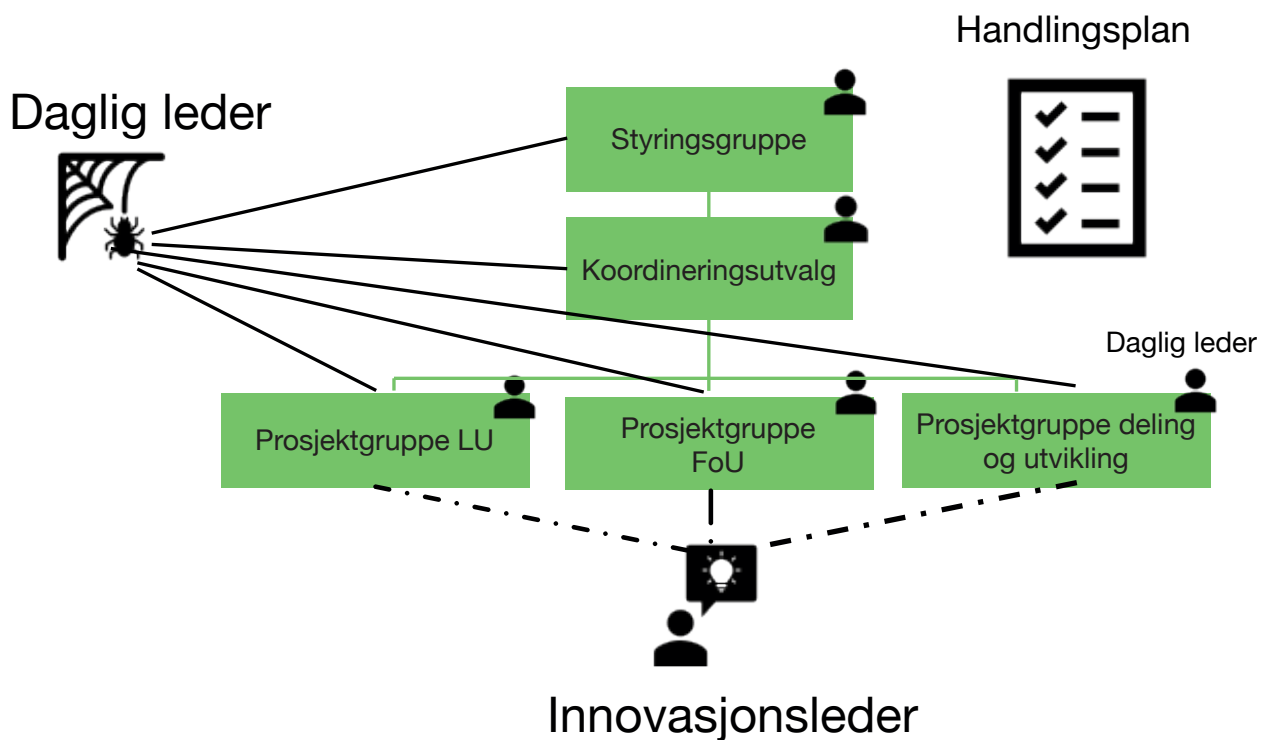
Datakildene består av skriftlige tekster i form av dokumenter; rapporter, sakspapirer (innkallinger, referater), evalueringer og andre tekster, herunder daglig leders mailer og møtekalender sammenfattet i et transkript. Formålet med dokumentstudiene var å utvikle større forståelse for kritiske ledelseshandlinger. I tillegg gjennomførte førsteforfatter to intervjuer; et dyadisk med daglig leder og innovasjonsleder og et individuelt med daglig leder for å få bedre innsikt i hva de gjorde for å tilrettelegge for samskapt FoU. Intervjuene er transkribert.

Ved hjelp av refleksiv dialog har vi med utgangspunkt i datamaterialet systematisk undersøkt mulige “insider-feller” og utviklet en tykk casebeskrivelse (Geertz 1973).

I analysen har vi tatt utgangspunkt i Uhl-Bien og Arenas (2018) kompleksitetsteoretiske rammeverk og anvendt nøkkelbegreper herfra som utgangspunkt for å utvikle relevante kategorier for ledelseshandlinger. Gjennom en systematisk gjennomgang av hele datamaterialet både hver for oss og sammen, har vi identifisert daglig leders og innovasjonsleders ledelseshandlinger gjennom hele prosessen.

Case Om partnerskapet

Universitetsskole-partnerskapet omfatter et universitet, en kommune og en fylkeskommune med mål om gjensidig utvikling av skole og lærerutdanning gjennom samskapt FoU. Det inkluderer tre universitetsskoler og alle universitetets lærerutdanninger. Partnerskapet er organisert på tre nivå med styringsorgan og lederroller, jf. Figur 2.



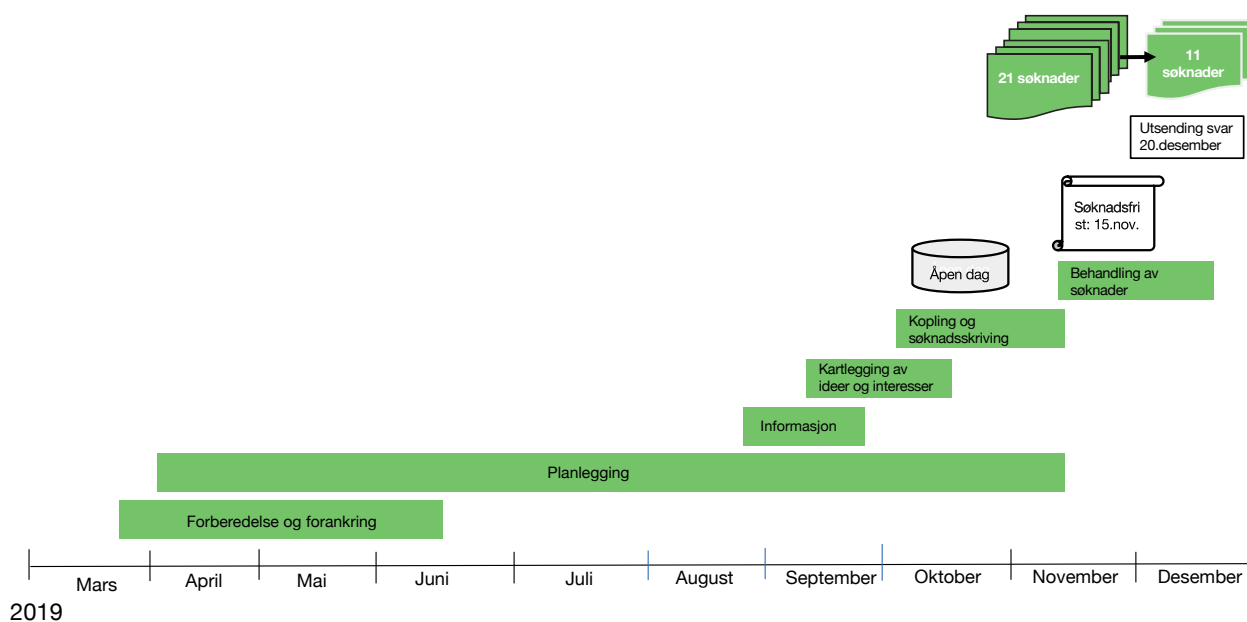
Figur 2 Universitetsskole-partnerskapets organisasjonsmodell

Partnerskapets viktigste styringsverktøy er en omforent handlingsplan der alle tiltak er beskrevet. Daglig leder og innovasjonsleder, ansatt i 100%-stilling er på universitetets lærerutdanningsinstitutt, har sentrale roller i partnerskapet og vår case. Dette er roller uten formell autoritet. Daglig leder skal ivareta alle partnerses interesser og fungerer som relasjonell edderkopp som binder partnerskapsnettverket sammen. Hun er med i alle styringsgruppene, som leder, sekretær eller gruppemedlem og samarbeider tett med innovasjonsleder. Innovasjonsleder, som er medlem av de tre prosjektgruppene, er professor og tilknyttet et fireårig innovasjonsprogram ved universitet for å bidra til innovasjon i partnerskapet.

Tilrettelegging for samskapt FoU.

I 2019 lyste partnerskapet ut 1 million kroner i såkornmidler for å opprette samskapt FoU-prosjekter mellom universitetsforskere og universitetsskole-lærere. Casen beskriver prosessen fra forslag om

utlysning ble initiert til prosjektsøknadene var ferdigbehandlet, jf. Figur 3s oversikt over prosessfaser.



Figur 3. Tilretteleggingsprosessen for samskapt FoU

En ekstern evaluering i 2018 avdekket at det var vanskelig å motivere forskere til deltakelse i samskapt FoU-prosjekter i universitetsskole-partnerskapet. Daglig leder hadde både i 2017 og 2018 foreslått utlysning av såkornmidler som et mulig motivasjonstiltak, men hadde ikke oppnådd støtte for dette hos universitetets lederrepresentanter. I 2018 ble det utviklet en FoU-strategi med vektlegging av samskapt FoU-prosjekter, og våren 2019 startet arbeidet med partnerskapets første handlingsplan. Universitetet hadde på dette tidspunktet ubrukte midler på sitt universitetsskole-budsjett. Daglig leder så nå en mulighet for å relansere "såkorn-forslaget" i forbindelse med arbeidet med den nye handlingsplanen.

Initieringsfasen startet med at daglig leder skrev en mail til leder av koordineringsutvalget. Hun presenterte et generelt forslag om at ubrukte midler kunne øremerkes tiltak i den kommende handlingsplanen, noe lederen ga sin tilslutning til. Dette ga daglig leder tilstrekkelig mandat til å ta forslaget videre, hvorpå hun skrev en

mail til leder av prosjektgruppe FoU med et konkretisert forslag om såkornmidler som tiltak for initiering av samskapte FoU-prosjekter. Hun argumenterte for at tiltaket kunne bidra til realisering av den vedtatte FoU-strategien fra 2018. Med hans tilslutning ble forslaget senere fremmet i møte i prosjektgruppe FoU, der det ble behandlet og vedtatt. Med det ble såkornutlysningen innlemmet som tiltak i forslag til handlingsplan for perioden 2019-2021. En samlet handlingsplan ble deretter behandlet og vedtatt i koordineringsutvalget og til slutt i styringsgruppa mot slutten av juni. For å sikre tilstrekkelig forankring, sendte daglig leder forslaget til handlingsplan til høring i alle partnerskapets organisasjoner i to omganger.

I dobbeltrollen som sekretær og daglig leder, kunne daglig leder både forberede og følge opp prosessen underveis. Fordi såkornforslaget tidligere hadde møtt motstand, argumenterte hun med partnerskapets FoU-strategi og muligheten for å motivere forskere til å delta gjennom en utlysning.

Basert på tilslutningen til det generelle forslaget om øremerking av ubrukte midler, innledet daglig leder og innovasjonsleder et tett samarbeid om planlegging av såkornutlysningen. Daglig leder brukte planskisser for å overbevise styringsorganene om realismen i såkornforslaget. Etter hvert som forslaget fikk tilslutning, bearbeidet de to lederne planen fra planskisse til en svært detaljert plan med beskrivelser av faser, aktiviteter, informasjonstiltak, møtepunkter, tidsfrister og ansvarsfordeling. Planen var prosessuelt innrettet og åpnet for konkretiseringer, justeringer og tilrettelegginger underveis. Dette innebar at planleggingsarbeidet gikk i loop med stadig økende detaljeringsgrad. Planleggingsfasen strakk seg på denne måten fra april til november.

Som del av prosjektplanen hadde daglig leder og innovasjonsleder sammen utarbeidet en nøye gjennomtenkt informasjonsstrategi med både generelle og målrettede informasjonstiltak. Målet var å nå ut til ledere og lærere på alle de tre universitetsskolene og til ledere og forskere i alle universitetets lærerutdanningsmiljøer. Informasjonsarbeidet startet i august og strakk seg fram til midten av oktober.

De generelle informasjonstiltakene var skriftlige. Daglig leder hadde ansvar for utforming av en nettside som fungerte som hovedinformasjonskilde og en flyer som ble planmessig spredt både i skoler og på universitetet. I tillegg la hun ut informasjon om tilta-

ket på universitetets intranettsider og på universitetsskole-partnerskapets Facebook-side. Den skriftlige målrettede informasjonen bestod av mailer til relevante sentrale lederaktører på universitetsskolene og ved universitetets ulike lærerutdanningsmiljø. Lederne ble informert om tiltaket og bedt om å videreformidle informasjonen i sine miljøer. I tillegg gjennomførte innovasjonsleder muntlige informasjonstiltak i form av møtepresentasjoner for ulike målgrupper både på universitetsskolene og på universitetet.

Gjennomføringsdelen bestod av to faser. Gjennom ide- og kartleggingsfasen utviklet både lærerne og forskerne prosjektforslag. På universitetsskolene hadde skolens ledelse ansvar for disse utviklingsprosessene. På lærerutdanningsinstituttet hadde innovasjonsleder allerede foretatt en kartlegging av forskernes publikasjoner. Hun hadde derfor god oversikt over forskningsinteressene. Ut over dette var det lagt opp til selvorganisering, men med innovasjonsleders støtte.

Ide- og kartleggingsfasen kulminerte i en frist for innsending av prosjektforslag. Innovasjonsleder sorterte innkomne forslag og utarbeidet oversikter som ble presentert på en såkalt "Åpen dag".

Åpen dag ble arrangert på hver av universitetsskolene og markerte oppstarten av koplingsfasen. Intensjonen var at Åpen dag skulle fungere som en koplingsarena der forskere og lærere med felles forskningsinteresser fikk mulighet til å finne hverandre for videre samarbeid. Innovasjonsleder var aktiv i koplingsarbeidet. Fordi barneskolen ikke hadde deltatt i lignende prosjekter tidligere, bidro hun aktivt inn også i ide- og kartleggingsfasen her. Støtten førte til at man allerede i en tidlig fase fikk koplet på forskere fra universitetet der innovasjonsleder dro nytte av kjennskapen til de ulikes forskningsinteresser gjennom forskningskartleggingen.

I etterkant jobbet innovasjonsleder aktivt med å legge til rette for at forskere og lærere som ikke hadde fått tilslag på sine ideer, skulle finne partnere. Dermed ble noen koblet også etter Åpen dag.

Innovasjonsleder mottok 40 prosjektforslag som etter koplingsfasen resulterte i 21 søknader. 11 (hhv. 5 og 6 skole/universitetsbaserte) fikk tilslag om støtte, hvorav 9 stammet fra presentasjoner på Åpen dag. Sårkorntiltaket førte til at 45 forskere, 16% av lærerutdanningsinstituttets faglig ansatte, ble involvert i samskapte FoU-prosjekter i universitetsskolene.

Drøfting og konklusjon

Daglig leders og innovasjonsleders ledelseshandlinger i tilretteleggingsprosessen var innrettet mot å løse det åpne problemet om hvordan samskapt FoU kunne tilrettelegges gjennom såkornmidler. Sett i lys av Uhl-Bien og Arenas (2018) rammeverk, utøvde de muliggjørende ledelse med mål om å skape et adaptivt rom slik at partnerskapet kunne fungere som et komplekst adaptivt system. Ledelseshandlingene var orientert mot fire sekvensielle, sammenfiltrede strategier for å skape adaptiv spenning ved å forankre, planlegge, informere og kople.

Å forankre

Daglig leders formelle og uformelle forankringshandlinger var rettet mot å initiere endringskraft i form av adaptiv spenning gjennom utvikling av handlingsplanen. De besto i å både formelt og uformelt å fremme såkornforslaget og etter hvert å overtale hele det operative systemet, dvs. styringsorganene, til å vedta dette. Overtalelsene ble vevd inn i forslagene som målrettet argumentasjon for tiltaket, der daglig leder trakk på relasjonelle og kontekstuelle ressurser, som vedtatt FoU-plan. Idet hun fikk uformell tilslutning på såkornforslaget hos relevante ledere, fikk hun etablert tilstrekkelig adaptiv spenning i det operative systemet til at det kunne fremmes i de formelle styringsorganene. Saksbehandlingsprosessen i de ulike styringsorganene medførte en handlingsrekke som bidro til å utvikle den adaptive spenningen gjennom stadig dypere forankring av såkorntiltaket. Da styringsgruppa til slutt vedtok handlingsplanen, ble den adaptive spenningen låst fast.

Å planlegge

Ledelseshandlinger forbundet med å planlegge omfattet å kartlegge de kontekstuelle rammene og derav utvikle en plan for å muliggjøre samskaping i det skapende systemet. Planleggingen tjente en dobbel hensikt; først som argumentativ ressurs i initieringsfasen, og senere som plandokument for å aktivere adaptiv spenning i det skapende systemet. Planen fikk en prosessuell utforming. Dette muliggjorde den praktiske gjennomføringen ved å ta høyde for behov for innspill og planlegging underveis.

Å informere

Informasjonshandlingene var knyttet til planlegging og iverksettning av informasjonsstrategien. Informasjonsstrategien ble utformet i samarbeid mellom de to lederne med utgangspunkt i deres samlede kontekstuelle kunnskap. Den var innrettet mot å nå flest mulig relevante aktører gjennom et bredt spekter av skriftlige og muntlige kommunikasjonstiltak. Den skriftlige og generelle informasjonen var rettet mot å skape adaptiv spenning i hele systemet, mens den målrettede muntlige informasjonen var rettet mot å muliggjøre det skapende systemet gjennom mobilisering av et bredt mangfold av lærere og forskere.

Å kople

Koplingshandlingene var innrettet mot å muliggjøre adaptive rom ved å kople sammen aktører, ideer og ressurser til nettverk på kryss og tvers av universitetsskolene og lærerutdanningsmiljøene. Koplingshandlingene bestod i å planlegge og tilrettelegge koplingsarenaer, kartlegge kunnskapsressurser og prosjektforslag, støtte ideutvikling på skole med behov for dette og aktivt støtte sammenkopling av forskere og lærere der selvorganisering på den etablerte koplingsarenaen. Åpen dag ikke var tilstrekkelig. Tilrettelegging og etablering av koplingsarenaen var utfordrende og foregikk i et samarbeid mellom daglig leder, innovasjonsleder og ledere fra universitetsskolene. Dette var påkrevd fordi Åpen dag forutsatte sammenkopling av ulike selvstendige nettverk og krevde stor grad av institusjonell omstillingsevne og -vilje.

Hovedstrategien for kopling mellom lærere og forskere var selvorganisering gjennom etablering av en tilrettelagt koplingsarena. I tillegg bidro innovasjonsleder til aktiv kopling der hun brukte kunnskapskartlegging som koplingsverktøy både som utgangspunkt for å støtte ideutviklingsprosessen på en av skolene, og til direkte kopling mellom lærere og forskere der selvorganisering ikke hadde ført fram.

Konklusjon

Vår studie har identifisert fire sett av kritiske ledelsehandlinger som bidrar til mer kunnskap om hvordan ledelse muliggjør samskaping i tverr-institusjonelle partnerskap: Å forankre, planlegge, informere og kople. Handlingene er sammenvevd i en dyna-

misk fremvoksende prosess. De er delvis uformelle og usynlige, men like fullt ledelsesverktøy som kan brukes for å fasilitere ulike former for samskaping. Ledeshandlingene bidrar til å ivareta likeverdighet i partnerskapet. Forankringshandlinger peker seg ut som den grunnleggende forutsetningen som muliggjør de øvrige ledeshandlingene og dermed samskaping i tverr-institusjonelle partnerskap.

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The conceptual and methodological development of the Social Innovation Measurement Model Questionnaire (SIMM-Q)

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Abstract

An increased knowledge of innovation depends on high-quality research. However, what aspects of innovation impact positive outcomes for different actors? New insights call for the development of research methodology to be used to explore and investigate the phenomenon of innovation, i.e., processes and outcomes. In this paper, our aims are to a) describe the development of a conceptual model of social innovation at the micro level and b) describe the development of a quantitative methodology named the Social Innovation Measurement Model Questionnaire (SIMM-Q). We will also discuss some principal issues linked to research on social innovation and its relevance for co-creation.

Keywords: Social innovation, collaboration, responsible innovation, questionnaire, nursing homes, co-creation, SIMM-Q

Introduction

Even though there is an increasing interest in social innovation (SI), there is a lack of reliable metrics for assessing the effectiveness and its impact (Young Foundation 2014). According to Michi (2019), traditional measures of neither technical nor social innovation show very promising results. This lack of promise is linked to all aspects of the research process, from conceptual fuzziness (what we actually measure) to statistical and other methodological problems. Accordingly, there is complexity embedded in the study of innovation as a phenomenon that is not easily solved from a research point of view. Innovation research calls for intensive efforts to a) understand the phenomenon of innovation and b) to develop a research methodology to be used to explore and investigate the phenomenon. Similar issues are connected to researching the concept of co-creation, along with the intertwined relationship between SI and co-creation (Voorberg et al. 2015; Agger & Tortzen 2015). Hence, we assume that clarifying the phenomenon of SI will be of relevance to the call for elucidating the concept of co-creation.

Our main contribution in this paper is to explore and clarify how innovation can be understood within a health and social care context, with the aim of focusing on the concept of social innovation and introducing a new methodology that may enrich research possibilities in the field. The background for developing a new research

method was the *Social Innovation in Nursing Homes (SIS)* project. There are huge challenges related to elder care due to an increase in the elderly population. Social innovation constitutes a key step towards meeting some of these challenges, and the services themselves constitute an important prerequisite for potential success (Willumsen and Ødegård 2015). Potentially, the relation between the specific methodological development example presented in this paper (SIMM-Q), may have interest for more general discussions and conclusions of social innovation in different contexts? The conceptual development of the SIMM-Q is one of the first measurement methods developed to explore perceptions of SI at the micro level, which may also contribute to aspects of co-creation.

The specific aims of this paper are to a) describe the development of a conceptual model of social innovation at the micro level, b) describe the development of a quantitative methodology named the Social Innovation Measurement Model Questionnaire (SIMM-Q), and c) discuss principal issues linked to conducting research on social innovation. The relevance to co-creation will also be elaborated.

What is innovation and social innovation?

Innovation is all about creating values from ideas (Tidd and Bessant 2014). However, innovation is not only about creating economic value (Schumpeter 1934; Freeman 1990). In Scandinavia, there has been an increased concern about why changes occur and how they come about. This concern is reflected in an increased level of attention towards innovation, seen, for example, in a range of white papers and research efforts in recent years (Willumsen & Ødegård 2015; Husebø et al. 2021). However, as we will elaborate below, innovation as a phenomenon is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Tepsie 2014; Willumsen & Ødegård 2015; Husebø et al. 2021).

Generally, social innovation can be understood as the process and the outcome of using new knowledge, either by putting together existing knowledge in new ways or applying knowledge within new contexts. This process is primarily about creating positive social change, improving social relations and working together to meet social needs (European Commission 2013). A relatively widely used definition is as follows:

Social innovation is about new ideas that work to address pressing unmet needs. We simply describe it as innovations that are both social in their ends and in their means. Social innovations are new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relationships or collaborations (Murray and Mulgan 2010).

Van der Have and Rubalcaba (2016) found in a study of existing literature examining a total of 172 publications that the field of social innovation was characterized by a high degree of diversity of definitions and conceptual ambiguity, which is a situation that hampers the integration of findings. There is a need to clarify social innovation as a phenomenon before the development of research methodology can take place.

Given this high degree of diversity of definitions of social innovation, our main concern was to try to develop a methodology that could explore social innovation on a micro level. This kind of methodology could potentially enrich our understanding of social innovation and its outcomes. Our notion was that certain aspects of social innovation need to be understood as processes between people involved in collaboration and creative processes. Thus, our point of departure for developing SIMM-Q was to focus on how the actors perceive innovation and aspects involved in innovation processes.

Research on social innovation

There is complexity embedded in the study of innovation as a phenomenon that is not easily solved from a research point of view. Increased research on innovation depends on the development of a new research methodology. Such methodology calls for intensive efforts to a) understand the phenomenon of innovation, and b) develop a research methodology to be used to explore the phenomenon. In a recent review study, Husebø et al. (2021) found that social innovation studies within fields of education, health and welfare are dominated by qualitative studies; only 5 of 41 studies apply a quantitative design. Husebø et al. (2021) concluded that “the lack of a common definition and framework makes it difficult to measure and quantify, reflecting the dominance of qualitative research methods in the selected research contexts” (p. 2).

Several authors have argued that the measurement of social innovation is in an early (infancy) stage (Mihci 2019; Husebø et al. 2021). Reported problems in this early stage are mainly due to three fuzzy areas: 1) the identification problem, 2) statistical and methodological problems, and 3) problems with different levels of analysis (Mihci 2019). The identification problem is a fundamental problem in social innovation research: “without adequately identifying the main conceptual framework of the research agenda, obtaining misleading and/or dead-end results is almost unavoidable” (Mihci 2019, 16). Statistical and methodological problems are also a major problem in social innovation research: “current measurement approaches only focus on the input and output indicators but almost totally ignore processes (throughput) indicators” (Mihci 2019, 18). The same author proposed, after a survey of the literature on social innovation measurement, that the level of analysis differs between studies and ranges from micro to meso to macro levels of analysis. According to Mihci (2019), research on social innovation should undergo “a *creative destruction* leading to the emergence of new indicators, methods, and findings acceptable for the majority of the researchers and wisely implementable for policy makers” (p. 20).

Theoretical framework and the development of a conceptual model

Conceptual development for exploring social innovation

Our point of departure is the call for quantitative approaches to study SI that focus on the processes between “input” and “output”. The questionnaires that have been developed thus far seem to be largely focused on a) product development, b) management, or c) overall aspects of social innovation, e.g., organizational, local or regional development (Tepsie 2014). For our purposes, we considered social innovation, as presented in the following model.

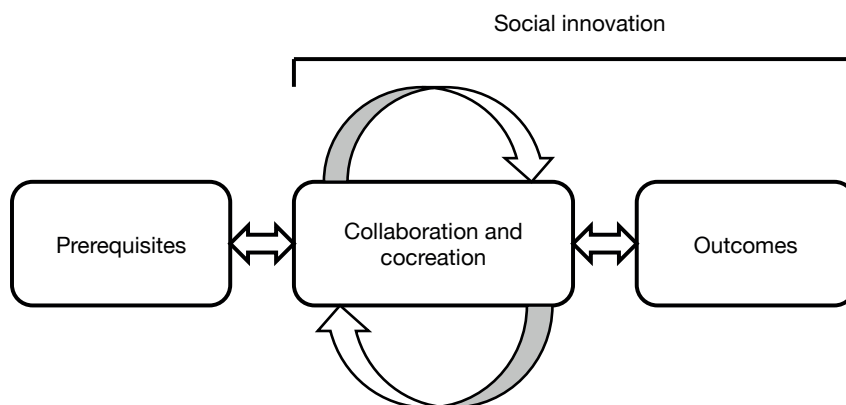


Figure 1. Social innovation as a linear and circular process.

Figure 1 illustrates that social innovation can be understood as a linear process, depending on prerequisites such as time, leadership, competence, etc., which is shown by the movement from left to right in the figure. Such linear processes might be understood by studying macro aspects of innovation, for example, what characterizes communities that produce the best innovations – giving high economic output? Figure 1 also illustrates that the main aspects of social innovation could be understood at the micro level, where the dynamic interaction between the actors involved in the innovation process becomes central (collaboration and co-creation) (c.f. Bason 2010; Voorberg et al. 2015; Agger & Tortzen 2015). In this regard, social innovation might be understood as circular processes involving collaboration and co-creation. These are both dynamic processes between different actors. In the development of SIMM-Q, these circular aspects of social innovation were specifically focused on.

Next, we suggest that researchers need to identify what aspects of collaboration and co-creation are central to social innovation and include them in the conceptual model. One example would be communication, which is a central aspect of collaboration and co-creation processes. An understanding of the micro level of social innovation is, in our opinion, crucial if we are to gain insight into what aspects in the collaboration process foster the emergence of new solutions (and outcomes).

Development of the SIMM-Q

The main features of the PINCOM and the responsible innovation (RI) framework were included in the development of the SIMM-Q. As shown in Figure 1, the “black box of collaboration” (cf. Salazar and Holbrook 2004) needs to be understood before we can move on to the measurement of how collaboration is perceived by actors in the innovation process.

Perceptions of interprofessional collaboration

The conceptual model (PINCOM) was originally developed to explore perceptions of interprofessional collaboration (IPC) between professionals within child mental health care (Ødegård 2006). The basic idea of this methodology was to develop a conceptual model and a measurement methodology that could explore how different actors (professionals) perceived interprofessional collaboration – that is, how does a person give meaning to his or her environment? It was a basic notion that professionals perceive IPC differently and that further investigation was needed to understand IPC as a phenomenon. Likewise, to understand aspects of social innovation, it would be interesting to explore how actors collaborate and co-create new solutions to solve problems and actually perceive what they are doing in these processes. Hence, the development of the SIMM-Q was an attempt to accomplish this.

Conceptually, the PINCOM model was based on twelve constructs derived from a pilot study and theoretical input from organizational and social psychology (Ødegård 2006). The following definition of interprofessional collaboration was suggested: *perceptions and behaviour between professionals in the interprofessional collaboration process on an individual, group and organizational level* (Ødegård 2006, 4).

The individual aspects that may be involved in interprofessional collaboration processes are professional power (C1), role expectations (C2), personality style (C3) and work motivation (C4). It is suggested that these constructs represent central aspects of individual influence in interprofessional collaboration processes and hence in social innovation processes. The central features of interprofessional groups and teams were identified by Ødegård (2006) as perception of leadership (C5), coping abilities (C6), communication (C7) and social support (C8). For example, it is obvious that com-

munication processes are a prerequisite for the development of new ideas and hence social innovation. Organizational aspects in the PINCOM are organizational culture (C9), organizational environment (C10), organizational aims (C11) and organizational domain (C12). For example, we suggest that organizational culture will most likely influence how social innovation processes are initiated and how they unfold.

Responsible innovation (RI)

Responsible innovation emphasizes that the inclusion of different stakeholders in the innovation process is a necessary condition for ensuring the socially responsible outcomes of innovations (Stilgoe et al. 2013; Owen et al. 2012). The inclusion of different opinions allows us to broaden the discussion of what questions to include and how they should be achieved, and reflection and anticipation processes help to pivot innovations in the right directions (Iakovleva et al. 2019). According to Stilgoe et al. (2013), “responsible innovation” involves preparing for the future through collective management of today’s knowledge and innovations. To achieve this, various societal actors and innovators must interact so that they become mutually dependent on each other with regard to ethical aspects, sustainability and desire for innovation and results (von Shomberg 2011).

We argue that the purpose, innovation and outcome of the innovation to ensure ethical and responsible behaviour must be assessed on the basis of these four elements: inclusion, expectation, reflection and response. For example, investments in the digitization of health services and the introduction of welfare technology should be responsible and provide more accessible care for the population.

Methodological development (SIMM-Q)

Further development of the questionnaire, after conceptual clarifications (PINCOM-Q and RI influence), can be described as consisting of four phases: 1) brainstorming, 2) making decisions, 3) pilot testing, and 4) testing the final version.

Phase 1. **Brainstorming:** During the development of the questionnaire (SIMM-Q), a range of suggestions on which topics and questions (items) should be included were brought forwards among the authors of this paper. A main decision was made to focus on relational aspects of social innovation, especially collaboration.

Phase 2. **Making decisions:** Based on phase 1, choices were made regarding the development of the first draft of the questionnaire. It was decided which themes should be included and how these should be operationalized. This was a crucial step in the development of the questionnaire, as the themes and the items chosen would have a major impact on the construct validity of the scores.

Phase 3. **Pilot testing:** After the completion of the first draft of the SIMM-Q, pilot testing was performed by getting other participants in the project (SIS) and a few professionals working in nursing homes to complete the questionnaire. Both electronic and paper-based versions were used, and a total of fifteen questionnaires were completed in the pilot phase. This was a particularly important phase in the development of the questionnaire, as we received many comments and significant feedback on the first draft of the SIMM-Q. Accordingly, we chose to make some radical changes in the design, particularly the length of the SIMM-Q.

Phase 4. **Testing the final version:** The final version of the SIMM-Q was tested on a sample of 112 elderly health and social care professionals working in nursing homes. The content of the SIMM-Q included the following 46 items: central demographic factors (5 items), collaboration (24 items), responsible innovation (12 items) and outcomes (5 items).

Discussion

In this paper, we aim to describe the development of a conceptual model of social innovation and the development of the SIMM-Q questionnaire. In the following discussion, we will focus upon some principal issues linked to doing research on social innovation.

Is it possible to measure social innovation?

We have referred to Mihci (2019) several times in this paper as he has discussed this question extensively in the publication *Is measuring social innovation a mission impossible?* Although there have been attempts made to measure social innovation, research shows that these attempts have mainly focused on macro levels of innovation. The development of the SIMM-Q therefore seems to be novel to the research field, as the methodology focuses on the micro level of social innovation. The SIMM-Q has the potential to glimpse into the “black box” (see Figure 1), which we consider highly relevant to gain in-depth knowledge about how innovation processes unfold. Social innovation, at the micro level, is deeply linked to how actors interact and cannot be overlooked.

However, the complexity does not stop here, as the context of social innovation is often complex due to the context in which new solutions are needed. Bloch (2013) pointed out that the public sector has a complex organizational structure and is governed by politicians, with a large diversity of organizations at different administrative levels and with front-line collaboration between service providers and recipients of welfare benefits. In addition, innovation in the health and welfare sector is often focused on new functions, new concepts, new products or new services related to human and social needs. Thus, it follows that it is necessary to adapt the innovation concept and make it relevant to the framework, values and professional practice in health and welfare services (cf. Fitjar 2015; Willumsen & Ødegård 2015). Such adaptation will provide guidelines for how research on innovation is planned and conducted in this context.

Following this, it is relevant to ask – *is it truly possible to measure social innovation?* Our answer is: *it depends!* To illustrate this, we have developed a tentative figure that shows some of the steps that must be considered before potential results can be delivered.

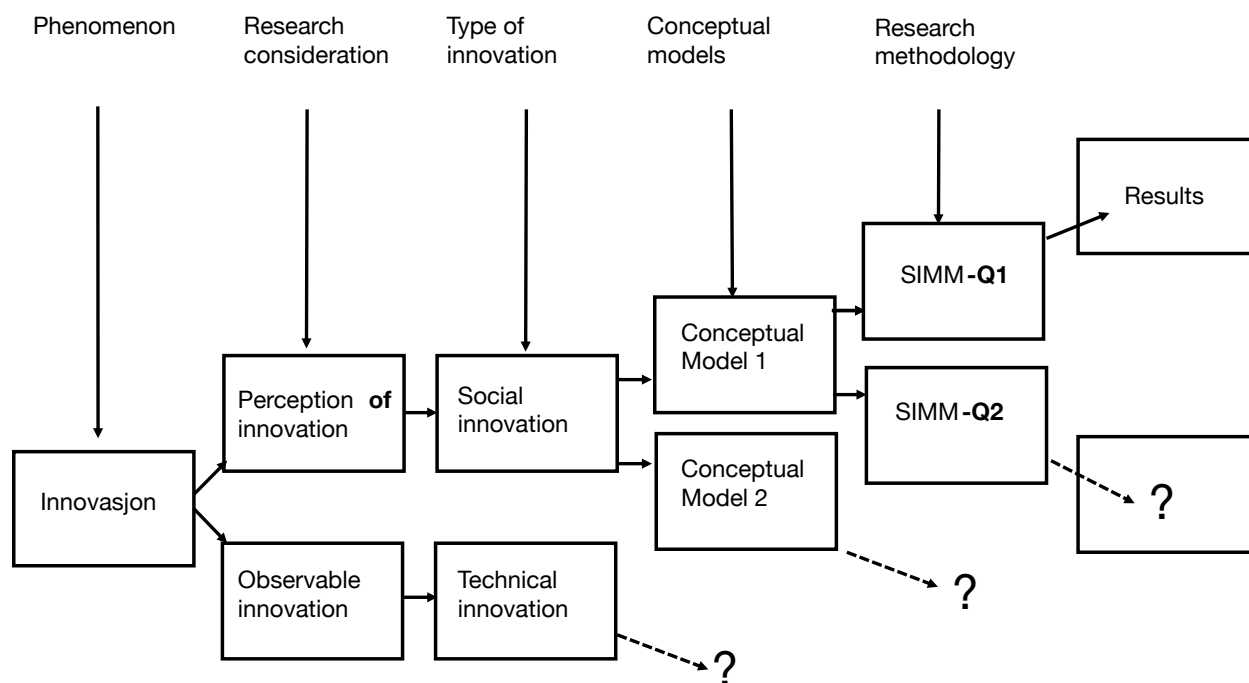


Figure 2. The complexity of social innovation research is illustrated.

There are many potential research approaches to innovation that the researcher must consider. Relevant examples could be to investigate economic issues or use register data to look at epidemiological factors (health, education, etc.). Another option would be to explore perceptions of innovation. An example of such exploration could be to examine the subjective experiences of actors involved in innovation processes, as we attempt to do using SIMM-Q.

Next, as illustrated in Figure 2, would be to consider what innovation is about, for example, *social* innovation or *technical* innovation. Furthermore, in the study of social innovation, there are many potential conceptual models that could give meaning to the “content” of social innovation. The researcher needs to make some choices as to what should be included or not in the conceptual model and at what level. Does the research (research questions) ask for information about political, organizational, group or individual aspects of innovation, or does it ask for information on all of these aspects? From a research perspective this is of course an important question, as the conceptual model will guide the development of the research

instrument (i.e., the questionnaire, e.g., SIMM-Q1 or SIMM-Q2). All these choices during the research process will influence the results and hence what kind of knowledge about innovation we gain.

Relevance for co-creation

SI, interprofessional collaboration and co-creation appear intertwined in practice, and several similar aspects can be identified. However, it is interesting to clarify the concepts for analytical purposes and discuss their relevance. Following Voorberg et al. (2015) and Agger & Tortzen (2015), co-creation is associated with active citizen involvement in the production of welfare and public service delivery to improve services and living conditions and with the involvement of end-users in various stages of the production process. Co-creation is a network-based way of collaborating across professions, disciplines and services/sectors and may include public, private and 3rd sector actors at the individual and/or community level. We conclude that co-creation is the widest and most complex concept compared to SI and interprofessional collaboration (Willumsen & Ødegård 2020). However, several similar aspects exist. Hence, research and practice from SI as well as interprofessional/ interdisciplinary and intersectoral activities and co-creation have mutual relevance. For instance, measuring how actors perceive SI and aspects of the innovation process focus on how actors interact and may contribute to understanding the roles and attitudes of public officials/professionals (Agger & Tortzen 2015; Voorberg et al. 2015), such as their willingness to support co-creation considering the risk of losing status and control to “unreliable” partners. Furthermore, measuring SI in combination with responsible innovation highlights the importance of including all stakeholders in the innovation process to ensure socially responsible outcomes in terms of ethical and responsible behaviour, which will contribute to understanding how co-creation can achieve a value-based direction regarding purpose, innovation and outcome and contribute to sustainable relationships with citizens (Agger & Tortzen 2015; Voorberg et al. 2015). These issues represent interesting research questions that can be explored in different contexts.

Validity issues

Over fifty years ago, Nunnally (1967) claimed that as a first step in any measurement procedure, the researcher should specify the domain of indicators of the construct. This means that without domain specifications, it is difficult to decide to what extent a measure

includes irrelevant information or underrepresents the constructs. For example, different aspects of social innovation may not be targeted properly, either because the indicators chosen are of little importance (irrelevant) or because the indicators do not sufficiently capture the construct (underrepresentation). Both of these failures to develop proper domain specifications are a threat against construct validity (Messick 1995). Giving attention to domain specifications of social innovation will increase the likelihood of clarifying social innovation in each study. Accordingly, this will also reduce the chances of confusion about what is meant by social innovation.

Thus, research on social innovation (SI) may lack construct validity if researchers have a too narrow operationalization of SI or if they include irrelevant information, for example, items that belong to other theoretical constructs. The conceptual development, testing and evaluation of its psychometric properties is a crucial step in trying to measure perceptions of SI, which will be presented in another paper. Based on these general guidelines for test development, a great emphasis is placed on linking theory to the conceptual model – as described above – to ensure that the items developed were meaningful for its purpose.

Following this, SIMM-Q needs to be empirically tested to explore its psychometric properties, and its potential as a measure of the conceptual model. Thus, an exploratory factor analysis and reliability analysis are relevant steps to be taken, as well as a confirmatory factor analysis. If results from these approaches fail to support SIMM-Q, the conceptual model that have been suggested and the indicators used, must be reconsidered (cf. Figure 2).

Conclusion

Messick (1995) stated that “validity is an evolving property and validation a continuing process” (p. 741). The development of the SIMM-Q was conducted in the specific context of nursing homes. Although we believe that this methodological development at the micro level may provide new insight into social innovation in this context, other studies should test the suggested measures in different situations and across a variety of contexts as well as with different actor groups involved in SI and co-creation.

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