



# Community Development: Local and Global Challenges

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**Edited by Mariana Christen Jakob and Judith Reichmuth**

**CA**

Evelyne Baillergeau  
Augustin Ependa  
Raymond Laprée  
Patrice LeBlanc  
Ina Motoi  
Micheline Potvin

**GB**

Judith Allen  
Kath Beveridge  
Patricia Bryant  
Ripin Kalra  
Tony Lloyd-Jones  
Guy Stevenson  
Dave Valentine

**NL**

Rudy van den Hoven

**AT**

Maria Maiss  
Ursula Stattler

**FI**

Elina Nivala

**EE**

Marjuua Medar

**FR**

Chantal Crenn  
Michel Lac  
Philippe Marty  
Abdourahmane Ndiaye  
Yves Raibaud

**CH**

Christian P. Casparis  
Mariana Christen Jakob  
Claudia della Croce  
Miryam Eser Davolio  
Maja Graf  
Christoph Hauser  
Annette Hug  
Antonios Kipouros  
Joëlle Libois  
Isabelle My Hanh Derungs  
Jorge Pinho  
Margarita Sanchez-Mazas  
Simone Schweikert  
Yuri Tironi  
Alex Willener  
Patricia Wolf

**KS**

Gülcan Akkaya

**TR**

Oya Acikalin

**ES**

Jordi Segarra  
Xavier Úcar

**NP**

Indra P. Tiwari

**BR**

Maria Helena Santos  
Edina Schimanski

**NG**

Geoffrey I. Nwaka

**CM**

Yves Alexandre Chouala

**LK**

Jan Zychlinski

**PH**

Michael P. Canares

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## Introduction

At the outset of the 21st century, community development and *animation socioculturelle* are facing new challenges resulting from global developments. Throughout the world, problems arise in the local context, different though they may be depending on the case. There are no simple solutions or useful recipes for dealing with these complex issues. Nevertheless, learning and development across boundaries is always possible. The question is only: How?

That is why, in September 2007, the 3rd International Congress on *Community Development - Local and Global Challenges* invited experts from around the world to Lucerne University to exchange their views on these topics. What are the current issues tackled using the multitude of methods provided by *animation socioculturelle* and community development? Is it possible to find, at the local level as well, answers to the repercussions of globalisation? One thing is certain: Simple instructions are highly unlikely to become available anytime soon. But is development proceeding in a discernible direction? The wide response from experts on all five continents made it clear how important and current participative approaches are within the context of global change.

The first day of the Congress focused on fundamental questions. Criticism as well as stimulating views voiced by our European and Australian keynote speakers provided the audience with an overview of the subject matter and laid the groundwork for the fruitful discussions ahead. In the workshops, projects on social cohesion and local change processes were presented. On the second day, speakers from Africa, India and South America contributed their experiences from widely differing contexts, explained what proportions poverty in their countries had assumed and emphasised the importance of human rights for everyone. The workshops discussed aspects of civil society, gender issues and educational challenges against the background of global development. The last day saw presentations of Swiss projects, with a special focus on European cities and regional developments.

This book compiles 35 articles presented at the Congress' workshops. Looking back on the event, it becomes overwhelmingly clear what a great variety of problems, depending on a given environment, we are dealing with. And yet, there are common threads. A recurrent

theme in all the articles is the fundamental belief that no development is possible without community involvement. The processes and the involvement of people are central. Development does not take place separately from, let alone against the will of, but only together *with* those involved. Another common thread running through the projects presented is their implicit or explicit reference to values such as social justice or social integration. The fundamental orientation as laid down in the Budapest Declaration is also reflected in this book's articles (see following page). A third common thread is networking across boundaries, where it is not only the networks established by population groups with a specific profile that are highly promising, but where the regional networking approach provides interesting perspectives as well.

The Congress itself provided an occasion to expand knowledge exchange across cultural and linguistic boundaries, supported by the new media – an occasion among others, one might add, that also demonstrated what a challenge it is to establish networks connecting people with different backgrounds.

When compiling this book, we were faced with the question of how to structure the sometimes widely differing articles and their fascinating spectrum of topics. The solution, worked out over the course of many discussions and after a great deal of consideration, is compelling and clear. The articles are arranged by continent first and then geographically, following the sun, from east to west. Within each continent as well, the sequence of countries is governed by the same meaning-making metaphor. The articles, varying in style and length as well, have all been treated equally in terms of allocated space. Each article has been given eight pages. Hence, some articles afford the reader a little more room for contemplation, while other projects provide a wealth of stimuli and experiences for further processes – some being closer to practice, while others are more scientifically oriented.

The aim of this book is to contribute to a constructive and future-oriented discourse, including the common ground within the differences, and the differences within the common ground, and based on the belief that no development on the local level is possible any longer without reflecting on the global ramifications. Participative approaches involving people are showing the way.

**Community Development – The Budapest Declaration** The purpose of community development is succinctly described in the preamble to the Budapest Declaration, which emerged from deliberations at a conference in 2004 that brought together a broad range of people involved in community development, including community workers, policy-makers and representatives from government and other bodies in Europe:

*“Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environmental policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies (public, private and non-governmental) to work in dialogues with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. It has a set of core values/ social principles covering human rights, social inclusion, equality and respect for diversity and a specific skills and knowledge base”*  
(Preamble to Budapest Declaration).

The Declaration includes proposals on issues that include poverty and the social economy, urban regeneration, sustainable development, life-long learning, cultural development, migration and discrimination. Although located in a European setting, they apply to a wider international context. They highlight a response to some of the challenges posed by globalisation and its impact on local economies, communities and the lives of individuals.

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Mariana Christen Jakob, Judith Reichmuth

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This publication grew slowly, started with the phase before the Congress, when we called for contributions, and went through a couple of stages. A lot of people were involved in this work and the editors are grateful for the valuable cooperation.

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*Merci, Gracias, Grazie, Obrigado, Teşekkür and Dank je wel.*

Michael P. Canares

# Combating Poverty: The NGO's Role in Poverty Reduction and Community Development in the Philippines

## Abstract

The study discusses the importance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in advancing goals of poverty reduction in the Philippines and presents relevant criticisms on how NGOs operate. It argues that while NGOs are effective agents in the development process, they, too, have the tendency to displace local capacities, contribute to “uneven development” and recreate structures of destitution that they would have wished to abolish. The research concludes by highlighting the need for a more nuanced analysis of NGOs using a nexus of consequentialist and deontologist frameworks.

*Key Words: NGOs, Poverty Reduction, Community Development*

## 1. Poverty Reduction and Local Development

**1.1 Localizing the Global Fight Against Poverty** The global attention on poverty as an over-arching goal of development is only a recent realization caused by the shifts in development thinking and development practice (Wolfensohn and Bourguignon, 2004). In 2000, world leaders endorsed the Millennium Declaration that sets to, among other goals, halve world poverty by 2015.

Almost at the same time as the global call to end poverty was echoed in both academic and policy debates, significant pressures were made by the international community towards democratization (Mkandawire, 2006). As an effect, two major trends are affecting the political space of developing countries – one is the

### PHILIPPINES

Island country of Southeast Asia in the western Pacific Ocean. It is an archipelago consisting of some 7,100 islands and islets lying about 500 miles (800 km) off the coast of Vietnam. Manila is the capital, but nearby Quezon City is the country's largest city. Both are part of the National Capital Region (Metro Manila), located on Luzon, the largest island. The second largest island of the Philippines is Mindanao, in the south-east. → <http://www.britannica.com/nations/Philippines>

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**ASIA**

gigantic challenge to reduce poverty and the other is the “downright decentralization” of governance in line with the democratization discourse (Steiner, 2005).

Presently, the call to fight poverty is downloaded to local platforms. The current drive in development work is fuelled by the assumption that poverty is local, much as it is global, and while solutions may be drafted at a macro-context, these, too, may emanate from below.

**1.2 Contextualizing NGO Participation in Poverty Reduction and Community Development** In the Philippines, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) became prominent in public discourse after the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship and the promulgation of the 1987 constitution (Fabros, 2002). This was reinforced when decentralization reform was introduced with the passage of the Local Government Code (LGC) in 1991, which called for greater participation of NGOs, people’s organizations, and the private sector in the local government units (LGUs).

NGOs gradually became significant actors in local development in the process of transition from a dictatorship to representative democracy, and from a highly centralized to a decentralized polity (Ocampo, 2001). They have played a broad range of roles in addressing issues of poverty and governance (ADB 1999) and have engaged with client communities, governments, the business sector, and donors (Quizon, 2005). The following arguments on NGO’s role in poverty reduction and community development are contextualized in Bohol, an island province in the central part of the Philippines<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. NGO’s Role in Poverty Reduction: The Case of Bohol, Philippines

**2.1 Patterns of Interaction** A typology developed by Fabros (2002) is used in discussing the manner by which NGOs in Bohol engage with LGUs and communities (see Figure 1). Fabros explicitly mentioned two things – that this typology is not “clear-cut” and that “there are many instances where the phases cross-cut and converge.”

<sup>1</sup>  
Bohol, in Central Visayas, Philippines, is the 10th largest island in the country. It is comprised of 48 municipalities and one capital city. A map of Bohol is presented in the annexes while extensive information on the island can be found at <http://www.bohol.gov.ph>.

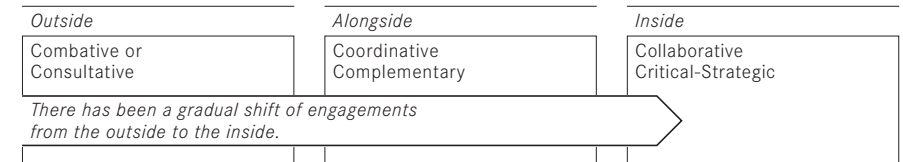


Fig.1. Typology of NGO Engagement with Government (Fabros, 2002)

Reviewing the patterns of engagement that NGOs in Bohol have with local governments, more particularly on the discourse on poverty reduction, it can be said that terms of engagement were within the range of “outside” to “alongside.” There were instances where NGO engagements were of combative nature more particularly on issues on the environment (e.g. an environmental lobby group opposed a reclamation project proposed by the city government) and basic service provision (e.g. a consortium of NGOs oppose the privatisation of water and electric utilities). There were also instances where engagements were of consultative nature (e.g. a donor NGO uses a provincial database on deprivation to locate communities where water projects can be implemented) or coordinative (e.g. an NGO forms a watershed council where NGO, LGU, and the people’s organization representatives sit to discuss watershed protection).

Terms of engagement, in this case, can therefore be determined by “interest.” The above examples suggest that where “interest” of both LGU and NGO converges, the higher the degree of engagement to take place. But where this convergence in “interests” is absent, combative, if not non-engagement will occur.

**2.2 Performance and Non Performance of Roles** Essentially, the NGOs in Bohol are project implementers. Their involvement in local governance is but a consequence of the legal mandate. Though this participation has been increasingly used to leverage political, social, and economic resources, NGOs spend more time on project management than on local governance participation.

Poverty became a central issue that NGOs started to address as an effect of both external and internal changes. The provincial government, upon the inclusion of Bohol in the list of the twenty poorest provinces in the country in 2001, exhorted NGOs and the private sector for increased investments in poverty reduction. More importantly, NGOs began to realize that a more sustainable approach in advancing community development was to address economic deprivations.

As a consequence, the poverty condition has significantly improved in areas where NGOs operated. A study revealed that poverty was generally found in the northeastern municipalities and development programs whereas NGOs were concentrated in the southern half of the province that had greater access to the provincial capital (Miclát, et al 2004). This is confirmed by another study that reported greater and concentrated spending of NGOs in better-off municipalities in the province (Abucejo, et al 2007). Interestingly, Tagbilaran City, the provincial capital and the richest area in the province, received the highest NGO funding assistance in 2004–2006 (ibid).

These findings have certain important implications. First, it obviously presents a case where NGOs effected certain changes in the local economy through increased capacities of people to engage in economic activities and of increased access to basic needs. Secondly, if the first argument is held true, then areas where NGOs did not operate were not given the same opportunities. Third and a more critical implication, NGOs were reluctant to pursue development work in areas where costs of service delivery is greater and risks of successful project implementation is high because of their accountability to donors.

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### 3. Interrogating the Role of NGOs

**3.1 NGOs Replacing the State?** The role of non-governmental organizations in development has been subjected to numerous criticisms in literature. Some theorists hint at one significant criticism of NGOs: Their potential to eclipse the role of the state (Putzel, 2004) and succeed as agents of development at the cost of state legitimacy (White, 1999).

NGOs in Bohol have the potential to replace the state's role as provider of basic services, thereby decreasing the LGU's accountability to the general public in terms of basic service provision (Canares, 2005). Though the level of engagement between LGUs and NGOs in the province were more on the level of partnership, where NGOs, not having the intention to replace the state, were willing to own a particular problem to address, it resulted to decreased investments by the LGUs in basic services.

**3.2 NGOs Exist for Themselves?** NGOs were also criticized as starting to become “entrepreneurial economic entities” (Meyer, 1995) that were helping themselves by “helping the poor” (Lofredo, 2004). Thus, it is important to ask whether this accusation is applicable to NGOs in Bohol.

The majority of NGOs in Bohol are dependent on project grants. A review of audited financial statements revealed that most of them rely on grant funds both for project and administrative expenses. There are only a very few NGOs with earning fund investments and income-generating projects to sustain operations.

Several key informants from funding agencies interviewed opined that a handful of NGOs were concerned with how much they were able to generate from a project. While this necessarily did not support the argument that NGOs are self-interested enterprises, this indicates that NGOs were concerned with how much funds they got, whether or not this was for community development, since on it also lay their organizational sustainability.

**3.3 NGOs Endanger Local Resiliency?** Finally, the third critique that this paper would like to mention is the possibility that by helping communities, NGOs unintentionally “overlook existing local capacities and responsibilities” (Collier, 2000). NGOs, despite attempts to ensure bottoms-up approach in development practice, have the tendency to encroach also on the individual's, household's or community's capacity to provide for their own. Evaluation studies have indicated that assisted organizations and families were becoming increasingly dependent on the NGOs to solve problems that they should have dealt with on their own (Canares, 2005, 2006).

This reality is not new in development literature. The argument that NGOs create dependency was highlighted especially in the context of humanitarian assistance (Summerfield, 1996; Vaux, 2001). Though it has been argued that NGOs cannot create this dependency because the amounts spent were immaterial compared to the needs of individuals or communities (Stockton, 1998), the amount was not an issue but the act in itself. The thought that help would come, though small, could create a rule of expectations that when continually reinforced at every occurrence of need, would result in dependency.

## Conclusion

To do good – giving food, treating the sick, providing potable water, training people for improved livelihood – is considered unassailable. But good actions do not necessarily bring good results and the goodness of an act is not intrinsic in itself (as contended by deontologists) but is also dependent on the results that it later generates (as argued by consequentialists) (Slim, 1997).

In scrutinizing the role of NGOs, this frame of analysis is important even when they are largely used in development literature on complex emergencies. This paper argues that what NGOs have done in the province was essentially good but they may have not necessarily yielded good results. To have a more nuanced understanding of development work is necessary to ensure that NGOs do not help in reproducing the same structures and institutions that cause, rather than eradicate, poverty. Future research in using this framework is highly desired.

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Indra P. Tiwari

# Creating Development Habit and Cultivating Development Culture among Rural Communities for Overcoming the Vicious Cycle of Poverty and Underdevelopment in Nepal – The *Swabalamban* Approach

## Abstract

In a state of failed development in Nepal, the Rural Self-Reliance Development Centre initiated a grassroots development with the mission of liberating the rural poor from deprivation through self-reliance (*Swabalamban*) development of the poor by the poor. Proceeded with a holistic approach, the initiative is becoming instrumental in empowering the poor and disadvantaged by creating development habit and ment culture to fully participate in fairs and development plans, partition-making process, claim their and development, contribute in accrue benefit(s) from development ciaries, actors and owners of deours, thereby liberating themselves privation, poverty and underdeve-

## The State of Poverty and Underdevelopment in Nepal

Lay peo- public in Nepal like elsewhere have ment as the “*improved living, wor- governance, and spiritualization with and content*”. They thought since development would be achieved in

### NEPAL

Nepal witnessed many historic political changes during the year 2007. With the promulgation of an interim constitution on January 15, Nepal turned from a Hindu kingdom into a secular state, with the role of the monarchy suspended. In late December 2007 the interim legislature voted to abolish the monarchy, which had been suspended from January 2007; the formal endorsement of the abolishment is expected to occur in April 2008. → <http://www.britannica.com/nations/Nepal>

cultivating develop- the community af- cipate in the deci- right to livelihood communitylife, and activities as benefi- velopment endeav- from exclusion, de- velopment.

ple and the general perceived develop- king, socialization, sufficiency, dignity the 1950s that such 15–20 years through

the creation of (i) quality schooling and education of their children; (ii) basic infrastructure; (iii) a gainful employment and a regular source of reliable income; (iv) basic social and economic services; (v) affordable and easy access to consumer goods; (vi) a decent lifestyle with basic safety net; (vii) a social status of equality/equity; and (viii) an inclusive democratic, transparent, to the people accountable and corruption-free governance by themselves. People had faith in the government and expected it to be achieved soon, regardless of where they lived. Until now people's perception of development and their expectations towards the government regarding a prompt and continuous development remained the same. Moreover, the people require these basics of development tangibly, immediately, as the rest of the world has already achieved them significantly.

To attain these basics of development, Nepal has formulated and implemented annual budgetary plans and ten periodic development plans since 1951. Most known development strategies, including the highly propagated but single-dimensional approach of poverty alleviation, have been adopted. Nepal over decades braved to piloting every social, economic, governance and environmental development innovations with vigour. Every pilot project has been declared fully successful. With these results, Nepal provides exemplary/best practices to developing countries and success story references to developed countries and development organizations. Full-fledged implementation is recommended. Yet Nepal has remained socially, economically, politically and environmentally underdeveloped and the viability of the country's future as a modern nation-state still remains in doldrums. The rural poor are still caught in an inescapable trap of physical and psychological poverty and underdevelopment. The trap is effectively sealed from inside by the stagnant, sluggish and repressive societal forces and from outside by the "rituality syndrome" of development interventions. The delivery institutions have also suffered from the "rituality syndrome" of performance. Consequently, the vast majority of the rural poor have been effectively excluded from the process of mainstream development – even with internationally most applauded development initiatives.

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#### **Development Philosophy to Overcome Poverty and Underdevelopment**

To overcome the vicious cycle of poverty and underdevelopment, the common people themselves need to be empowered so that they can claim their right to development and be included into the mainstream development and decision-making processes. They should get a fair share of all the benefits and an equal access to resources/assets. They need to be educated to strengthen their capacities, to ensure an access to resources,

to be motivated to work diligently and efficiently and, above all, to strengthen their social mobility, to create dynamisms towards development habits and to cultivate a development culture to synergize their efforts with the opportunities provided by the government and other external development partners.

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#### **Swabalamban as a Movement towards Overcoming the Vicious Cycle of Poverty and Underdevelopment**

With regard to the aforementioned state of development affairs, the Rural Self-Reliance Development Centre (RSDC), which is a non-profit and non-governmental organization, established in 1991 with the mission of liberating the rural poor from deprivation through self-reliance development endeavours at the grassroots, conceptualized *Swabalamban* (a popular vernacular of *self-reliance*) as the development process addressing the aforementioned issues for qualitative change in the personal, social, economic and political life of the poor. It envisages that a development process begins with attitudinal change of the rural folks towards the process and results of development. Such a change can be brought only through enhancing and upgrading people's awareness, capabilities, and resources as well as enhancing their capabilities for efficiently managing available resources by enhancing the cognitive faculty for ending fatalistic and pessimistic attitudes and building up self-confidence.

*Swabalamban* is a contributory process for creating a development habit, thereby cultivating a development culture among community members through self-reliance. Therefore, it essentially formulates such an organizational structure at the grassroots, which stimulates dynamics of the community towards self-realization, self-help, self-amelioration and self-empowerment, i.e. self-reliance (*Swabalamban*) through which they become able to take charge of and have control over their own environment, as well as fight against, face, and cope with the adverse situation of poverty and underdevelopment. In this sense, it is a movement of the community itself. By this virtue, they can fully participate in the community affairs and development plans; they become the decision-makers over their overall development concerns, contribute in community life, and accrue benefit from the development activities. Ultimately, they feel themselves to be beneficiaries and owners of development endeavours. As a result, they can liberate themselves from exclusion, deprivation, endemic exploitation, oppression and adverse social, economic and political relationships and start defining and building their own destiny.

Thus, *Swabalamban* movement works with the communities, particularly with the poor, deprived and underprivileged, to built and strengthen the capacity



and capability of the rural community towards common development goals; to enhance the cognitive and analytical faculty of the rural poor so that they have a better understanding of and control over their environment of development process, leadership and ownership; to improve their capacity for efficiently managing available resources; to enhance the service accessing capacity of the community for their material and social benefit; to enable communities in securing social and political rights to sustainable livelihood; and to build self-empowerment, solidarity, cooperation, and generate self-confidence among the poor for liberation from the age-old deprivation.

### Functional Modality of *Swabalamban*

The programme *enters* the community with social capital formation, i.e. *Swabalamban* groups.

The programme *interplays* with a holistic approach to consolidation and production of social dynamics and assets management for improving social and economic status of the target groups and promoting institutional means of effective pro-poor self-governance by supporting the communities in social assets and institution building; awareness creation and knowledge building; physical infrastructure assets building; financial assets building; and human assets building.

The programme *exits* from the community by establishing a sustainable self-reliant cooperative within the jurisdiction of a village development committee (VDC), which is the lowest level politico-administrative unit in Nepal as the functional institution and an agent in cultivating cooperative culture, which *Swabalamban* promotes as the *modus operandi* of the post institutionalization phase, followed by a network of *Swabalamban* cooperatives.

The programme provides *backstopping* for the needy institutions, as required.

As *modus operandi*, each *Swabalamban* group member pledges 19 commitments as summarized below, which are basically geared to create development habits concerned with institutional, social, economic and environmental improvement at personal, household, group and social levels:

- Participate and contribute in the group meetings;
- Partake in saving and credit;
- Honour time and regulations of the institution;
- Achieve literacy by themselves and educate their children;
- Keep the household and community sanitary;
- Enhance capacity by participating in human capital development activities and utilize it;
- Carry out income generating activities and kitchen gardening;

- Discard social ills like untouchability, child marriage, dowry, etc.
- Use economic rationality on social and cultural observations;
- Keep from refraining from socially and economically ill habits: alcoholism, tobacco use, gambling and so on;
- Take better family care; and
- Maintain better relations among all and extend help to one another.

These assets and habit buildings are achieved undertaking inter alia (i) motivation to programme participation; (ii) training, exposure visit, awareness creation, and non-formal education classes; (iii) saving and credit operation through their own cooperative; (iv) skill and entrepreneurship development training; (v) physical and institutional infrastructure building; (vi) participating and taking charge of community activities; and (v) study, seminars and dissemination of lessons.

### Coverage and Extent of the Programme

RSDC under *Swabalamban* movement has so far reached 268 VDCs in 18 districts, involving more than 45,500 households directly. Fundamentally the thrust of the programme is on self-reliant development of the poor (SDPP), self-reliant poverty alleviation, and community protection network. The organization so far has spent slightly less than 500 million Nepalese rupees ( $\approx$  7 million US dollars).

### Outstanding Results

So far the movement through implemented programmes resulted inter alia with the following outstanding results.

- Functional institution and social assets have been formed with high level inclusion of poor, deprived, underprivileged and women.
- Reliable financial assets have been generated, institutionalized and utilized through *Swabalamban* groups and cooperatives.
- Significant human assets have been developed through training on skill and entrepreneurship, leadership and management.
- Common community infrastructure asset improved significantly.
- Personal habits and social environment improved reasonably with decline in social ills, gender and caste discrimination, extravagant habits, and personally or socially harmful habits.
- Health and hygiene improved due to changed thinking on sanitation and hygiene.
- Livelihood improvement is taking place due to increased opportunities in gainful self- and job employment and assets management.

- Local leadership enhanced due to perceived empowerment, mobilizing internal funds, practicing of handling local development activities, and claiming their fair share upon local development resources and services.
- Lessons have been learnt on the self-reliance approach to community development.

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### **Some Exemplary Cases**

The programme so far has been able to achieve some exemplary cases with some widely achieved impacts, which are presented below.

- Women have emerged as the focal point of development.
- Significant school enrolment of Dalit children and Muslim girls.
- Unfailing practice of regular saving by the participants.
- Easy access to potable water to all participating households.
- Managed toilets have been considered as the starting habit towards sanitation.
- Steady growth toward higher capacity to undertake more rewarding activity.
- Small loan support has done wonder in many deprived people's lives.
- Increased source of living in petty trade.
- Carpentry has become a major job of many young males.
- Vegetable cultivation has become a reliable source of income and nutrition to many households.
- Veterinary training has provided much needed service to the community and jobs to many jobless youth.
- Youths have acquired much needed skill in the rural community and are proud owners of various services.
- Micro-irrigation with treadle pump has provided life-line to many small land holders.
- Early accepting enthusiasm and practice in innovative agricultural production.
- Community infrastructure provisions have increased production, distribution and social services to the community as a whole.
- Drinking alcohol, smoking, gambling and scuffle have sharply declined.

### **Lessons Learnt**

The following lessons have been learnt and corrections and improvements are being made accordingly.

- Holistic approach to development initiative is required at the early stage.
- In development initiative, there should be clear path to entry, interplay, exit, and backstopping support.
- Infrastructure, if deficient, requires development along with the entry.
- A critical binding element is required to unite the community members, and a monetary element (in this case the cooperative) with a visible profitability and clear accounting system has emerged as the critical binding element.
- Programme targets are much easier to meet, and results are also easy to be achieved, but the real successes with lasting impact of development initiatives and a dynamism in the community are not only achieved with highly successful completion of programmes and achieving success stories; rather, all targets, achievement and impacts will be successful if they catch the sentiment of the community, join efforts with them, help create development habit and cultivate development culture among themselves.

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### **Conclusion**

Basic development of improving the living, working, socialization, governance and spiritualization with sufficiency, dignity and content has not been an easy process in Nepal. The *Swabalamban* approach as presented above with its contributory process to attitudinal change in personal, social, economic and political life of the people in rural community by *creating development habit and cultivating development culture* has emerged as one of the alternatives.

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Jan Zychlinski

# The Disaster Relief Program after the 2004 Tsunami in Sri Lanka as a Challenge and a Chance for Social Work/Community Development and a Contribution to Strengthen the Civil Society

## The Situation

In December 2004, the countries surrounding the Indian Ocean were strongly affected by the tsunami disaster. More than 200,000 people were killed and the coastlines of countries such as Indonesia, India, Thailand and Sri Lanka were more or less devastated. The post-disaster-relief was initiated immediately, the financial aid consisting of different governmental as well as a large number of private donations. Both the governmental and the non-governmental relief were a huge support for the affected countries/areas and the people in the respective coastal regions.

Two and a half years after the catastrophe most of the technical and social infrastructure has been reconstructed (this description doesn't include the situation in the civil war and the east of Sri Lanka). However, the material-oriented relief has created a variety of new (social) problems, which impose severe challenges on society and professional supporters.

### **SRI LANKA**

The country has a relatively well-developed system of primary and secondary education with high rates of student enrollment in most parts of the country. More than 85% of the population is literate, giving Sri Lanka one of the highest literacy rates among developing countries.

→ <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9108590/Sri-Lanka>

Despite the fact, that new settlements have been built in large numbers along the shore, in only a few of them the support helps contributing to a sustainable social development.

Unfortunately, After-Disaster-Problems in Sri Lanka coincided with a strong burden due to the long lasting civil war in the country. Just for a short time, promptly after the disaster, the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) decided to work together and thereby provide a proper access for international organizations in order to help the country. Shortly after, the problems between the two parties arose once again and despite the ceasefire agreement of 2002 the not official civil war is getting more and more serious. When observing the situation of Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Relief in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to be aware of these circumstances.

### The Challenges

In the situation which has been briefly described, one has to recognize that mere material support is not sufficient for reconstruction and development of communities and civil society. Moreover, other tasks are coming into the focus of the relief work: the reconstruction of destroyed neighbourhoods in traditional communities is equally important as finding ways to support new structures after resettlement programs.

Before outlining some productive activities on how to deal with the situation, I would like to introduce three critical statements that are, from my point of view, important ones regarding the overall surrounding conditions, and therefore should be considered as a basis for a better understanding of challenges and also perspectives for this work.

1. The international disaster relief (from private donors and from governments) with its mostly material and short-term orientated approaches (especially in the case of the over-donated tsunami relief) *can be* an obstacle for a sustainable social development in the affected countries and regions. The majority of relief organizations working in this field have to spend a lot of money over a short period. As a result, a large number

of short-term (necessary!) reconstruction activities like housing or boat building projects will be commenced. Due to the lack of conceptual background and especially trained staff, most of them neglect to accompany the projects with systematic and long-term social or community orientated activities.

Partially, they are not aware of the neglect of social structures as well as the individual and social capabilities for self-help and self-organisation.

That is why good-minded donations and relief approaches can turn into the opposite.

2. Most of the governmental and non-governmental programs and the respective evaluation systems comprise a so-called "participatory" or "community based" approach. However, most of these programs and projects in the context of disaster relief are working mainly with the affected people and groups on the grassroot level. That means that directly affected people are *particularly* in the centre of these community based activities – not the civil society as such.

On the other hand, participation is usually a technical and bureaucratic process to fulfil the legal and program requirements. At the latest, if one is asking for participation in vertical direction (through to the different levels of the society), the opposition and obstacles will arise.

3. The role of social work in the process of reconstruction, as well as sustainable development, is completely underestimated. There are only a few social workers in the field of humanitarian aid and development cooperation and most of them have been working in small projects with small groups of so-called "disadvantaged people" like orphans, disabled or traumatized persons, drug-addicted men or single parents.

Despite the description like "empowerment," "self-organisation" or "self-responsibility," a lot of these projects have been working with the "remedial and maintenance oriented intervention," as James Midgley (1999) mentioned. They emphasize the prob-

lems of their clients, target groups or affected villages or communities and try to find internal (but mostly external) resources to solve these problems. They act as agents, teachers or leaders, that means as actors with a better understanding of what good life is for the people.

I think that an important source for this is the description and the self-image of social work as an institution to improve the life of the disadvantaged and re-integrate them into a kind of “normal” society.

In contradiction, Midgley described social work in the perspective of social development as a “mainstream activity that promotes the well-being of the society as a whole.” (Midgley, 1999, p. 195)<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the three critical statements one has to describe the challenges as follows:

1. Humanitarian and development organizations have to find ways to integrate necessary reconstruction activities/programs and efforts for a sustainable long-term social development.
2. Social work/community development has to create links between legal and program orientated necessities (and possibilities) and bottom-up strategies to strengthen civil society with genuine participatory approaches.
3. Additionally, the (self)description of social work and social workers in the transnational context have to change. By having the theoretical background of the agency concept, social workers have to act more as facilitators than as relief workers on the operational level. Especially the community development/social space based approach is suitable for such an open process.

That does not mean neglecting the day-by-day-challenge to help people in need!

<sup>1</sup>  
This is not the place to discuss Midgley's concept of social development but this integrated approach seems to be productive, especially regarding the self-understanding of social work.

## How to Accept the Challenges?

### A Contribution of German Caritas

Because of the lack of social work/community development in After Disaster Programs Caritas International (Ci), the international and disaster relief branch of the German Caritas, decided to work out a contribution to a better integration of disaster relief and sustainable social development on the basis of developing civil society structures.

Civil society in this meaning comprises different levels from the grassroots level up to non-governmental organizations as important actors to develop society.

With a comprehensive social space based approach we tried to reach at least these overall aims:

1. Better development of respective villages/communities in their entirety (not only the groups of tsunami affected people).
2. Improvement of social work/community development structures of local non-government organizations together with other local social actors.
3. Integration of a sustainable social work approach into the work of a welfare and disaster relief organization.

From our point of view these aims are strongly connected with the aim to strengthen the civil society in the selected areas as well as to deal with the direct aftermath of the Tsunami disaster.

Ci decided in 2006 to commence a system of social work/community development to accompany their housing projects and to develop a new approach of social work together first with the local Caritas in the Colombo District.

<sup>2</sup>  
in Eastern Germany after the flood in 2002

According to the international and national<sup>2</sup> experiences this system comprises not only the installation of community based projects itself but also a more extensive program of consultation and education for professional and semi-professional staff.

### The activities

In accord with the local Caritas, we first selected three pilot project areas. The work started on different stages of the ongoing process of housing construction. One settlement was already finished and fishermen who had lost their huts on the beach had moved in recently. The second one was still under construction as a new part of an already existing village and the last one had remained in the planning stage. The latter should be built as a huge urban area of four level buildings together with two other NGOs.

This selection enabled us (the local partner and Ci) to accompany at least in the pilot project areas the more technical orientated housing projects with different social work activities and gather first experiences in this field. On the other hand we were able to avoid some mistakes which were made in former housing projects. Especially the early participation not only of the beneficiaries but also the respective new neighborhoods was an important issue.

Under the focus of social sustainability this kind of participation played a main role. To safeguard the participation of the relevant local actors we tried to develop the so-called CBOs (community based organizations) with a high degree of self-responsibility. This process of CBO building was supported by conducting trainings for the volunteers who were willing to work as CBO members.

In case of the settlement, which still remained in planning stage, we made efforts to create a network of organizations that have been working in this area.

Both the development of self-responsible CBOs, as well as the network construction with other NGOs, were great challenges because there were no experiences in our partner organization regarding these kinds of cooperations.

At the same time, the team building processes have been commenced. First of all, members from the local staff were selected and brought together as a pilot project team. The team building coincided with training-by-doing education during the preparation, realization, as well as evaluation of the day-by-day activities. This was not only conducted as one-way teaching, but more as a mutual learning process. All activities

mentioned above were prepared within the team and after that implemented in the respective pilot project. The preparation and the evaluation were used as spaces for discussions, questions, reflections and the collection of experiences made in the recent and current field work.

Both the discussions about how to develop a team and the work on the new subject social work, respectively community development, had an impact on the self-image and working structure of local Caritas. It was an important step to turn from a clear charity orientated organization into an organization which is more aware of social work approaches.

In addition to these efforts, within the tsunami relief program we made contacts to the Sri Lankan School of Social Work (SLSSW) as the one and only place for social worker education.

Beside a couple of discussions regarding social work in itself, as well as possibilities to support the school, we found ways to integrate trainees from this school into our projects.

Not at last we started to develop a first draft for a community development orientated in-service training for governmental and non-governmental relief workers together with SLSSW and a governmental institution, CADREP (Capacity Development for Recovery Program).

### These processes Are Continuing ...

Despite of a lot of difficulties and obstacles up to some big disappointments and failures (like the exit out of one of the pilot projects), in our opinion, the efforts on different levels can be considered as a contribution to strengthen not only the directly affected people in the tsunami areas but also the civil society and its structures.

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# AFRICA

## **NIGERIA**

Nigeria is famous for her huge population of about 120 million people – the largest national population on the African continent. This population is made up of about 374 pure ethnic stocks. Three of them, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, are the major groups and constitute over 40% of the population. In fact, about 10 ethnic linguistic groups constitute more than 80% of the population: the other large groups are Tiv, Ibibio, Ijaw, Kanuri, Nupe, Gwari, Igala, Jukun, Idoma, Fulani, Edo, Urhobo and Ijaw.  
→ <http://www.nigeriaembassyusa.org/thisisnigeria.shtml>

Yves Alexandre Chouala

# Société civile et développement communautaire au Cameroun: éléments pour une appréciation critique

## Introduction

L'argumentaire de cette étude est que la société civile s'illustre au Cameroun par une action solidaire suffisamment autonome de l'action publique et de la coopération interétatique. Ladite action vise la correction des «inégalités (des) politiques publiques» (Winter, 2001) et l'amélioration des conditions sociales d'existence à travers la création et le soutien des petites infrastructures, la promotion des microprojets générateurs de revenus, la pression sur les pouvoirs publics (au niveau local, national et international) pour l'exercice de la responsabilité sociale et le renforcement des capacités des populations locales. La cible de l'action solidaire de la société civile n'est pas l'individu et sa finalité ne réside point dans la réalisation des profits et des gains individuels. Il s'agit plutôt d'une action qui vise la production des «biens communautaires» ou «collectifs», c'est-à-dire des biens non exclusifs à certains segments de la communauté (Demazière, 1996; Lammerink et Wolffers, 1998:15). Le développement communautaire est, pour la société civile camerounaise, à la fois un facteur d'explication et de légitimation (1) et une trajectoire d'expansion de la mondialisation (2).

## 1. La société civile: lieu d'innovations et de transformations sociales

Au Cameroun, les associations à but non lucratif «qui constituent ce que l'on appelle la société civile» (Najim, 2003:25) (1.1) sont des cadres d'action en vue des transformations sociales innovantes pour le plein épanouissement des individus (1.2).

**1.1 La réalité de la société civile au Cameroun** La société civile camerounaise connaît une vitalité exponentielle (1.1.1) que reflète l'extrême diversité des organisations qui peuplent son univers (1.1.2).

### CAMEROUN

Par sa superficie de 475 442 km<sup>2</sup> et sa population d'environ 16 380 000 habitants (2005), le Cameroun est un pays moyen en Afrique. Mais sa position centrale, son bilinguisme anglais-français et son niveau de développement lui donnent un poids beaucoup plus important sur le continent.  
→ <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cameroun>



**1.1.1 La montée en vitalité du phénomène associatif** L'Annuaire des Organisations Non Gouvernementales du Cameroun réalisé en 1997 avec le concours du Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement dénombrait près de 206 organisations régulièrement déclarées dans le pays. Selon une enquête menée par le Programme national de gouvernance du Cameroun au courant de l'année 2004, 55 602 associations sont déclarées à travers le pays. Cette enquête établit en outre que 78 % de la population active du Cameroun sont concernés par le mouvement associatif. Ces deux études illustrent une évolution exponentielle de la société civile camerounaise. La vitalité et l'autonomisation de ce mouvement associatif contribuent à la formation d'une société civile distincte du secteur public de la gouvernance officielle et de la sphère politique.

**1.1.2 La diversité de la nature des organisations de la société civile** La société civile camerounaise est un monde hétérogène de par la diversité des associations qui la forment. On peut même dire qu'au Cameroun, il y a plusieurs sociétés civiles qui se démarquent les unes des autres de par leur sphère sociale d'intervention et leur domaine sociopolitique d'affiliation.

Suivant la nature juridique des associations, on distingue les Initiatives Locales de Développement (ILD) qui se constituent à l'échelle des villages ou des différentes unités administratives. Les Groupes d'Initiative Commune (GIC) sont quant à eux juridiquement définis comme des «organisations à caractère économique et social de personnes physiques volontaires ayant des intérêts communs et réalisant à travers le groupe des activités communes». Rentrent globalement dans cette catégorie, les Groupements d'Intérêt Economique (GIE) et les Coopératives d'Epargne et de Crédit (COPEC). Enfin, on distingue les associations et fondations étrangères connues sous le nom générique d'ONG.

Pour ce qui est de la sphère sociale d'intervention, on distingue une très grande hétérogénéité des associations: les associations de défense des droits de l'homme, de promotion de la gouvernance, de la santé et de l'éducation, de l'agriculture et des pêches, de la paix et de la sécurité, de défense des intérêts collectifs etc. Face à cette hétérogénéité des organisations de la société civile, des tentatives de regroupements en collectifs sectoriels ou globaux ont été mises en œuvre sans grand succès. «On a ainsi eu le collectif des organisations de participation au développement du Cameroun (COPAD), la Fédération des ONG

de l'Environnement (FONGEC), la Fédération des Associations des Femmes du Cameroun (FAFCAM), le Joint Environnemental Unit, le Réseau Africain d'Action Forestière (RAAF)» (PNUD, 1997: 8).

**1.2 La participation active de la société civile au développement communautaire** La société civile est un acteur majeur du développement sociocommunautaire au Cameroun. Elle agit dans plusieurs domaines sociaux (1.2.1) avec des résultats probants (1.2.2).

**1.2.1 Des domaines d'intervention quasi standardisés** Une observation des chantiers du développement communautaire permet de relever, par ordre d'importance, les domaines d'intervention suivants: l'éducation et la formation qui disposent d'un pourcentage d'intervention cumulé de 29 %; soit 20 % pour l'éducation et la formation et 9 % pour les études et la recherche; l'environnement qui a un taux d'intervention de 18 %; le développement rural et urbain avec un pourcentage cumulé de 29 % soit 16 % pour le développement rural et 13 % pour celui urbain; la santé avec 12 % et la promotion de l'Etat de droit, de la démocratie, des droits de l'homme et de la gouvernance qui affiche un taux d'intervention de 10 %.

A coté de ces domaines majeurs d'intervention, on note aussi un intérêt certain pour le développement des infrastructures, la promotion de la culture, de la fraternité entre les peuples, le renforcement de la paix et de la sécurité, du dialogue et de la réconciliation, de la création artistique et littéraire.

**1.2.2 Des résultats pratiques tangibles** L'action de la société civile sur le terrain du développement communautaire a abouti à quelques résultats comptabilisables tant au niveau qualitatif que quantitatif. Sur le plan quantitatif, les données chiffrées sur la contribution de la société civile au produit intérieur brut et à l'économie domestique sont fragmentaires et dispersées. L'on ne dispose pas encore ici d'une vue d'ensemble. Toutefois, la formation des GIC et autres COOPEC a permis une amélioration des revenus des individus qui y participent. Par ailleurs, les associations communautaires drainent d'importants capitaux extérieurs dans le cadre de la coopération décentralisée.

Du point de vue qualitatif, les résultats sont appréciables à un triple point de vue.

Premièrement, les individus deviennent des acteurs de leur développement et cessent d'investir dans l'Etat comme seul et unique pôle d'espérance et de bien-être social. La solidarité sociale devient l'élément fédérateur et non plus seulement le seul lien citoyen. La solidarité de proximité semble l'emporter sur celle de la collectivité. Deuxièmement, le processus participatif permet de redonner «aux individus et groupes sociaux d'une localité un plus grand pouvoir sur les dynamiques économiques et, partant, sur leur destin» (Demazière, 1996: 31). Troisièmement, le développement communautaire renforce l'éveil de l'intérêt collectif des gens aux dépens de l'individuel. Au demeurant, l'enrôlement des individus dans la dynamique du développement communautaire renforce la capacité d'action autonome des communautés de même qu'une prise d'initiative face à une difficulté sans influence externe.

## **2. Le développement communautaire et le renouvellement de la pratique du développement**

Le développement communautaire renouvelle la pratique du développement d'une part (2.1), et procède au recyclage social de la mondialisation (2.2).

**2.1 Le renouvellement social et démocratique des pratiques de développement?** L'entrepreneuriat communautaire soutenu par la société civile (2.1.1) apparaît aussi comme un renouvellement endogène, démocratique et participatif de la pratique du développement (2.1.2).

**2.1.1 La société civile, promotrice ou corollaire du développement communautaire?** Le développement de la société civile est à la fois un vecteur de promotion et un corollaire du développement communautaire. Au Cameroun, la montée de la société civile a été consécutive au recul et/ou au retrait progressif de l'Etat de la sphère sociale qui a favorisé «la multiplication d'initiatives substitutives à l'Etat relevant de l'économie sociale ou solidaire, et (...) l'émergence ou (...) la réémergence d'entreprises sociales ou à finalité sociale» (Reigner, 2003: 182).

Les années 90 qui ont marqué le «passage à la démocratie» pour le pays constituent le moment du grand «boom associatif» et de la redynamisation des initiatives locales de développement. La densification du réseau associatif national consacre l'ancrage de la société civile et marque «l'apparition d'un nouveau type d'acteur entrepreneurial

entre économie marchande et non marchande, entre entreprise commerciale et entreprise publique» (Reigner, 2003: 196). La société civile est bel et bien le vecteur du développement communautaire qui a besoin, pour être effectif, de groupes sociaux autonomes et réflexifs qui permettent «une pluralité de sources indépendantes (de) production et (de) la distribution du pouvoir»; une articulation par celles-ci de l'intérêt général en toute autonomie (Mbembe, 1999: 30-31) et qui travaillent suivant une logique de solidarité ne relevant ni du marché ni de la sphère publique.

**2.1.2 Le développement communautaire: un renouvellement démocratique des pratiques de développement?** Ce qui se joue dans l'entrepreneuriat communautaire est le renouvellement démocratique des pratiques d'intervention sociale.

En se saisissant des besoins existentiels communs des communautés, en élaborant les interventions sociales à partir des situations concrètes des citoyens et de leurs propres représentations des problèmes sociaux, et en mobilisant les individus dans des actions collectives en vue de l'amélioration de leurs conditions de vie, le développement communautaire s'illustre bel et bien comme une pratique démocratique d'intervention ou d'action sociale. Autonomie, responsabilité et immersion sociale de la pratique font du développement communautaire une forme démocratique d'intervention sociale.

Dans la dynamique communautaire, la loyauté verticale devient de moins en moins une forme citoyenne de participation au développement. C'est plutôt l'autonomie et la responsabilité qui tendent à devenir les valeurs-clefs de cette participation de plus en plus synonyme d'«engagement, sur le plan collectif, de personnes dans diverses activités ayant un intérêt pour la communauté» (Lammerink et Wolffers, 1998: 15). Parce qu'il se nourrit de la dynamique des productions locales, de la coopération active entre individus éprouvant les mêmes besoins, le développement communautaire est de type autonome et responsable. Ici, ce ne sont pas les grands desseins de l'Etat, mais les problèmes jugés d'intérêt commun qui catalysent l'agir collectif.

**2.2 Société civile, développement communautaire et enjeux de la mondialisation** Le développement communautaire apparaît comme une mise en œuvre différentielle (2.2.1) du développement durable et contribue à asseoir la logique de la mondialisation (2.2.2).

### 2.2.1 «Penser local, agir global»: le développement communautaire comme mise en œuvre différentielle du développement durable?

«Penser local et agir global» semble le credo du développement communautaire. Comme on le voit, il procède par un renversement quasi copernicien de celui du développement durable qui est «penser global, agir local» et qui procède à la diffusion, dans chaque société, d'une vision standard du développement émanant pour l'essentiel des pays développés et des institutions financières internationales. Ce sont les communautés qui sont au centre de la détermination des initiatives de développement, les acteurs globaux jouant tout simplement un rôle d'«intermédiaires entre les propositions d'une agence de développement – qui les emploie – et les nécessités ou les conditions d'une population – qui les reçoit –, ils sont les émissaires, les traducteurs des uns vis-à-vis des autres» (Meyer, 1997: 7). Les acteurs globaux sont au demeurant des facilitateurs de la dynamique du développement. Le développement communautaire assure «la construction d'espaces autogérés conduisant à de meilleures conditions de vie» (Najim, 2003: 26).

### 2.2.2 Développement communautaire: un recyclage social de la mondialisation?

De par la posture différentielle qu'il affiche, le développement communautaire a été envisagé comme «une réponse politique à la mondialisation» (Thévenaut-Muller, 1999). Pensé et mis en œuvre comme un processus d'insertion des communautés locales dans l'espace économique mondial, il apparaît ainsi à la fois comme une acclimatation de la mondialisation, une projection et incrustation de celle-ci dans les lieux périphériques de la planète. On constate donc que le développement communautaire n'est pas l'antithèse de la mondialisation; mais plutôt son excroissance ou une modalité de sa diffusion internationale. En tout cas, le développement communautaire se nourrit de la rationalité de la mondialisation (ou plutôt du développement durable) tant par les champs d'intervention que par les acteurs qui y sont engagés.

### Conclusion

Au demeurant, le développement communautaire apparaît comme un corollaire de la société civile. Il s'illustre comme un renouvellement des pratiques de développement et apparaît ainsi à la fois comme une mise en œuvre différentielle du développement et une réinvention d'une nouvelle citoyenneté plus responsable. Il reste cependant que celui-ci n'est ni nouveau ni complètement émancipé de l'action publique de l'Etat et de la dynamique d'expansion de la mon-

dialisation. Il s'apparente ainsi à une mondialisation de proximité; à une mondialisation conquise, domestiquée et réinventée par les populations locales.

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Geoffrey I. Nwaka

# Indigenous Knowledge, Local Governance and Community Development in Nigeria

Critics of African development liken the current pattern of development in the continent to building a house from the roof down:

... all the institutions of modern urbanization are in place – the banks, the factories, the legal system, the unions, etc; but all these appear to be suspended over societies that have no firm connection to them, and whose indigenous institutions, even when oriented in the right direction, lack the necessary scaffolding to connect them to their modern surrogates. (Mabogunje, 1992)

Mamadou Dia of the World Bank blames state failure and the development crisis in Africa on the “structural disconnection between formal institutions transplanted from outside and indigenous institutions born of traditional African cultures” (Dia, 1996; cf Francis et al, 1996). Because of growing concern about widespread poverty, inequality and environmental deterioration, there is renewed interest in an alternative approach to development that emphasizes the cultural dimension of development, and the often overlooked potential of indigenous knowledge as “the single largest knowledge resource not yet mobilized in the development enterprise.” This paper considers how indigenous knowledge

## **NIGERIA**

Nigeria is famous for her huge population of about 120 million people – the largest national population on the African continent. This population is made up of about 374 pure ethnic stocks. Three of them, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, are the major groups and constitute over 40% of the population. In fact, about 10 ethnic linguistic groups constitute more than 80% of the population: the other large groups are Tiv, Ibibio, Ijaw, Kanuri, Nupe, Gwari, Igala, Jukun, Idoma, Fulani, Edo, Urhobo and Ijaw.  
→ <http://www.nigeriaembassyusa.org/thisisnigeria.shtml>

and practice can be put to good use in support of local governance and community development in Nigeria; how development policies and programmes can be made to reflect local priorities and build upon and strengthen local knowledge, capacity and organization, especially in the vital areas of agriculture and health care, education and natural resource management, law review, conflict resolution and poverty alleviation. The paper considers ways to enlist traditionally based institutions for a system that would make governance less distant from the people, less bureaucratic, more accountable and more responsive to people's needs; how the village or community to which most citizens hold moral allegiance could form the primary unit of a reformed local government system. The World Bank has recently published an impressive collection of essays aptly titled *Indigenous Knowledge: Local Pathways to Global Development*. (World Bank, 2004). It is in that sense that this paper sees indigenous knowledge as a model for rethinking and redirecting the development process, and as a way to involve, enable and empower local actors to take part in their own development. The paper concludes with some general reflections on the indigenous knowledge movement as an appropriate local response to globalization and Western knowledge dominance, and as a way to promote inter-cultural dialogue on African development.

Based on my study and knowledge of the Nigerian experience, it is argued here that the conventional model of development, which has sought to transform African societies into the Western image of what these societies ought to be, has not only failed, but has tended to alienate the people from their roots, and to undermine local capacity-building and self-

confidence. (Ake, 1988). It emphasizes that local governments are better placed than distant central and state bureaucracies to promote community development and poverty reduction, especially if the citizens are given a sense of involvement in making decisions about policies and programmes that affect them. Also, the nearer government is brought to the people, the more likely it is that the positive traditional norms, values and institutions will be brought to bear on development action. It is in this sense that decentralization broadens participation and helps to build democracy from the grassroots. (Allen, 1990)

Unfortunately, the record of democratization, decentralization and local governance in Nigeria has been rather disappointing, in spite of the political rhetoric about power sharing and popular empowerment. There is a pervasive feeling of alienation among the people, general cynicism towards the state and its institutions, and limited commitment to the development programmes sponsored by government and aid agencies. The roots of democracy remain very shallow, even as the political elite seek to manipulate the process of elections, "popular participation" and other aspects of local governance. (Adedeji and Ayo, 2000; Honey and Okafor, 1998) With the economic crisis of the 1980s and '90s, and the poor functioning of the state system, more and more functions have been off-loaded onto the lower levels of government without the resources and the institutional support needed to ensure effective performance. Indigenous knowledge may not be the panacea for the multifarious problems of governance and development in Nigeria, but it is certainly a useful but sadly overlooked resource which, with appropriate support, can strengthen governance at the

grassroots and promote a more self-reliant, endogenous and sustainable form of development.

The challenges and opportunities of integrating this knowledge in the process of governance and development are enormous; we can only highlight here some of the policy implications for national planners and the international development community, which must provide the enabling and supporting environment for indigenous knowledge to flourish and to realize its potential. First, the local people themselves who are the custodians and practitioners of indigenous knowledge must overcome doubts and diffidence about the merits of their ideas, skills and practices. While they should not idealize or romanticize the merits of their cultural practices and traditions, they must be encouraged to appreciate the strong and weak points of their knowledge, and seek, through experimentation, to improve and modify them appropriately in the light of change and new ideas, especially in the vital areas of agriculture and food security, human and animal health care, education and natural resource conservation/management. Knowledge grows only when it is shared, applied and challenged. Marshal Sahlins has rightly emphasized the need for peoples in the developing world “to indigenize the forces of global modernity, and turn them to their own ends” since the real impact of globalization depends on the response developed at the local level. (Haverkort and others, 2002) These local people and custodians of indigenous knowledge and wisdom should also actively engage government and its agencies in genuine dialogue and partnership to ensure that the interests of all stakeholders are served. For its part, government at the national and sub-

regional levels should create the appropriate legal and regulatory framework to facilitate decentralization and broad-based civic participation. Part of the rethinking needed in this regard would imply a policy shift from the top down centralist model to a bottom-up grassroots approach that would rely not solely on the state or on market forces but also on genuine partnership with the organizations of civil society – with renewed emphasis on indigenous moral and material resources in all spheres and sectors of national life. (Nwaka, 1999; Ray and Reddy, 2003)

The indigenous knowledge movement has important implications for development assistance as well. Hitherto, donor agencies have tended to engage numerous outside consultants and experts who sometimes assume a knowledge or capacity vacuum among the people they seek to assist, instead of seeking to identify and tap into existing local capacities, institutions, skills and practices. It is just as counterproductive to seek to dictate or impose alien values and development agendas and to ignore the need for tolerance and mutual respect. Increased emphasis on the indigenous appears to be a more promising way to enhance local ownership, sustainability and impact of aid and development partnership. When technical assistance underrates and overlooks local knowledge and expertise, it reinforces the problems of dependency and underdevelopment instead of reinforcing and building upon existing local capacity. As well, aid agencies that seek to alleviate poverty must focus more on assisting peoples directly rather than exclusively through states and governmental structures and bureaucracies. They should explore more actively the mechanisms for decentralized people to people, city to city forms

of cooperation. They also need to adjust the ways they operate so that they can more effectively support and strengthen local institutions, which relate more closely to the needs and priorities of the intended beneficiaries.

With the increasing tempo of globalization, Africa cannot now opt for an insular and entirely homegrown approach to its development but must follow a pattern of development which recognizes the merits and limitations of both local knowledge and global science, and which explores how the two can best complement each other. Like the Japanese and the rapidly developing countries of Asia, Africa must aspire to achieve endogenous development that has a distinct African cultural fingerprint.

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**EUROPE**



Oya Acikalin

# NGO – Public Organization Cooperations in an EU-Funded Programme in Turkey

## Introduction

This paper aims to critically evaluate the cooperation between non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and public organizations (POs) established for the grant scheme projects under the Eastern Anatolian Development Programme (EADP).

EADP is funded by the European Union (EU) and implemented by Turkish institutions in four provinces (Van, Muş, Hakkari and Bitlis) of the least developed region of Turkey, Eastern Anatolia. It is the first decentralized regional development programme of EU in Turkey with a budget of 45 million €. Excluding small and medium enterprises (SMEs) that do not have cooperation, about 24.5 million € have been allocated for agriculture, tourism/environment and social development projects in the grant scheme programme (GSP).

The paper inquires as to how some cooperations have succeeded beyond expectations despite the centralized and patriarchal approaches of the state and society, an accumulated mistrust and power imbalances between two types of organizations and the existence of little NGO experience.

## TURKEY

is a country that occupies a unique geographic position, lying partly in Asia and partly in Europe. Through its history it has acted as both a barrier and a bridge between the two continents. Turkey is among the larger countries of the Middle East in terms of territory and population, and its land area (783,562 km<sup>2</sup>) is greater than that of any European state.

→ <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9111078/Turkey>

## Conceptual Framework

Development has many dimensions (economic, social, political and ecological) to be considered together, but this is difficult when the actors of development act alone. Thus social capital becomes a crucial resource (capacity) in the form of networks (organized action) and norms (which produce expectations, e.g., trust). It leads individuals and groups to cooperate for reaching a common objective (Healy, 2004). However, social capital may depend on kinship

ties or unequal power relationships, and it may even produce corruption. Governance refines social capital insofar as practitioners adopt a critical-ethical perspective, as opposed to a managerial one, to prioritize capacity building and empowerment of disadvantaged groups for establishing equality (Açıklım, 2005). Governance is the horizontal and interactive coordination of extra familial relations based on the principles of full participation, transparency and effectiveness (Heinelt, 2007). The result is expected to be higher consent, accountability and problem-solving capacities in and through cooperation.

### Methods

The purpose of this research is to explore to what extent organizations built capacities for social capital and governance and to what extent this gives hope for sustainability in their cooperation. The research concentrates on good practices explained from the view point of managers as an initial stage of a comprehensive evaluation.

Of 241 projects in GSP, 144 (60%) are NGOs, 88 (46%) have various types of cooperation, and 46 (19%) have NGO-PO cooperation. The 17 most successful projects having NGO-PO cooperation were selected through interviews with the EADP monitors and reviewing-related documents. Success was defined as giving indications for reaching the identified objectives with cooperation – all projects were near completion at the time of research. Most knowledgeable persons about the whole process were selected for in-depth interviews. The unit of analysis was organizations.

Those which use *public funds* are considered POs and those which use *non-public funds* are considered NGOs. There are four types of organizations: The *lead organization* (LO) is legally responsible for the project. The *partner* shares legal obligations and rights. The *associate organization* supports the project without any legal status. The *informal helper* gives ad hoc support.

### Findings

**Social Situation** The national and local situation was favorable for development after 20 years of ethnic conflict. Organizations focusing on the issues of rights (particularly human and women rights) continued to be considered “suspicious” in varying degrees in certain segments of society and public organizations. Their willingness to work on im-

proving the living conditions of local people eased the atmosphere for cooperating with public organizations. The motivation of public organizations towards success in the first regional EU programme also contributed to the positive atmosphere.

**Design and Practice** The EADP emphasizes participation with objectives of reducing regional discrepancies and increasing skills and capacities so that economic and social conditions and self-help capacities would be improved. Cooperation was encouraged by scoring high in the evaluation of grant applications. EU procedures about transparent and fair implementation and the accountability of beneficiaries substantially shaped the GSP.

Organizational capacities and intra-regional disparities in terms of gender and class were largely overlooked in the design; participation was not effective. The programme emphasized results more than processes. Yet, some ad hoc measures for capacity building, initiated by the Programme Coordination Unit (PCU), were accepted by the center institutions. 2055 individuals received a nine-day training for application procedures and project design. Grant beneficiaries received training and continuous support on implementation, procurement, reporting and monitoring according to the EU procedures. A monitoring team was established and trained to enforce the rules and to support implementation through technical assistance.

**Cooperation** All selected 17 projects target disadvantaged people: the poor, women, the disabled, the youth, children, and victims of the past ethnic conflict. Their average budget is 130,000 €. Twelve projects belong to NGOs, having little economic or human capital. The main subjects are *vocational training* (7 projects), *social support* (4 projects) and *investment* (6 projects). The target groups range from 10 to 1350 people.

Distant and arbitrary (even unofficial) cooperation was preferred: there were 54 informal helpers and 40 associates as opposed to 14 partners. The supporting bodies were NGOs, POs, companies, media and individuals. Seventy-one POs dominated the 108 supporting bodies (66%); almost half of them gave informal help.

The main reason of cooperation was to score high in the evaluation, and the second reason was the organizations’ self-awareness about their low capacity of project design and implementation.

Despite these reasons, mistrust to others in close and official contact obscured partnerships. LOs thought that a partner might withdraw its support before the project ended if a conflict occurred or it might assert ownership on resources or intervene in decisions. However, they thought less involvement (or involvement upon the request of the LO) would bring in less control on decisions and resources. The number of informal helpers inflated also because the LOs obtained help for their unforeseen needs (because of poor project designs and inexperience) observed during the process.

Main support areas were, in order of frequency: *project design, training, reaching target groups, legitimacy, budget and co-finance, visibility and public relations, sustainability and management*. Other areas included help for venue, equipment, daily activities, staff, transport, report writing and finding out supporters.

LOs established new networks and were willing to continue their relationships at least with one support organization. They also engaged in new relations with people who contacted them from other provinces to obtain information or to make joint projects.

**Disputes, Solutions and Attitudes towards Cooperation** The level of disputes was insignificant, but wherever it appeared, the source was usually the POs. Most of the disputes stemmed from differences in opinion about *what to do and when, broken promises* (e.g., co-finance, providing experts), *low level of awareness* about the project impacts or *low level of value* attributed to LOs. Despite progress in cooperation, these reasons suggest that the recognition of NGOs by the POs remained somehow problematic.

The problems were resolved first by communication and persuasion of the counterparts and, if this did not work, second, by appealing to higher authorities to mediate. In the latter, a critical role was played by the governorships and the PCU. Hence the problems generated by POs were sometimes resolved by other POs.

The statement, “if one has a partner, one has a problem,” was evaluated: None of the respondents agreed with this argument for their project, but they evaluated why it could become locally valid: the characteristics of *leaders and participants*, the dynamics of *relationships* and the nature of the *job* (economic benefits vs. public good).

**Internal Relationships** *Organization dominating* style was characterized by collective work in two ways:

- It recalls governance in many aspects. Managers, members of LOs, few target groups and support organizations were involved in decisions and actions in varying degrees. The projects were integrated into other organizational goals and activities. Organizational learning was the highest – five projects, four NGOs.
- Decisions and actions were slow because organizations structured hierarchically and staff capacity was low. The function of the project did not clearly follow the organizational goals, particularly in practice. Participation of target groups and organizations in decisions or actions was low. Organizational learning was low – two PO projects.

*Manager dominating* style was characterized by the delegation of work to a manager or a team of managers. Members were informed or consulted whenever managers felt it was necessary. Organizational learning ranged from medium to low depending on member involvement; the real learners were the managers.

- There was a distance between the project and organizational goals and routines – six projects, four NGOs. Management team members worked together efficiently; few had horizontal relations. The participation of others in decisions or actions varied greatly depending on the managers’ characteristics.
- The project concept was completely strange to the organizations – four NGOs (farmer groups). Members of the organization and target group were the same in investments which required procurement of live stock and equipment and renovating barns, so full participation in most strategic decisions and actions was achieved. Participation was low in other routine work.

**Results** Both immediate and long-term successes were obtained; all give hope for sustenance. The most important results reported were as follows:

- Reaching project objectives: employment, knowledge and skills, means of production and data bases

- Self-confidence and motivation of target group members
- Organizational learning in the lead and support organizations: improved trust, self-confidence, motivation, networking, systematic interaction and responsiveness to the target groups' characteristics and needs

Initiatives towards sustainability look as follows: nine cooperations were ongoing for the continuity of EADP projects, nine cooperations were ongoing for new projects, nine organizations developed new project ideas and were searching for funds or partners, five organizations were in the process of developing project ideas. In most of them, NGOs took the lead and POs supported them either as partners or associates.

### Conclusions

Contextual factors were favorable for development attempts through NGO-PO cooperation in the EADP area. The design and practice of EADP was problematic in assisting the most disadvantaged groups for organizing themselves at grass roots level, designing and implementing projects for themselves, and being informed about egalitarian approaches to societal relations – enhancing social capital, governance and empowerment as the bases of capacity building. Ad hoc measures which helped resolve some of these problems, along with the GSP rules of transparency and accountability, generated positive by-products beyond the limited design and intentions of the managers.

Despite the power and capacity discrepancies and lack of trust between cooperating actors, the LOs were skilful in overcoming their problems. Most of the cooperation was created just to get the grant; more benefits that could be obtained from cooperation were perceived in the process. Existing kinship and family networks were combined with new networks that included unfamiliar or more powerful/experienced actors. Relationships between organizations functioned rather horizontally because they were distant and under the control of LOs. Success brought in familiarity with and recognition of each other (although not at ideal levels); this improved the legitimacy of both sides. Expressed intention to continue working with or without EU grants was a direct effect of cooperation. The process was as important as the project results in terms of building capacities.

Improved social capital was complemented by the improved economic capital. Transparency and accountability rules worked well with the

help of the EADP monitoring system. Despite progress towards better participation, hierarchical structures and a patriarchal approach were apparent in many organizations. Participation was selective in terms of members and subjects. Target groups and some organization members remained rather passive “beneficiaries” although they obtained what was promised. NGOs produced the best and worst practices of organizational learning; achieving better results was left to the managers' capacity and ideology, complexity of activities, and preparedness of target groups.

An advantage is that these are non-professional, almost grass-roots organizations; they are in their communities with new projects, better cooperations and tools to respond to local needs. NGOs lead most of the new projects and POs support them. This may become a compatibility model for the region's development attempts.

Systematic resource flows (grants or credits) are needed urgently. Such programmes should be designed with the participation of potential beneficiaries. Resources (including technical assistance) should flow for considerable time to ensure that sustainable capacities are built; any technical assistance that generates dependency on its services should be considered a failure.

In sum, although much more could have been achieved, the EADP should be considered highly successful from both result and process oriented development perspectives relative to the initial level. The EADP GSP worked as an effective learning process in this respect. Organizations that are seriously committed to development should revise their concepts, designs and practices based on good and bad experiences; evaluations and impact analyses help for this purpose.

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Marju Medar

#### ESTONIA

Compared with other European countries, Estonia has a large percentage of foreign-born residents and their children. Only about two-thirds of the population are ethnic Estonians. Russians are the most significant minority, comprising about one-fourth of the citizenry. Prominent among other ethnic minorities are Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Finns. → <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-261359/Estonia>

# The Role of the University in Regional Cooperation and in Developing Skills in the Community

## Introduction

The University of Tartu is one of the oldest universities in Europe and the biggest university of Estonia. The University of Tartu was founded as *Academia Dorpatensis* (Gustaviana) in 1932 by King Gustav II Adolph of Sweden, and in 1919 it became a national university (Hiio, Piirimäe, 2007). In 2007 the University of Tartu had 11 faculties, 6 research institutes and 5 colleges with more than 70 departments, institutes and clinics. The total number of students in 2007 was over 17,700 (University of Tartu..., 2006).

Pärnu College of the University of Tartu is located in Pärnu, one of the most beautiful towns in Estonia. Pärnu is a historical university town and during the years 1699–1710 Pärnu played host to the university. Pärnu re-established its status as a university town in 1996, when Pärnu College of the University of Tartu was opened (Piirimäe, 1999). Today most people know Pärnu as the Summer Capital of Estonia where the golden sands of the beach, the warm seawater, the numerous parks and the linden-lined walks create a delightful atmosphere which brings tens of thousands of people to Pärnu summer after summer (Pärnu County..., 1997).

Pärnu College of the University of Tartu is an academic educational institution which offers degree programmes and applied higher education programmes in social work administration, tourism and hotel management, business administration, economics and aquatic ecosystems management. The primary

function of the college is to provide higher education, in-service training, and related services (Constitution of Pärnu College 2001). Studies take place both in the form of full-time study and in the form of the Open University. Today the college has approximately 900 students and academic staff consists of 40 teachers (Year Report 2006).

### **The Role of the University in Regional Cooperation**

Pärnu College is a higher education institution whose development planning follows the demands of society. The college development plan determines the college's role in Pärnu, Estonia and the Baltic Sea region. For 2007–2015 the college plan is to focus on teaching and research in the service industry, on socio-economic research and on developing coastal areas. The college's work is based on values such as professionalism, openness, innovation and cooperation, and it aims to be customer-centred (Vision 2015, 2007).

The college aims to become a centre of excellence in the following branches of the service industry: hospitality, tourism, destination management, health resort research, welfare and social services, community development, business services, project management, entrepreneurship, and sustainable management of the socio-ecological systems of coastal areas. The goal is to create and mediate knowledge which could be applied throughout society, and to engage in research and development and in training and consultancy. To this end the Service Competence Centre of Pärnu College is being developed to link companies, public institutions and non-profit organisations with international academic and other research networks. Pärnu College aims to increase its participation in national and regional development programmes and also to take part in the projects of ministries, Enterprise Estonia, the Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Pärnu Town Government, Pärnu County Government, the Business and Development Centre of Pärnu County, and other development institutions.

Today, the college has active contacts in a number of international programmes and networks, including the EU Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci programmes. Staff of the college take

part in the work of several international organisations. Cooperation agreements have been concluded with 29 higher education establishments in 16 countries (Year Report 2006).

### **The Role of the University in Developing Skills in the Community**

**Providing service to society and creating an innovation system.** Providing service to society is an application of the university's intellectual capital within society. The college, which is located close to the immediate users of knowledge in the region, plays an important role and also acts as part of the Estonian national Regional Innovation System (RIS). The aim is to work closely with local municipalities, companies and the tertiary sector in the field of fundamental research, development and in-service training. The implementation of RIS and participation in it form an essential basis for the further development of the college, including its cooperation with the community (Year Report 2006).

The project-based activities of Pärnu College have expanded a lot over the past three years. Several important projects of national or regional scale have been accomplished, initiated or conducted by the college teaching or research staff. Partners in these projects have been ministries (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Education and Research), industrial parks, regional business and development centres, county and local governments, research institutes, universities, colleges and vocational training centres in Estonia and abroad. The share of project-based funding in the college budget has risen from 8% in 2004 to 10% in 2007.

The bigger projects led by Pärnu College have been: "The Regional Innovation Strategy for Estonia"; "The Creation of Tourism Education Network and the System of Teacher Training"; "Evaluation of Social Infrastructure"; "Regional e-learning Centres of Colleges"; "Social Exclusion in Europe" (Year Report 2005, 2006). In 2006, the college's first project using basic financing was approved under the title "The Arrangement

of Human Activity in the Use of Natural Resources: Sustainable Development of Socio-Ecologic Systems in Coastal Areas”. This allows our research and teaching staff to make a contribution to fundamental research in the region (Vision 2015, 2007).

#### **Development of cooperation in education in the region.**

In 2005, the teaching staff and the Department of Education of Pärnu Town Government launched two programmes for schools: The Youth Research Centre and The Tourism School. The research centre provides various activities that assist independent learning and are open to all school students interested in studies. The Tourism School provides an interesting introduction to tourism and hotel management. (Year Report 2005, 2006).

#### **Leisure time programmes for community development.**

The college has had a student theatre since 2005 where the students may spend their leisure time actively and where they can offer their ideas and creative work to the community and also become part of the life of the community themselves. The student theatre has performed in museums and cafés in Pärnu, and their performances are free of charge and open to all people (Year Report 2005, 2006).

Pärnu College was the initiator of the All-Estonian Students' Winter Days in 1999. The Winter Days are a three-day event for all Estonian students. The students have created a tradition which is important to the college and the town and to contacts between students and student councils.

Since 1999 our students have helped to arrange events to celebrate the Day of the Elderly on 1 October, which sees about 1,000 participants from the town and county of Pärnu. The events include lectures on health issues, sports and games and a festive concert (Year Reports, 2000–2006).

**Expanding the collection of the college library and improving the information environment in order to provide better service to the community.** A good supply of professional books for both the students and the wider community is a priority in the college. It is essential to continue buying books

and other materials and to improve access to electronic sources, and the library should be a meeting point for both people and companies. One of the aims is to use projects with companies to concentrate printed lecture and study materials and recorded video lectures in the library to allow access to them to all members of the community (the people of the town).

**Increasing the market share in in-service training and re-training** and the demand for the college programmes in order to meet the training needs of professionals and promote Pärnu as a university town. In-service and re-training are increasing in the knowledge-based society and represent a strategic educational sector.

**The role of students and alumni in shaping and strengthening the community and the region.** The college has now about 800 alumni. It is necessary to foster “the spirit of the school” and a community spirit and the college’s activities should make a greater impact on regional activities. This can be done through traditional events, growing social interaction and closer links with our alumni. In 2007 the college hired an alumni coordinator whose tasks are to set up the alumni council (a non-profit organisation) to monitor the careers of the alumni; to arrange in-service training targeted at alumni; and to set up a discussion forum for them. The college has a database of alumni and partners providing in-service training; there is an alumni club; an electronic newsletter is issued monthly, and we arrange annual conventions, conferences and training courses for the alumni. (Year Report 2006).

**The college as a venue for conferences, exhibitions and other functions.** Every month there are open lectures on interesting topics. The college has become one of the favourite exhibition venues in the county for both family visitors and foreigners alike (six to eight exhibitions per year). The choice of exhibitions is wide ranging from photography and painting to architecture and science, or to marking life and work of outstanding people.

The college frequently arranges conferences linked to its main fields of studies and research. The conferences allow presentations of research results and surveys or serve as meeting points

for organisations and partners. The college disseminates information on training courses, conferences and competitions through various media channels to the community. The college also has databases on job vacancies where the students and the alumni can obtain information on job placement opportunities and vacant positions, and employers can find suitable employees.

#### **Internationalisation, visiting teaching staff and students.**

The ability to offer studies in English is absolutely necessary in order to ensure sustainable development, and so is student mobility, which has become a quality standard in many countries. As already said, the college takes part in a number of international networks, and working in international projects and partnerships is one of the main tasks in our work. We need to cooperate in order to offer students job placements in different countries, communities and organisations, and we work closely with AIESEC, Rotary and Lions clubs, and with the Socrates and Leonardo programme facilities. Student and staff mobility are key issues in international regional cooperation.

**Applied research is an essential development area for the college.** Surveys in the town and county of Pärnu are the main centre of interest.

#### **Conclusions**

As this all shows, the college has very high aims, which will not be easy to achieve when faced with the ever-growing demands of society, a declining population and a small number of potential students. The college will face an important decision in the coming years: whether to become a university branch providing distance education and in-service training, or to become a service industry management school and centre of excellence with research and consultancy skills in the service industry, which it uses to carry out surveys and development and consultancy projects. Both directions are essential because, while serving the interests of the community, the college offers distance learning and in-service programmes both to young school leavers and to practising professionals in Estonia. At the same time, developing a regional training and competence centre and working together extensively with public, private and voluntary organisations within the centre's

structure fits together well with the national regional development policy for 2007–2013 and is immediately linked with the college's role in improving skills in the community.

A crucial issue for the college is how to achieve the aims it has set. The development plan sets out strategic directions which are defined as breakthrough areas. These areas in 2007–2010 are the development of integrated higher professional education curricula and efficient work placement management; an increase in the volume of research and development activities; human capital and international master's programmes in the college's areas of specialisation; top competence in the service industry; and the development of in-service training and inter-university e-learning (Vision 2015..., 2007). The breakthrough areas focus on the application of human capital whilst the college is within a region where it is close to its users, as this allows activities to be organised so that they match the needs of partners. The key concepts are specialisation and cooperation with companies and institutions in the region which deal in service industry management and the development of coastal areas.

All this requires the college and the county and local governments to focus on community development in harmony with what is needed and is possible in the community and to consider both local and global challenges.

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Finland's population of five million has adapted to life under peripheral conditions in northern Europe. Finns make up 35% of the world's population north of latitude 60°N. Finland is sparsely populated, with only 17 people per km. In 2006 Finland celebrated the centenary of full political rights for women, a first in world history, and in January Pres. Tarja Halonen, the country's first woman head of state, was reelected for a second six-year term.  
→ <http://virtual.finland.fi/>

Elina Nivala

## Animating Civil Society from the Inside: The Case of the Finnish Youth Society Movement

Finland is a country of strong democracy and far-reaching social equality. The civil society with its numerous associations has a significant role in the workings of today's democratic institutions. Looking back in the history of this particular country shows us in a very definite way how important players the civic movements and associations-to-be are for the development of a just and benign society. A quick glance at the history can lead us to an ever clearer understanding of the significance of the encouragement of the citizens to be active members of the society and the part the civic associations can be playing in this development. This should be of great concern not just for the developing but also the mature democracies of the 21st century. One example of how to keep the civil society alive in a mature democracy – that means how to animate the participants of the activities in different associations to become actors in the society – comes from the Finnish Youth Society movement.

During the 19th century, when Finland was a part of the tsarist Russia, there were strong intentions in the society to create an independent Finnish nation. This was an important motivation behind the creation of many associations and thus the development of the

civil society. The Finnish people had to be made aware of their existence as a people, aware of their unique language and culture, and – particularly – they had to be made citizens, participants and actors in their own society. Many cultural and educational associations grew out of these ambitions: active members of the upper classes saw cultural and educational associations as good means in these purposes, but also the common people themselves, especially in the countryside, started to organise activities for their own convenience and enjoyment. A big part of the associations started off as civic movements with orientation to make life a bit more pleasant not only by arranging recreational and leisure activities but also by opening up possibilities for self-education and by offering an arena for societal discussions and even organization behind social claims. Thanks to these ambitions and initiatives the Finnish civil society was born. (Alapuro, Risto and Stenius, 1987; Harju, 2003; Nieminen, 2006.)

One of these associations born as a non-political movement at the end of the 19th century was the Youth Society movement. These “societies” were born out of the concern for the idleness of the young people as an endeavour to offer them some valuable activities instead of mere loitering around. The central principle behind these activities was the belief in everyone’s potential to advance and educate themselves, and so the central aim was to offer a wide range of voluntary, community-based and personally cultivating activities from music, theatre and physical exercise to reading and discussion groups. The center of the activities was the house of the local youth society and these were soon built all around the country. As one of the leading figures of the

movement phrased it, the movement was aiming for “good persons and upstanding citizens.” Citizenship was understood to develop hand in hand with the personal and moral growth of the young people. (Niemi, 2006; Smeds, 1987.)

If we analysed the early days of the movement from the frame of socio-cultural animation, the philosophical-methodological framework for community development born in France after the second world war, we could see that all the main elements are there: social, cultural and educational activities and a strong intention to activate people to educate themselves, to learn together and to change their lives and with their lives to change the society. The activities were organized in the communities in the middle of the daily lives of the people, and their true basis was the participation of the people themselves, their enthusiasm and their willingness to work together in order to find ways to improve their quality of life and the life of the community. (Kurki, 2000.) However, since those early days these elements and the spirit of the movement have been lost.

When Finland got its independence in 1917, the civil society had grown fairly strong: for example, the civic movements had been successful in demanding franchise for everyone over 24 years – that means women as well as men – in Finland as the first country in the world. (Jussila, 1996.) Since then the state has been gaining more and more power in the society. The building up of a strong welfare state has meant wider rights for the citizens and growing social equality, but in addition it has brought about general passiveness among the citizens. The civil society has lost a great deal of its practical significance in the daily lives of the citizens since the enthusiasm of the

early civic movements has turned into the bureaucracy of today's organizations. However, since the economic recession in the 1990s – with the huge growth of unemployment and unbearable demands towards the welfare state – there has been a growing interest in the possibilities of the civil society in working for the well-being of the citizens. A big issue in the public discourse lately has also been the active citizenship, and here, too, the eyes turn towards the civil society. A strong state alone cannot guarantee democracy and the welfare of the citizens – the citizens have to participate themselves. But activating the citizens from above is not the answer because citizenship doesn't work that way. The civic enthusiasm has to grow from the inside – that means in activities of the different associations that form the civil society.

The development that has taken place in the Finnish Youth Societies during the last few years can be seen as an example of this animation from the inside. There, at the national level, has started a process of devising new meanings and new kinds of methods for the work that is done among children and young people. The youth societies had always been seen as cultural associations, but recently culture had become understood as something quite shallow compared to the early days of the movement, as did one of the persons in charge say in the interview. Culture had become something people should and could preserve by practicing folkdances and making theatre. Culture had become a tradition to be kept up or a hobby to be bustled with during free time. Therefore, there had arisen a need to see culture differently, and this different view was found in the tradition of sociocultural animation (Kurki, 2000).

For a cultural and educational association like the Finnish Youth Societies, finding a new understanding of culture and, following that, a new understanding of the purpose of the work done with children and young people was itself an important process of growth. With the help of ideas gathered from the discussion about socio-cultural animation, a change in the understanding of the meaning of culture was created: culture was no more seen only as something inherited, not only as a tradition to be kept alive but as something that is created and recreated every day. On the basis of this new understanding the association needed to rephrase the aims of the work. One of the main points behind the developmental process on the practical level was the understanding that although organizing leisure activities, having fun and spending time with friends are important dimensions of the work, there should be something more. Like in the early years of the movement, there should be the spirit of making a difference – in one's own life, in the community and in the wider society, too. The activities should be about growing up as a person and as a citizen: finding the purpose of one's own life and becoming the master of one's own choices and actions, and also working together and preparing to become an actor in the neighbourhood, in the society and somehow also in the wider world.

In order to develop the work into the newly found direction at the local level, there was a need to make the theory of socio-cultural animation more concrete in the context of the youth societies. So in 2003 the national organization published a small book (Innostuskirja. Nyt. 2003) that searches for the key ideas behind the work done in the associations and then builds up a new – and old at the same

time – methodological basis for the activities according to the guidelines set up by the tradition of socio-cultural animation. Thereby, in the book and on a related website, one can find an application of this tradition into the Finnish reality and into the work of the youth societies. “Awake, participate, investigate and find your own trail” are the principles of the process the activities should follow.

The methods applied during the past few years in order to make the national developmental process real at the local level have been various. There have been two pilot projects that have developed concrete tools for the activities: one of community art education and the other of personal storytelling. The focus of the first project has been on working together in order to realise and improve the conditions around us, and the other has focused on seeing inside oneself, finding and telling the stories that give meaning to one’s own being. The methodological developments have been shared to wider use in a specific community adviser/ animator training that has also been developed with keeping in mind the principles of socio-cultural animation. The intention is that the animators are actors from the local level who will come to the training and learn about the principles and methods and then they will go and inspire the local groups to create projects that will use the new methods for their own interests.

There is a big call for open spaces where young people can realise activities that have some real meaning for them, not just participate in activities that adults think they want or should participate in. The Youth Society Movement has started a process towards not just active citizenship and participating civil society but

a meaningful life for children and young people, as well as for adults. Freedom of the person, caring of the community and the culture of humanity will be the leading principles of the work.

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Gülcan Akkaya

# Community Development in Post-Conflict Societies, Citing Kosovo as an Example

Civil war destroys not only local economies, infrastructure and residential areas. It also has a devastating impact on the social relations among the inhabitants. How can rural communities be stabilised? How can the civilian population in post-war societies be empowered and encouraged to become more involved in both the reconstruction and peace processes? How can neighbours develop a peaceful coexistence? How can the *community development* approach contribute to this reconstruction in the context of civil war?

## KOSOVO

The Kosovo Albanians have the highest population growth rate in Europe; it lies around 1.3%. In 1999, Kosovo had an estimated population of around 2 million inhabitants, which means a doubling since 1960. In comparison, the increase of the Kosovo Serb population in the same period was only fractional. However, it is for several reasons not expected that Kosovo's population will continue to grow at the same pace. Two of the reasons are certainly better access to health care facilities and contraceptives for women.  
→ <http://desip.igc.org/StressInKosovo.html>

Since 2003, Gülcan Akkaya, commissioned by Caritas Switzerland, has implemented eight community development projects in Kosovo for the social integration of ethnic minorities.

The aftermath of civil war is not only evident in the destruction of homes, the collapse of care and supply systems and other existential difficulties for the civil population. Violence as a result of interregional conflicts, such as those experienced in Kosovo, also leaves its mark in the form of a deeply divided society. Trust in governmental and political institutions is shattered, former value systems are discarded and social networks between population groups, which had once lived together in the same neighbourhoods, are severed. What remains is often hate and mistrust between the different ethnic groups as a result of a war ideology legitimated by the deliberate stirring up of ethnic, cultural and religious prejudices.

The consequences of the war in Kosovo are not only outwardly visible. It also destroyed social cohesion and the internal structure of rural communities which had developed over centuries. Together with the material reconstruction of post-conflict societies, peace-building activities also focus on social rehabilitation. It is in this realm that *community development* can make a significant contribution.

### **The Activities of Caritas Switzerland in Kosovo**

Since the 1990s, Caritas Switzerland, an international relief organisation for emergency aid and development cooperation, has been involved in reconstruction projects in the Balkan States. It has provided support for the building up of local infrastructure and for various agricultural development projects. Until 2003, our activities in Kosovo focused mainly on the Albanian population. In view of the resurgence of ethnic conflicts, as well as the precarious situation of ethnic minorities in Kosovo, Caritas Switzerland has decided to extend its activities to include these groups.

### **The Situation in Kosovo**

Economic life has come practically to a standstill. Many companies and businesses from the former Yugoslavia have closed down; the infrastructure is obsolete. *“On top of the structural costs and those resulting from the war come problems resulting from the transition from socialist self-rule to a market economy”* (Calic, 2004: p.19). Since 1999 Kosovo has been dependent on foreign aid. There is little prospect of improvement in the immediate future.

Official figures put the level of unemployment in Kosovo at 49%. Those most affected are members of ethnic minority groups and young people aged between 16 and 24 years, 71% of whom have no occupation at all. As a result, many move away from their rural villages seeking work abroad and in the larger cities. Half of the population lives under the poverty line (Calic, 2004).

### **The Situation of Minorities in Kosovo**

An estimated 100,000 Serbs, 35,000 Slavic Muslims, 30,000 Roma, 20,000 Turks, 12,000 Gorani<sup>1</sup> and 500 Croatians live in Kosovo today (Calic, 2004). Fundamental human rights, such as the right to freedom of movement and of where to settle are denied these ethnic minorities, particularly the Serbs and Roma. 85% are unemployed. Access to social institutions, public health care and education for these groups is greatly hindered. Most public institutions are mono-ethnic. The severe under-representation of ethnic minorities results in further discrimination in the services delivered. Moreover, minority languages are rarely spoken; there is only one official language, Albanian (ICG, 2002).

<sup>1</sup> The Gorani, like the Bosnian Muslims are of Slavic extraction. They do not speak Bosnian, but their own south Slavic idiom. The word Gorani means: “from the mountains”.

Freedom of movement for the Serbian population is especially limited (Calic, 2004). The Roma, whose situation is particularly precarious, also belong to the specially disadvantaged population groups. Even at times when the overall situation had somewhat improved, members of ethnic minority groups and their families have had to be prepared for threats and attacks and are still, therefore, dependent on the protection of the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

### **Community Development in General**

The primary aims of community development are to improve the basic living conditions of ethnic minorities, to ensure a means of livelihood and to create opportunities for earning an income – all of which are generally accompanied by their integration on social, political, economic and cultural levels. The main approach of these projects involves the fostering of cooperation and dialogue between ethnically mixed population groups.

With this concept of community development, Caritas Switzerland aims to address the specific situation of minorities and their issues in post-war societies. Based on the tradition of neighbourhood civilian projects, which originated in England in the 19th century, community development aims to stabilise social cohesion in entire neighbourhoods, city districts and/or communities. The most important principle is the mobilisation and self-organisation of the local population. Partners in community development act as intermediary authorities by establishing ties between the various population groups and institutions and seeking alliance partners from business, politics and the local population.

Peace promotion in the aftermath of civil war involves the strengthening and support of civilian society on the ground. The choice of method or approach used in community development will depend on the particular local problems and conditions.

### **Community Development in Kosovo**

In an initial assessment phase, guidelines are drawn up for a demographic, economic and cultural profiling of the situation in the municipalities.

An integral part of my mandate was and is, on the one hand, to develop and implement the further education of local Caritas staff while, on the other hand, realising and supporting local community development projects. In the course of this, staff members are trained to be instruments of community development, familiar with such themes as conflict resolution, project management, human rights and minority rights, as well as questions of inter-cultural dialogue, inter-ethnic cooperation and peace building. The following questions have to be concretely addressed for the implementation of community development work in the villages.

- How can the local population be engaged and motivated to cooperate?
- How can networks, alliances, coalitions, and cooperation be developed between the involved parties?
- How can community development projects in municipalities most successfully be initiated?

**Participative Survey in the Municipalities:** We achieved an overview based on the participatory survey on the ground, together with a comprehensive analysis of the situation. As a first step towards implementation we organised action-meetings in the respective villages and introduced the community development approach.

At such meetings we heard that the most serious social problems are unemployment, securing a livelihood, the lack of agricultural materials, market structures and social infrastructures such as schools, meeting rooms and waste management. Then as now, ethnic tensions burden relationships. Also, intergenerational conflicts are frequent in the villages. Ethnic discrimination and obstructed access to public institutions, to work opportunities and to education are all a major hurdle for minorities. The Roma community is particularly stigmatised and affected by mechanisms of social exclusion.

They mention poor healthcare and diagnostic facilities as further problems. The Roma community is particularly disadvantaged in the field of education, too. For many parents, whether or not their children should attend school is not in question as youngsters must work, searching the waste disposal sites for food or selling wares in the street. Through doing so, they make an important contribution to securing the family's livelihood. In the face of this everyday struggle for sur-

vival, the cost of school materials also proves an insurmountable hurdle. When they do get to attend school, Roma children face discrimination. The political will in the central and local government to push for Roma integration barely exists.

#### **Implementing Community Development Projects in the Villages**

Two community development projects have been realised already in Serbian enclaves, two for the Gorani minority and two for Slavic Muslims, all in remote rural villages. Of two projects for the Roma community, one is in the city of Prizren and the other in a slum-like settlement near a waste dump outside the city of Gjakova.

In the villages we strove to bring together working groups consisting of representatives of the various interest groups, for example young people, women, the various ethnicities, the elderly, institutions, societies, village committees and local councillors. These working groups served as forums for information exchange and networking between interest groups. The interest groups, for instance women, young people, returnees, farming, infrastructure and ecology, also met separately to address specific problems in these areas and to suggest solutions.

The various projects in the villages serve to strengthen and empower target groups and increase their participation so that they are in a position to independently articulate their opinions, problems and needs. Here particular emphasis is placed on the participation of young people and women whose opinions have often not been included in decision-making processes. Many projects are underway: the construction of a meeting centre for intercultural and inter-ethnic communication, for educational and leisure activities for young people, for basic literacy and computer courses. Additionally, there are health projects and courses for parents, regular gynecological check-ups for women and campaigns for health care provision. Examples of income-creating agricultural projects are, for instance, a beekeeping and a dairy production business. Important projects in the area of infrastructure include organising waste disposal, the construction of a bridge linking the Serbian and Albanian quarters of a village, renovation of a sewer, and improvement of access roads to agricultural land. A special feature of all these projects has been that they have been achieved through a considerable contribution of the local residents to both their planning and realisation.

A “from the bottom up” approach was initiated in the villages as a first step to involve and strengthen people at the grass roots, giving them a voice. In a further step we try to network community development projects at municipal, regional, even national levels. Communication facilitated horizontally with other grassroots projects as well as vertically with local government and its institutions helps projects achieve greater impact.

It is crucial that local government, authorities and institutions assume responsibility for running projects in the longer term. Otherwise, there is a danger that international organisations will take over the role of local and central government. Negotiations are held in the municipalities to ensure their participation in the financing of projects. To further involve them in assuming responsibility, so-called monitoring groups are established within municipalities, ensuring local involvement also in the evaluation process.

In this context it is very important to also support the local NGOs and to involve them in community development projects. Further, one must always take into consideration that projects may have negative as well as the desired positive effects on the community. It is important, therefore, that international NGOs continually and critically reflect on their work and on what they achieve with their interventions to avoid fostering new dependences.

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### Results and Conclusions

Minorities in Kosovo are, in part, systematically discriminated against and marginalised (UNHCR /OSCE , 2002). It is essential then to work towards changing power and system structures. First, minorities need to be better informed of their rights, and these rights need to be institutionalised at national and at local levels. Supporting minorities to demand their rights constitutes an important function of community development. The goal is a just distribution of power, as well as an equal stake in political, economic, social and cultural life. Through educational work and information distribution, community development offers an important contribution to the strengthening of disadvantaged groups and an anchoring of human rights issues in everyday culture.

Community development is always about empowering people locally to solve their problems themselves. Experience shows that such projects need staying power. Emphasis should be placed on encouraging learn-

ing processes and taking into consideration that we are talking here about human survival and the daily struggle to stay alive. The exceptional effect of the community projects initiated in Kosovo is that they bring together for the first time previously rival groups and various ethnicities to jointly run the projects. This was then a new beginning for forming relationship and for intercultural communication across ethnic lines, which is absolutely necessary for a future living together in this region. Community development projects provide, in this way, a new framework for inter-ethnic and intercultural dialogue. Fears, emotional injury and suffering inevitably crop up and need space here, as well as people’s hopes and future plans.

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Maria Maiss, Ursula Stattler

# Social Space-Oriented Brief Intervention for Politicians in Communities and Social Workers

## AUSTRIA

Austria is not only a mountainous but also a highly urbanized country. Roughly half of the population lives in cities and towns of more than 10,000 residents, and about one-fifth of the total population lives in Vienna. The state capitals have, as a consequence of national economic and social development, grown somewhat in population since the end of World War II. Some 98 percent of Austrians are German-speaking. Communities of Magyars and Croats living in the Burgenland, Slovenes living in Kärnten, and Czechs, Slovaks, and Turks living mainly in Vienna constitute the major ethnic and linguistic minorities. → <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-33393/Austria>

## Abstract

This project deals with a social work consulting experiment which is part of the EQUAL Initiative “Donau – Quality in Inclusion.” The brief intervention model based on a social space-oriented approach has been developed with the aim of mobilizing the latent and manifest resources within communities. The model has a triple focus – case-oriented, comprehensive, and non-specific and thus avoids reductionist approaches and methods.

The active participation and interaction between different groups within the community are promoted to target, describe and solve issues on a local or regional level using the resources at hand. The so-called social capital of communes is activated with the help of experts who intervene within a defined, limited period of time based on the ideas of empowerment, networking, and participation.

The social workers on the communal level and the potential beneficiaries of their services are encouraged to cooperate in order to determine and expand options of action concerning issues defined by those active in the community.

The principles of the consulting model are based on the ideas of brief intervention, designing appropriate and sustainable coping and problem solving strategies by making use of and initiating the competences in the communities.

**Starting Position:**

Our consulting experiment is part of the EQUAL project “Donau – Quality in Inclusion” (July 2005 – June 2007). This project is concerned with the question of how and on the basis of which criteria quality within the heterogeneous fields of social work can be described, proven and sustainably implemented into the organizational, structural and personnel context of social work.

The following thoughts have influenced the development and testing of the brief intervention model:

The genuine task and responsibility of social work is to strive for the (re-)opening and expansion of participation and inclusion for people with various (internally and externally contingent) social problems and disadvantages. In our understanding social work is not only case-oriented and comprehensive but also takes into consideration the dimension of a non-specific or social space-oriented approach<sup>1</sup>. It is also socio-politically aware. By bringing into account the conditions in a society for social problems and coping mechanisms and by creating positive social conditions (including fair availability of resources), it reduces the danger of a reductionist psychological procedure. If based on the concept of a deliberative democracy serving the welfare of all, including those who are most vulnerable and disadvantaged, then social work empowerment strategies must be implemented in a participative way. This means considering individual contexts and including everybody, that is to say, also the special concerns, problems, reasons and arguments of socially disadvantaged people into the socio-political decision-making process.

Social work expertise distinguishes itself by defining and making visible social disadvantages and social conditions within specific exchange processes with people and their environment. If possible, social work acts on behalf of the socially disadvantaged and takes a public stand; additionally, it opens up possibilities for these people to engage in deliberative processes and create collective conditions in society. In

<sup>1</sup>  
Our innovative social work consulting model has a triple focus (case-oriented, comprehensive, and non-specific) and it enables the main quality criteria of social work (empowerment, participation, resource orientation, personal life space orientation, flexible organization structures, coordination and networking, prevention, needs orientation) to be realized in an effective and sustainable way.

the tradition of social work theory focusing on the “res publica” or, in other words, the commonwealth is part of the community social work, community organization or community development. Since our consulting model is not restricted to communal interventions, we use the more extensive term of “social space orientation.”

By using this kind of a brief intervention model in the Lower Austrian communities we are reacting to a shortcoming, as current social space-oriented activities in the social work sciences both here and in other German speaking areas are still focused on large urban regions. The goal of this intervention is to promote and strengthen 1.) participative forms of social care and life style and 2.) the social resources in the sense of creative networks between socially active people in the community, in social work and society in general. The need to expand social work activities in the rural regions is due to socio-cultural, socio-economic and demographic changes as well as settlement issues. These factors have a direct impact on the sustainability of traditional social networks serving social life style and care<sup>2</sup>.

**Development – Testing – Results:**

The project “Social Space-Oriented Work in Communities of Lower Austria,” together with the politically active people in the communes and regions, strives to locate those social structures that can promote but may also prevent participative processes locally and regionally. The aim of our work is the strengthening of “social capital” (Bourdieu) – in the sense of social influence, active shaping and networking – through a specific form of social work consulting. Local, limited participation processes of communal workers and social workers are initiated at the point where their competences overlap.

Prior to the development and implementation, 45 interviews with experts from the community, social workers and other socially active agents were conduct-

<sup>2</sup>  
See e.g.: Fischer, T. (2005): *Alt sein im ländlichen Raum – eine raumwissenschaftliche Analyse* (Growing old in the rural area – a spatial science analysis). Dissertation: Department of Spatial-, Landscape- and Infrastructure Sciences, University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences, Vienna. Provision and care are the most important tasks of community work. With respect to services rendered in this field we can witness shifts between the private sector (market), the public sector (state) and the non profit sector. The conflicts and challenges resulting from the change from simple structures to more complex ones cannot be mastered by the people concerned at the local level without external support. A strengthening of the clubs, associations and volunteer organizations can also only take place through external support (see: <http://gemeindebund.at/news>, 2007-02-01). With our brief intervention model based on social space orientation we make a social work science and practical work contribution to the design of innovative and sustainable networks in order to enable and promote social provision, care and quality of life.

ed in the Lower Austrian regions/communities (e.g. Dorf- und Stadterneuerung, NÖ Regionalmanagement). The findings were used in the consulting work, which was based on the idea of strengthening the social capital, e.g. the ability of the people in the communities and regions to participate and network.

In social work research these findings serve to expand the consulting competences for social work in rural regions. Moreover, the findings concerning exchange and network activities have been and will be discussed and developed with other fields where social space-oriented work is becoming increasingly important, such as in city and regional planning and in socio-cultural development work.

All in all there were 20 cooperation partners in Lower Austria – including community representatives, local groups, individual and regional networks of social workers. The aim of this consulting model is to collect and comprehend social problems pointed out by the local people from a social work perspective and to initiate appropriate coping processes. Social work science contexts are made available for social planning agendas in the communities, and the social work competence of social workers as co-designers of the social space of the clients is strengthened.

#### The principles of our consulting work are:

- time limitation,
- acknowledgement of local expertise for social planning and problem solving,
- appropriateness of the intervention with reference to the situation through tailor-made problem-solving perspectives and
- public discussion forums for everybody in the community.

We use methods of social casework in a social setting. This means everybody who applies is accepted as a partner. The problem descriptions are accepted. We support the applicants in defining the context: Where

does the problem or need for action occur? What kind of structures exist within the community to deal with this issue? What do others define as the problem? How would they describe it? Self-organization is initialized (e.g. by information dissemination, definitions, best practice examples). New problems may arise out of this process and the old ones may disappear. If necessary, we offer strategies on how to deal with this issue of problem definitions. However, we keep a distance and do not get involved over a longer period of time.

#### Examples from the Daily Consulting Work:

**A) The Community:** The mayor of a small village planned to initiate a project called “Assisted Living.” Therefore, he had already started to build an old peoples’ home. But installing a building is not enough care. After asking himself, “How would I wish to get old in my community?” the mayor realized that the services offered by the existing institutions for assisted living are not enough: he wanted a model that enables the inhabitants of the old peoples’ home to participate in communal life. To get additional ideas and professional support he contacted our project team. We gave him some information about local talent exchange systems, and he developed the idea to combine this with a model of volunteer work in which every interested person of the village and near region can participate with the aim to incorporate the project “Assisted Living” into the communal life. In order to find out in which form, how many, and which people of the village are interested in participating, the mayor and our team planned and organized a meeting to which every youth and adult inhabitant of the community and different representatives of firms and associations who offer or sell professional services for assisted living were invited. Our part was to moderate the discussions between the mayor,

the representatives of the firms and the community and to collect the offered ideas, which could help to realize the mayor's idea. Since many people showed their interest in participating in the project, we had reason enough to step back and to finish our social space-oriented brief intervention. We were sure that the people of this community will take care of the rest.

**B) Social Work:** A regional network of social workers from different institutions of a district capital meets regularly to exchange ideas. Different team members articulate the needs of the clients they think have not been satisfied so far. Their aim is to pass on their perceptions and ideas to the responsible political representatives within their district. However, they are unsure about how to proceed in order to be successful. So they turn to the consulting team. We support them in the following way: First, we jointly plan a summary and structure of the different problem areas, then we moderate parts of a network meeting. If required, we offer further support for the design of the issues.

This offer is no longer used. The regional team members and the community and regional representatives meet at a round table to exchange ideas. Later on a member gives us the information about the first successful steps and further round table meetings.

Up to now we have been able to become active concerning the following topics and issues:

- Conflict resolution between parts of the population (e.g. people with secondary residence) and representatives of the community,
- Initializing network structures between social workers and political representatives in communities,

- Initializing local networking committees and social projects (youth projects, incorporating the project "Assisted Living" for the elderly into volunteer work and local exchange systems, working on solutions for visible consequences of drug and alcohol problems),
- Explaining the need for prevailing social work actions.

These interventions have always included passing on knowledge about social space-oriented action strategies.

Our social space approach aims at unlocking and strengthening social capital in the sense of potential to action; we focus on existing personnel, organizational and infrastructural resources which enable social workers and (potential and actual) beneficiaries to expand options of action.

On the one hand, we would like to determine the extent of the social space-oriented social work image in communal/regional social planning agendas. On the other hand, we would like to determine in which areas communal representatives may profit from social work expertise (social workers as experts of social in- and exclusion) in order to promote a participative culture for everybody in the community.

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Christian P. Casparis

# The Socio-Economic Potential of Community Centres: A Voluntary Sector without Do-Gooders

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## SWITZERLAND

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the Swiss population has more than doubled, increasing from 3.3 million in 1900 to 7.5 million in 2005. The most important growth was recorded between 1950 and 1970, during which period the annual growth rate was on average over 1.4%. It fell to its lowest level (0.15%) during the ten-year period between 1970 and 1980, following the limit on immigration of foreign labour and the 1975–1976 economic crisis. This crisis resulted in a temporarily negative net migration. → <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/02/blank/key/bevoelkerungsstand.html>, 24.3.08

## Florence Nightingale is Dead...

**Thesis:** While traditional volunteers are dying out, professional community development is still generating added public value as well as niche incomes at low cost that keeps communities and social networks going; this holds for well-to-do as well as developing urban contexts.

This thesis is not meant to offend all the people still active in the traditional voluntary sector. However, studies have shown a decline in the availability of volunteers willing to give their time and competence free of charge over a longer period. In Switzerland, e.g., associations are finding it more and more difficult to replace their functionaries.

This paper sees a need to move on from the nostalgia of the voluntary sector in the old sense, when well-to-do men and women saw it as their duty – and privilege – to take on tasks in the public sphere. It aims at showing new potential for creating added public value along less altruistic but by no means less rewarding or socio-politically less relevant lines.

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## Careers for the “Nouveaux Niches” in the Zurich Community Centres

The 18 Zurich Community Centres (cc) are socio-cultural facilities accessible to all age groups. They offer a wide variety of services and forms of participation. Let me describe a number of activities and projects that generate a new kind of voluntary input with a direct individual payoff and an added public value.

**Vitamin M: mentor turns consultant** School leavers without access to higher education or to the labour market are often disadvantaged in several ways. They tend to drop out of traditional support services as well. The Vitamin M project is run by the community centre in order to prevent such youths from dropping out for good. It matches local voluntary mentors with young mentees. The mentors use their expertise and local connexions and coach the mentee as a kind of uncle or aunt. The model is known in many countries.

So far it looks like the traditional volunteering scheme. However, the cc offers particular advantages in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability:

- access to the target group is no problem since the youths frequent the cc
- ccs work together with local schools and teachers, who can be integrated in the project
- ccs run community development projects involving citizens, who can be approached as potential mentors
- ccs network with institutional partners (social, cultural and commercial) that can play a role in Vitamin M

The case at hand achieved a high performance in preventing drop-outs; one of the voluntary mentors even moved on to a job after realising her coaching skills.

**Generator: pocket-money for kids doing odd jobs for senior citizens**

The project involves youths offering senior citizens their services to top up their pocket money. The added value consists in getting the young and the elderly together. The cc initiated the project in cooperation with an NGO for the elderly and set up a small odd-job agency run by two voluntary senior citizens. Since they get into contact with the youths and do something useful for their own age group in the public setting they, too, profit from the added social capital value.

After the professional start-up phase this voluntary scheme ran on its own steam. Thanks to the mix of social and monetary capital, a minimum amount of support is needed. The advantages of a cc apply here as well: professional start-up support, infrastructure, access to target groups, etc.

**Passing on skills: 85% women freelancers** The cc includes an informal educational sector. Users can choose from a large variety of creative and other courses from Bachflower Remedies, jewellery-making Jazz-dance, to Buddhist Meditation, most of which are run by local citizens handing on their skills; skills which some have picked up at the cc itself.

At present over 200 freelancers are teaching courses in one of the 18 Zurich ccs, 85% of which are women. Their courses are exposed to market forces in so far as they will only take place if the number of applicants covers their income plus a minimal fee for administration and the use of the infrastructure.

The advantages here are obvious: people can earn a bit on the side without having to bother about marketing or localities. The better their offer, the more they can expand their “business” (cf. launch-pad effect below). All the cc needs to contribute is support and infrastructure plus quality management in order to prevent health and other hazards. The added value in terms of social capital is again the socio-cultural context of the cc with its spillover effects and synergies.

**Second-hand children’s clothes and toys** A second-hand shop for children’s clothes in a cc has all the fringe benefits of the above projects as well:

- the shop opens once a week in one of the cc rooms and becomes a fixture for years to come
- recruitment of managers is easily done among the cc users
- the service can be flanked on the same day by a number of additional options, such as childcare counselling, playgroups, or a used toys shop
- apart from making a bit on the side, the women running the shop enjoy their role in the public sphere
- part of the profit goes to pay the cc’s overhead

**Swap a free gig for the rent of a studio** Youths have a hard time finding appropriate rooms where they can practice their music as a band. The cc has facilities in the cellar that can be rented out to them. No room is rented out exclusively to one band. If a band wishes to negotiate the price of rent, the cc management negotiates a reduction in exchange for a free performance at one of the neighbourhood festivals – once their music is good enough.

This is a simple matter of swapping goods between partners willing to strike a deal face-to-face. Again, it is the setting of a cc that enables this to happen. Appearing with their “goods” at a concert is an added public value. And the band gets a chance to appear in public without having to look for a hall, a producer and whatnot.

**Leonardo’s launch pad** Whether such a band or other artists practicing in the cc will ever see the limelight of stardom is anybody’s guess at the beginning. However, many a professional is known to have started his or her career here thanks to the favourable setting.

This launch pad effect also works with women e.g. after their role as mother. They take up a chore in the cc as volunteer or part-timer and then feel confident enough to (re-)enter a professional career.

**LETS (local exchange and trading system)** The LETS system (trading know-how and services with time as the only currency) is well known in many countries. It often peters out because of management or ideological failure or an imbalance between people offering a service and those using it. There is no guarantee for success simply because LETS is run from a cc. But the advantages of the cc setting are self-evident.

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### **The “Nouveaux Niches” in the Cape Town Community Centres**

A visit to the so-called Multi-Purpose Community Centres in the townships of Cape Town showed me that the potential of such places holds equally true in far less affluent areas. I came across activities that not only match but go beyond the ones described above:

**DIY toys for responsible parents** In a small workshop parents were taught how to make sensible toys for their kids instead of buying the expensive plastic version. As a by-product of this educationally and economically sensible approach, parents were able to organize their baby-sitting amongst themselves.

**Word and Excel for the kids** A room contained a dozen or so computers the cc manager had procured from who knows where. A volunteer teacher was introducing the ins and outs of Word and Excel to teenagers. His payoff was simply making himself useful by passing on a skill, enjoying his role in the public context of the cc and having access to its facilities and fringe benefits. The kids got a career boost to last them a long time.

**Violin lessons at grass-roots** Nobody expects a violin class for children in a township-cc in South Africa. But there it was, run lovingly by the musician in residence for a small fee and the rewarding enthusiasm only kids are capable of.

**Recycling Coke cans into souvenirs** Another artist in residence taught children how to turn Coke cans into colourful small cars, butterflies, clowns, aeroplanes, etc. that could be sold on the local souvenir market to the tourists.

Apropos artists in residence, so-called developed countries are beginning to take over this model of creating new jobs in the cultural field to compensate the dwindling market of traditional jobs.

**Job-work into patchwork in the senior citizen club** In another cc I came across a group of senior citizens happily singing and sewing patchwork quilts. Next door women were working a large textile cutting machine as job-work for a private enterprise. The piece left over at the end of each roll was then cut into squares and passed on to the patchworkers free of charge...

**Pampers galore** The most surprising activity I encountered was a machine to make “nappies” (geriatric and infant), run by eleven young girls who made a bit on the side from the sale of their product. The same manager, Ms Mentor, who had procured the computers by hook or by crook had come across the offer on the Internet and had immediately seen its potential. Finding the self-employed “work force” was no trouble at all thanks to the popularity of her centre.

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### **Two Tools for the Piazza Lab**

The above goes to show how the setting of a cc creates a host of links and opportunities by the sheer mix of activities. Citizens of all ages go there to drink coffee, meet others, play, attend or produce cultural events, join or give courses of all kinds, find information and support to enhance their quality of life socially, culturally, as well as economically; in short, to do their own thing and play an active role in the neighbourhood. Just like on a mediterranean piazza...

The old dichotomy of “professional” versus “volunteer” can never hope to describe the phenomenal diversity of reciprocal relationships and what they are able to generate in terms of social capital.

A prerequisite of this lively chaos on this modern time piazza is not only a multi-functional facility but a skilled management team. It ensures easy public access to the cc, keeps the various activities in a viable balance, initiates projects and offers the kind of support that generates self-organisation without letting cliques take over the place.

**The Stakeholder Tool** The first tool offered here can be put to use by the professionals when preparing a complex project such as Vitamin M. It serves analytical as well as evaluative purposes and can help monitor a project underway. Stakeholders can be described in their roles and resources as well as their drawbacks and limitations. But, most useful of all, is the analysis and follow-up of the reciprocal relationships (arrows) as they evolve. Thus, the teacher might be cagey about collaborating because the youth in question was not a favourite pupil. One mentor will need more support from the cc than anticipated or may even turn out to be a natural coach who will come in handy in other contexts. By describing the “arrows,” a check can be kept on the question of reciprocal balance so that a voluntary mentor always feels he or she is getting a fair share in the deal.

The stakeholder tool is not only useful for projects with a beginning and an end. It can unravel the lively chaos to make it more effective or to identify new potential. It can also portray potential synergies between the cc and other institutional players in the neighbourhood.

**The Development Tool** While the stakeholder tool serves to analyse the “chemistry of cooperation,” the development tool describes the process of reciprocal “chemical reactions” by correlating the two ingredients of self-organisation and giving them a direction.

LETS, for example, is here described as a process started up by the cc professionals. The stakeholders are, as yet, not able to run LETS on their own. As the project evolves, more and more people join and begin to swap their goods; after additional support a small group is ready to take over the management; and, later on, the members form a self-contained association that runs on its own steam outside the cc. They can always come back for support, though, if they need it.

The other examples have been placed in the grid according to their mixture of ingredients in the reciprocal process. The overall object of the piazza lab is not to get as many people to work for free but to help get

them off the ground on their terms. Purely capitalistic criteria of profit maximisation are left to the macro-economic world outside the cc.

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### Zurich to Capetown: Conclusions from the Piazza

- Globalization does not preclude local self-reliance niches if we are willing to identify and make the best of them.
- Social, cultural, and socio-economic capital is reciprocal and sustainable as opposed to maximising profit at the expense of others.
- Traditional volunteers rely for their altruism on have-nots and deficiencies. New volunteers generate both public and private added value relying on resources and self-interest.
- Community centres are the new urban piazza or “third place” that naturally generates individual, socio-cultural, and socio-economic capital and thus offers a chance for everyone to take part in public life willing to invest their initiative and skills into reciprocal cooperation.
- They are able to do this irrespective of the macro-economic conditions they find themselves in.

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### Trailblazers

This is not intended as a scientific paper. The conclusions it arrives at are based on more than thirty years of experience with the Zurich Community Centres. The empirical material, I am convinced, would be well worth a study in depth. Instead of footnotes I have decided to name a few scholars whom I want to thank for having blazed the trail through the fascinating jungle of social relationships and the lively chaos on the piazza. Any shortcomings, however, are to be blamed on me alone.

Norbert Elias, Robert Axelrod, Michael Czickszentmichail, Richard Sennet, Robert Putnam, Fridhjoef Bergmann, Sandro Cattacin, Susanne Elsen.



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Claudia della Croce, Joëlle Libois

# Des pratiques en animation socioculturelle dans deux contextes culturels différents: la Suisse romande et le Liban

## SUISSE

La plus grande religion du pays est l'Eglise catholique romaine, avec 42% de la population en 2000. La deuxième religion est l'Eglise évangélique réformée, avec 33% de la population. L'islam est la troisième religion; les Musulmans ont plus que décuplé leurs effectifs en moins de 30 ans, et actuellement ils comptent 4% de la population. La proportion des habitants se déclarant sans religion ont fortement augmenté aussi dans les décennies récentes; ils sont 11% actuellement. → <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/22/publ.Document.50517.pdf>

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## Préambule

Nous présentons un projet de recherche sur les pratiques significatives en animation socioculturelle en Suisse romande et au Liban. Cette recherche est directement issue des rencontres effectuées lors du 1<sup>er</sup> colloque international de l'ASC à Bordeaux en 2003, lors duquel nous avons initié une collaboration avec feu Micheline Saad, poursuivie avec Rima Moawad, responsable de la filière *Animation socioculturelle* au sein du département *Travail social* à l'université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth. Nous avons mis en place deux échanges avec le Liban, le premier où nous sommes allées sur place pour échanger sur nos contenus de formation ainsi que sur les pratiques libanaises, le second où nous avons accueilli des étudiants libanais en formation Master, afin qu'ils puissent découvrir et interroger les pratiques en Suisse romande. Suite à ces échanges, nous avons présenté, au sein de la HES-SO, un projet de recherche qui a été accepté. Cette recherche a débuté en mars 2007 et nous voudrions plus particulièrement présenter ici la méthodologie utilisée, qui est celle de l'analyse de l'activité dans la cadre d'une analyse comparée.

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## Brève description du projet

En Suisse, les transformations des formations dispensées en HES nous incitent à nous arrêter sur les pratiques significatives en animation socioculturelle et à les analyser pour tenter d'en dégager des lignes de force ou des constantes. L'évolution des métiers du travail social, et particulièrement la mise en place de formations à niveaux différenciés, demande des redéfinitions des degrés de qualification. Identifier la complexité de l'activité analysée permet de repérer le niveau d'expertise des pratiques professionnelles.

La recherche consistera en une analyse comparée des pratiques significatives en animation socioculturelle en Suisse romande et au Liban.

Les similitudes repérées quant à la formation des animateurs socioculturels et aux terrains dans lesquels s'insèrent leurs pratiques à partir d'espaces culturels différenciés nous invitent à en dégager les transversalités et les spécificités.

Par ailleurs, une comparaison de l'action au sein d'un champ professionnel entre deux pays francophones permet de faire évoluer les connaissances au niveau international, de faire progresser la pensée en tentant de découvrir des récurrences qui permettraient de mettre en évidence des principes ou des finalités valables dans chaque pratique étudiée. Mieux définir les contours des pratiques offre des potentialités de développement.

Au départ, nous postulons que toute pratique significative en animation socioculturelle contient au moins les 3 concepts suivants :

- le concept de reliance<sup>1</sup>
- la promotion des individus et des collectifs
- le concept de compétence stratégique<sup>2</sup>

D'une part, toute pratique en animation socioculturelle a pour objectif de créer ou recréer du lien, deuxièmement, la culture professionnelle de l'animation socioculturelle est fondée sur la promotion des individus et des groupes et, d'autre part, la compétence centrale de l'animateur socioculturel peut être définie comme celle de «compétence stratégique» développée par J.C. Gillet. Ces trois critères ont été retenus par les chercheuses pour identifier et analyser les pratiques qui seront choisies dans les différents champs de l'animation socioculturelle. Nous souhaitons découvrir si une modélisation actualisée du métier est pertinente et en quoi cette modélisation serait traversée par les contextes sociaux et culturels.

Les questions principales que nous posons sont :

- Comment les professionnels mobilisent-ils leurs ressources pour recréer du lien et pour encourager la promotion des individus et des collectifs?

<sup>1</sup>  
Le concept a été proposé à l'origine par Roger Clausse (en 1963) pour indiquer un «besoin psychosocial (d'information): de reliance par rapport à l'isolement». Il fut repris et réélabore à la fin des années 1970 par Marcel Bolle de Bal. A la notion de connexions, la reliance va ajouter le sens, la finalité, l'insertion dans un système.

<sup>2</sup>  
Selon J.C. Gillet, capacité d'analyse et de compréhension des modèles de stratégie doubles, voire multiples, qui, sur le terrain professionnel, se croisent, s'enchevêtrent, s'opposent ou s'allient. J.C. Gillet définit «l'animacteur» comme un stratège au sens où il est capable de combiner, c'est-à-dire de réunir, de calculer, d'organiser, y compris des combines.

- Quelles compétences les professionnels mettent-ils en œuvre autour du concept de compétence stratégique?
- Y a-t-il une ou des modélisations possibles pour l'activité spécifique en animation socioculturelle?
- Quelles sont les spécificités et transversalités des pratiques dans des contextes culturels différenciés?

L'objectif est de définir si un socle commun existe dans les pratiques d'animation socioculturelle entre deux pays culturellement différenciés.

### Etat de la recherche dans le domaine

De manière générale, peu de recherches existent en animation socioculturelle, et particulièrement en Suisse romande. En effet, les écrits sur l'animation socioculturelle sont quasiment inexistant dans notre région et nous souhaitons contribuer à l'augmentation de réflexions théoriques dans le domaine.

Les écrits se sont surtout développés en France, notamment par les ouvrages de J.C. Gillet, et en Suisse alémanique par nos collègues Moser – Müller – Wettstein et Willener (2004) qui développent une approche centrée sur les racines allemande et hollandaise de l'animation socioculturelle – définie comme le «travail socioculturel». Le dernier ouvrage de Jean-Claude Gillet (2005) initie une tentative de repérage des spécificités des pratiques en animation socioculturelle dans différents pays européens et d'Amérique du Sud. Notre recherche s'inscrit dans une suite logique de cet inventaire en fixant notre regard de manière pointue sur deux pays spécifiques : la Suisse (romande) et le Liban, ouvrant de nouvelles connaissances sur les pratiques professionnelles au Moyen-Orient.

Deux recherches ont été réalisées à partir de la méthodologie de l'analyse de l'activité, dans des domaines proches à celui que nous souhaitons étudier. Il s'agit des travaux de Libois et Loser (2003) sur les pratiques professionnelles du travail en réseau interprofessionnel, ainsi que Libois et Wicht (2004) sur le travail social hors murs.

### Approches et méthodes utilisées pour analyser les pratiques

Nous nous appuyons sur l'éducation comparée pour mettre en perspective les pratiques analysées dans les deux pays. Selon Hens van Daele (1993), «l'éducation comparée étudie des phénomènes et des faits éducatifs dans leurs relations avec le

contexte social, politique, économique et culturel, en comparant leurs similitudes et leurs différences dans deux ou plusieurs régions/pays, afin de mieux comprendre le caractère unique de chaque fait dans son propre système». L'éducation comparée, appelée également pédagogie comparée, n'a pas d'approches, de théories ou de méthodes spécifiques, elle les emprunte à d'autres disciplines – surtout aux sciences sociales – suivant l'objet de la recherche. Ce que nous retiendrons pour notre recherche est la comparaison qui a pour but de mettre en évidence des similitudes et des différences, ainsi que les avantages et inconvénients, et d'en chercher les causes. Cette approche nous paraît appropriée car elle permet d'explicitier pourquoi des faits (pratiques) sont ce qu'ils sont dans une partie du monde. L'intention est de contribuer à l'optimisation des pratiques observées en les comprenant le mieux possible. La comparaison de pratiques permet également de faire progresser celles-ci, ce n'est pas un but en soi, mais plutôt un instrument utile.

### Analyse de l'activité

Le projet de recherche s'élabore à partir des pratiques professionnelles, sur un modèle bien implanté en France<sup>3</sup> qui est celui de l'analyse du travail, ouvrant un espace d'exploration entre le travail prescrit et le travail réel.

*En vérité, la façon dont les travailleurs «se débrouillent» en situation, inventent pour réussir ce qui leur est confié, parviennent à «tenir» malgré les contraintes, parfois terribles, qui pèsent sur eux, cet ensemble constitue une véritable énigme, que les formateurs comme les managers sont réticents à approcher (Jobert, 1999).* Cet espace de créativité intercalé entre travail prescrit et travail réel est certainement le lieu d'investissement privilégié des professionnels, particulièrement en période de changements ou d'évolution rapide des pratiques. Cet entre-deux investi comme source possible d'ingéniosité est par essence problématique et paradoxal, offrant des sources indéniables de développement au travail tout en étant peu connu et reconnu par les hiérarchies ou directions d'établissements. Cette énigme (entre travail prescrit et travail réalisé) de ce qui se joue et se construit dans les champs professionnels en pleine évolution sera au cœur de la problématique à étudier. Cet espace de pratique en mouvement fait indéniablement référence à l'intelligence pratique (Dejours, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Spécifiquement au CNAM (Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers) à Paris.

**La question des prescriptions** paraît essentielle pour saisir ce qui se construit dans les pratiques professionnelles, faisant l'hypothèse qu'aujourd'hui, encore plus qu'auparavant, les professionnels sont confrontés à des messages paradoxaux émanant des instances dirigeantes et politiques. Devant la difficulté à prescrire des pratiques professionnelles mouvantes, il est demandé d'être créatif tout en instaurant des normes qualité parfois fort contraignantes. Cette double injonction, d'une volonté de cerner les prescriptions à partir des pratiques et la demande d'être toujours plus inventif en regard des transformations contextuelles, place les travailleurs sociaux au cœur de tensions difficilement gérables. La question de la prescription est extrêmement complexe, spécifiquement dans les métiers de l'humain, où toute activité se construit dans l'interrelation à l'autre imposant de l'incertitude sur le développement de l'agir.

**Du point de vue de l'activité réalisée,** ce réel de l'activité qui ne se donne pas ou très peu à voir est ce dont on parle peu. L'expérience n'est pas transparente et se signale même par une opacité qui pourrait la faire regarder comme définitivement énigmatique. Le sujet face à la situation réelle, fait appel à ses ressources propres qui s'enracinent dans sa propre histoire, au sein de sa personnalité, et à la singularité de son rapport au travail. Le sujet est immergé dans l'action, ne mobilisant pas uniquement l'intellect ou le cognitif, mais également le corps et l'émotionnel dans son rapport au monde. Nous avons affaire ici à un ensemble d'éléments qui échappe au champ de la prescription mais qui se redéploie dans les interactions, ciment des relations sociales au travail. C'est ce que nous nommons l'activité réelle. La psychodynamique du travail et la clinique de l'activité ont largement développé et complexifié ce concept cherchant à identifier également le réel de l'activité incluant l'activité empêchée et le pouvoir d'agir.

### L'autoconfrontation croisée

*Plus que d'une méthode, il s'agit d'une méthodologie de coanalyse, car, en plus du protocole rigoureux dont il va être question, le cadre de l'analyse est fait des rapports entre chercheurs et collectifs dont la création est guidée par des conceptions théoriques (Clot et al., 2001).* Pour tenter une compréhension et une explicitation de ce qu'est l'activité, les méthodes traditionnelles d'observation peinent à permettre d'entrer dans le monde subjectif du sujet. La méthode d'analyse présentée ici utilise l'image comme support principal des observations. Il s'agit d'enregistrement de séquences d'activités, qui

seront visionnées par les professionnels eux-mêmes. L'enregistrement des commentaires que font les sujets confrontés aux images de leur propre activité devient le matériau principal pour saisir les fondements de l'agir professionnel. L'autoconfrontation croisée est un espace de dialogue construit sur une comparaison entre pairs sur leurs façons de faire. Elle demande donc de réunir deux professionnels pour recueillir les commentaires qu'adresse l'un des deux à son collègue. Faire parler un professionnel sur l'action de son coéquipier implique que ces deux acteurs produisent une pratique commune ou en tous les cas un champ d'actions imparti dans le même domaine.

A ceci répond l'activité du chercheur qui désire s'assurer de la bonne compréhension, réinterroge le sujet pour arriver à des tentatives d'explicitations fines des activités filmées. L'insistance autour de la minutie de l'observation et de la verbalisation de l'activité réalisée est un gage d'accéder à l'activité réelle.

L'outil vidéo permet de porter une attention particulière au corps dans l'action, aux gestes professionnels et également aux émotions productives de sens.

Cette méthodologie d'analyse du travail présentée succinctement prend la forme d'une activité réflexive du professionnel sur sa propre activité. C'est en cela qu'elle paraît non seulement originale, mais aussi porteuse d'un nouveau rapport entre chercheur et praticien. Dans la recherche qui nous occupe ici, nous procéderons de la manière suivante: pour créer des contrastes, nous filmerons des séquences d'actions que les professionnels considèrent comme significatives ou emblématiques. Il en sera de même au Liban. Les séquences seront d'abord visionnées par les professionnels en Suisse romande et au Liban, ce qui permettra d'obtenir:

- une parole des professionnels suisses sur leurs pratiques;
- une parole des professionnels libanais sur leurs pratiques.

Ce matériel complet sera ensuite visionné par les professionnels de manière croisée afin d'obtenir:

- une parole des professionnels suisses sur les pratiques libanaises;
- une parole des professionnels libanais sur les pratiques suisses.

Pour analyser cet échange croisé, une pratique sera retenue par pays, choisie dans l'ensemble de celles analysées préalablement. Ici, on peut

parler de véritable échange interculturel sur les pratiques. Cette méthodologie de coanalyse se doit d'instituer un rapport de confiance entre le chercheur et le professionnel engagé dans le processus de recherche. Cet espace de confiance indispensable à la démarche ne se proclame pas d'avance. C'est dans le déroulement des interactions que se construit petit à petit ce qui donne sens aux agents engagés dans la recherche. Cette construction autour de la confiance est essentielle pour engager l'observation et la réalisation du film dans un premier temps et plus encore, pour entreprendre l'échange sur la pratique lors du visionnement des séquences filmées.

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Claudia della Croce, Joëlle Libois, Jorge Pinho

## Exemple d'un processus participatif lors de l'élaboration d'un nouveau plan d'études de niveau bachelor en animation socioculturelle

### SUISSE

Depuis le début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, la population de la Suisse a plus que doublé, passant de 3,3 millions en 1900 à 7,5 millions en 2005. Le nombre des naissances étant en baisse depuis 1965, le solde migratoire a nettement pris le pas, depuis les années 1980, sur l'accroissement naturel. → <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/01/pan.html>

Fortement impliqués dans le champ de la formation en animation socioculturelle, nous analyserons ici le processus ayant prévalu à la mise en place d'un nouveau plan d'études pour nos formations en travail social, plus particulièrement la formation spécifique en animation socioculturelle. Notre propos s'insère dans le dispositif de la Haute école spécialisée (HES-SO) de Suisse orientale, constituée d'un vaste réseau de formation professionnelle supérieure en Suisse et qui compte aujourd'hui près de 13 000 étudiants. Située dans les cantons de Fribourg, Genève, Jura, Neuchâtel, Valais, Vaud et Berne, elle compte 31 sites et offre des formations de base, des formations continues, des prestations de service et des recherches dans six grands domaines: sciences de l'ingénieur, économie et services, design et arts visuels, santé et travail social, musique et arts de la scène. Sa spécificité est de dispenser un enseignement axé sur la pratique, préparant à l'exercice d'activités professionnelles qui requièrent l'application de connaissances et de méthodes scientifiques.

### La formation en travail social et le plan d'études cadre bachelor

Depuis la fin des années 1990, la formation dans le domaine du travail social en Suisse romande est en constante évolution, aussi bien en termes de fond – contenus et compétences développées – que de forme – organisation et niveau de reconnaissance. Cette évolution a connu deux étapes fondamentales: le passage au niveau Haute école spécialisée (HES) dès 2002 et le passage au niveau *bachelor*

dès 2006, accompagné du regroupement des trois anciennes filières «classiques»<sup>1</sup> du travail social en une seule : travail social. Au-delà des changements organisationnels, ces deux étapes introduisent de véritables mutations de fond dans le champ de la formation. En effet, avec le passage au système HES, on bascule petit à petit d'une logique «locale» (canton) vers une logique «régionale» (intercantonale) et «nationale». Avec l'entrée en vigueur du système HES, la logique «nationale» est renforcée et la logique «internationale» imposée, processus de Bologne oblige !

1

Animation socioculturelle,  
Service social et  
Education sociale

### **Le processus participatif de construction du plan d'études cadre**

Le regroupement de trois filières en une seule implique les quatre sites en travail social de la HES-SO, à savoir Genève, Lausanne, Fribourg et Sion. Un tel changement a exigé la participation des milieux professionnels, acteurs centraux de notre dispositif de formation en alternance. Toutes ces modifications n'ont été possibles qu'en s'appuyant sur un processus fortement participatif et ceci à plusieurs niveaux.

Un processus peut être défini comme une suite de faits ou d'actions qui présentent une certaine régularité dans leur déroulement et sont organisés en vue d'un résultat déterminé. Dans le contexte de la formation, le fait qu'un processus soit participatif implique que les personnes élaborant le modèle de formation émanent du corps enseignant et que les délégués de ce corps enseignant y soient impliqués pour faire progresser et finaliser la réalisation de la tâche et de ses objectifs.

Ces deux conditions ont été réunies puisque pour chaque site concerné, des délégués choisis parmi le corps enseignant pour leurs connaissances globales de la formation ont été nommés. Une des limites a été constituée par la difficulté de consulter l'ensemble du corps enseignant, le processus étant trop rapide pour permettre une réelle coconstruction. Cette rapidité a également entaché la transparence des décisions prises et la légitimité réelle des enseignants délégués a été parfois questionnée.

Dans notre contexte, l'élaboration du programme a donc été menée par des pairs enseignants. Le fait de maîtriser la complexité du système de formation a été un atout considé-

rable dans l'élaboration du processus. La logique participative étant assez usuelle dans le monde du social, ce processus s'appuyant sur une manière courante de procéder.

Pour le programme de l'orientation animation socioculturelle, nous avons voulu incarner cette logique participative à l'élaboration de nos contenus de formation, par souci de cohérence avec les visions que nous avons des pratiques en animation socioculturelle. Le processus réalisé a impliqué nos collègues enseignant dans les différents sites ainsi que nos partenaires de terrain, largement consultés.

Le bachelor 2006 met l'accent sur la professionnalité et vise prioritairement à permettre à l'étudiant la compréhension de l'intervention en travail social, la reconnaissance du bénéficiaire et de son potentiel d'autonomie. Il permet l'articulation entre théories et pratiques. Un accent est mis sur l'articulation du savoir et de l'agir. Les situations pratiques sont thématiques et élaborées dans la formation «Générique en travail social» du 1er cycle. La posture professionnelle est ainsi développée avec l'objectif de construire son identité professionnelle et de permettre à l'étudiant de choisir l'«Orientation» qui représente 1/3 de la formation.

Le contenu des études est centré sur les réalités de la profession traduite prioritairement en termes de compétences. Acquérir ces compétences, c'est d'abord développer un savoir-agir fondé sur la mobilisation et l'utilisation d'un ensemble de ressources. Le programme de l'orientation animation socioculturelle intègre les préoccupations et objectifs suivants : préparer des futurs professionnels aux conséquences de la mondialisation, les préparer à la construction de projets locaux, mettre en œuvre des méthodes de développement participatif dans l'enseignement et la mise en situation, travailler sur le renforcement de la cohésion sociale. La poursuite de tels objectifs postule que les étudiants développent des compétences et des connaissances sur les enjeux et les acteurs en présence, notamment dans la sphère de l'approche politique au sens large. Cela exige aussi de la part des étudiants une capacité à appréhender les rapports de force et les intérêts défendus, parfois communs, parfois contradictoires. Dans cette perspective, le futur professionnel est appelé à travailler son positionnement personnel et professionnel et à questionner sa capacité d'analyse critique.

Dès lors, les dimensions philosophiques et déontologiques de la profession, la prise de distance critique ou encore la connaissance de soi sont autant de leviers pour y parvenir. Les intentions de la formation à prendre en compte l'indispensable analyse des rapports de force ainsi que les enjeux sociopolitiques à l'œuvre sont fortement présentes. Indispensable analyse, car celle-ci représente le passage obligé vers la compréhension des interactions qui se nouent entre développement global et répercussions locales.

### **Pratiques locales, tissus régionaux et collaborations internationales**

Si l'enjeu du processus participatif était de réussir le pari de décliner un plan d'études cadre cohérent dans une région linguistique et géographique précise, permettant aux étudiants d'acquérir à minima les mêmes compétences leur permettant une plus grande mobilité dans un territoire élargi, il ne s'agissait cependant pas d'imposer une uniformisation des pratiques locales. En effet, le projet des Hautes écoles a dès le début souligné l'importance de préserver les spécificités des tissus régionaux, richesse à ne pas négliger dans la mise en place de pratiques locales.

Outre cet aspect, les pratiques locales et régionales doivent nécessairement s'articuler aux collaborations internationales qui ont pu, dans ce processus, être renforcées; de nombreux projets sont en cours sur les thématiques des pratiques participatives et collectives ou encore sur les enjeux des formations en alternance avec la France, la Belgique, mais aussi le Liban et l'Argentine. Ces collaborations permettent également d'être centrées sur les enjeux et les conséquences de la mondialisation dans les pratiques.

A l'époque de la mondialisation, l'animation socioculturelle se trouve une fois de plus à la croisée des chemins. De par ses actions centrées sur la construction de la citoyenneté active, elle se situe, par ses méthodologies novatrices, au centre des besoins actuels. Toutefois, ses acquis sur les modes organisationnels, ses modèles de participation, ses actions collectives sont parfois «récupérées» à ses dépens. Les fondements éthiques élaborés dans un cadre de démocratisation de la culture, de développement de pouvoir d'agir, de soutien aux minorités, de conscientisation politique et citoyenne, sont encore

terriblement nécessaires et d'actualité, mais peu portés par les majorités, soucieuses principalement du développement économique et du bien-être matériel.

Dans ce climat centré fortement sur le profit et l'individualisme, l'animation socioculturelle se doit de poursuivre ses fondements éthiques et d'offrir des alternatives inspirées des techniques de l'éducation populaire et des pédagogies actives comme les approches collectives et communautaires, cogestion et autogestion, non-directivité responsabilisante, reconfiguration et stabilisation des liens sociaux aux plans locaux comme régionaux, voire de développer et soutenir des projets de conscientisation au niveau mondial. Dans un même mouvement, nous assistons à la montée d'un individualisme générateur d'énergies et de projets nouveaux, mais produisant par contrecoup l'amplification de processus d'isolement et de marginalisation. C'est à nouveau par la prise en compte des paradoxes sociétaux – renforcement des libertés au détriment des solidarités familiales ou communautaires – que l'animation socioculturelle peut offrir des espaces collectifs à redessiner.

La notion de réseau, fortement «récupérée» par les milieux économiques, reste une des clés essentielles pour l'instauration et le maintien d'espaces situés entre les structures étatiques et la société civile. L'animation socioculturelle doit s'interroger sur ces développements organisationnels qui «se transforment» à une vitesse vertigineuse et qui, peut-être, la dépasse déjà. Les outils de communication, largement maîtrisés par les jeunes publics, offrent des espaces de participation insoupçonnés et génèrent à la fois un isolement affectif et une perte du savoir-vivre, ensemble terriblement inquiétant. Quelles pratiques instaurer face à ce déploiement de possibles, face à ces reconstructions des modèles sociétaux?

L'animation socioculturelle se décline aujourd'hui en termes de besoins sociaux, de champs d'activité, de méthodes et d'outils d'intervention, de valeurs et d'éthique professionnelle, à la fois spécifique et conjointe aux autres modes d'action socio-éducative. Sa culture professionnelle et son identité sont fondées sur la recherche de la promotion des individus et des groupes d'individus, sur la promotion des ressources de ceux-ci et sur l'exercice de la citoyenneté. En ce sens, l'animation socioculturelle favorise l'action démocratique et la promotion du lien social là où il est rompu, notamment en situations de

crise, par la médiation entre les différents acteurs sociaux, la structure étatique et la société civile. L'orientation, qui pour l'animation socioculturelle rassemble des groupes d'étudiants restreints, nous permet d'effectuer un travail d'aller et retour entre théorie et pratique. Ainsi, le fait de travailler les méthodologies spécifiques telles que la méthodologie de projet et les pratiques participatives et communautaires en lien avec les projets locaux et non seulement en tant qu'approches théoriques, favorise la compréhension des évolutions sociétales et la prise en compte de la complexité des modèles. La transversalité générique vient s'enrichir à ce moment précis de la formation par de la spécificité qui assurera des compétences centrées sur l'exercice des pratiques spécifiques à ce métier.

### Défis et perspectives

Une des questions centrales réside sans doute dans l'évolution continue des pratiques. Pour l'instant, nous avons choisi un scénario de formation qui retient, sous forme d'orientations, les trois professions classiques et historiques du travail social : service social, éducation sociale et animation socioculturelle. Nous l'avons fait en consultation et concertation avec un ensemble de partenaires qui n'étaient pas encore prêts à adhérer à un scénario plus novateur. Nous constatons régulièrement que les frontières sont en mouvement et bougent de manière plus ou moins importante, qu'elles se perméabilisent et que parfois elles s'entremêlent en se côtoyant. Cette évolution appelle des compétences nouvelles, nombreuses et pertinentes à l'action sociale dans sa globalité.

De plus, les formations dans le social se mettent actuellement en place à des niveaux de certification différenciés, ce qui est nouveau dans notre pays, et nous oblige à réfléchir sur les complémentarités des compétences maîtrisées entre ces niveaux. D'autres scénarios pourraient se dessiner dans l'avenir, en lien avec les compétences nécessaires à l'évolution des pratiques, des politiques de l'action sociale et des besoins des usagers. L'enjeu principal est peut-être de trouver un modèle qui permettra de maintenir les spécificités des métiers et les identités des professionnels, tout en étant en lien de grande proximité avec l'évolution des problématiques sociales et culturelles dont découlent de nouveaux besoins. Tout nouveau modèle devra être élaboré dans un processus participatif

incluant les différents acteurs concernés. Les difficultés auxquelles nous risquons d'être confrontés résident sans doute dans les deux tendances suivantes : la volonté de centralisation du processus dans lequel l'exercice participatif devient quasiment caduque et la complexification des procédures qui se substituent au pédagogique en étant de plus en plus soumises aux règles de l'efficacité.

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Miryam Eser Davolio

# The Empowerment of Civil Society for Repelling Right-Wing Extremism in Swiss Municipalities

## SWITZERLAND

Most Swiss live in towns and cities, not in the idyllic rural landscapes that captivated the world through Johanna Spyri's Heidi (1880–81), the country's best-known literary work. Switzerland's cities have emerged as international centres of industry and commerce connected to the larger world, a very different tenor from Switzerland's isolated, more inward-looking past. → <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-256986/Switzerland>

In the framework of the Swiss National Research Program (NRP 40+), *Right-Wing Extremism – Causes and Countermeasures*, we conducted a study on the viability of social work and community development in dealing with right-wing extremism. As our study *Social Work and Right-Wing Extremism – Evaluation of Intervention Approaches and Development of Guidelines* focused particularly on community work projects: We conducted a preliminary survey in 9 municipalities (33 interviews with local actors: police, school, social services) that had experienced problems of right-wing extremism, capturing perceptions, needs, measures, and procedures. For the main survey we evaluated seven selected interventions. The evaluation instruments included surveys and interviews (N=74), and case- and document analyses. The goal was to analyze the effectiveness of the measures and procedures and to derive quality criteria as well as recommendations to the project teams for further development.

The situation of right-wing extremism as it is manifested in Switzerland shows problem zones mainly in outlying areas and rural regions (Cattacin, et al. 2006; Haenni Hoti, 2006), which lack the institutions and resources to combat right-wing extremism adequately (Eser Davolio, et al. 2006). Young right-wing extremists must be seen in interaction with their social environments, as a complex, far-reaching phenomenon; in some cases, they can be seen as expressive symptoms of their environments (Eser Davolio, Eckmann & Drilling, 2004). For this purpose we analyzed the intervention strategies depending on how entrenched patterns of the youth and their social environment were (Krafeld, 1992; Eckmann, 2005). We supposed that in a context with approval for racist and

national ideas, the position of social workers would be the most delicate because the latent or open support of right-wing extremist youth can make them relatively isolated in the environment.

The results of the study in 16 municipalities show that there is a characteristic threshold at which right-wing extremism becomes disruptive and triggers responses by the municipal authorities. Although right-wing extremist groupings become conspicuous in small towns and villages with their paramilitary appearance and provocative behavior, as long as they do not become violent and do not threaten public law and order, they do not yet trigger reactions by the authorities. In this case, right-wing extremism is perceived merely as a latent problem. As the level of unrest increases, deviant behavior by right-wing extremist groups, such as threatening passers-by or violent infringements of others' rights, underscored by media presence, becomes a high priority issue in public awareness of the problem.

At the level of prevention and intervention, the surveyed municipalities selected very different forms of activities to demonstrate their common commitment against right-wing extremism by the forming of coordination groups against right-wing extremism and violence ("round tables") that have broad-based political support. The activities conducted by these networking groups included solidarity events, collection of signatures, traveling exhibitions, project weeks, and so on, and they can all be described as conveying the messages "not in our town" or "the values we stand for." Making this stance against right-wing extremism visible to the public by reports in regional or national media mostly succeeded in sensitizing the population. The creation of better channels of communication for information exchange within the municipality and with higher levels (cantonal police, competence centers) significantly improved monitoring, which supported repression and also made possible early recognition of new appearances of the right-wing extremist scene.

Repression is shown to be particularly effective at the level of convinced right-wing extremists, who for their criminal offences were in part "withdrawn from circulation" when

they were sentenced to prison, placed in homes for the delinquent, or cautioned. When these "heads" or ringleaders of the scene were removed, the sympathizers made up a definite group since cohesion and ideological input appeared to have been lost. Boosting repression by means of increased police monitoring, interrogations, and preventing members from renting space or meeting also led quickly to a decrease in right-wing extremist activities. Cross-regional collaboration as a rule prevented right-wing extremists from evading control by moving into neighboring municipalities.

The evaluation of the seven interventions coached by experts of social work showed that they adopted four mean strategies after a profound analysis of the local situation:

- I) Information and prevention: Through information conferences with right-wing experts and meetings with different municipalities and habitants, the population gets sensitized to the problems of right-wing extremism, violence and xenophobia. Prevention programs in schools, as well as youth work projects, aim to make adolescents aware of and resistant to right-wing recruitment.
- II) Mediation and confrontation: Mediation can be adopted in cases of youth conflicts between patriotic and right-wing groups and groups of adolescent foreigners or left-wing youngsters to explain dynamics of youth violence (aggressor/victims). If violence and extremism are entrenched, another approach is to be adopted by confronting the problematic youngsters (possibly with their parents) with municipal authorities (police, politicians, administrators), who declare the end of tolerance and announce hard punishment for perpetrators.
- III) Empowerment of minorities in the context: When latent or manifest xenophobia among the adult population is at the origin of right-wing extremism and intolerant attitudes of young people, the involvement of minority representatives for collaboration in the

intervention (round table) can empower them and promote their acceptance. Their view of the problems of eventual segregation and youth violence in the municipality can enhance the awareness of the problems and lead to more effective strategies. Working together in solving the problems leads to communication (information, monitoring) and common experiences (success of intervention, carried-out activities). It further creates a basis for mutual comprehension and recognition that can influence the attitudes of the population, the minorities as well as the aggressive youngsters.

IV) De-escalation and support for the victims: When right-wing extremism and violence escalate, repressive strategies are the only way to reestablish law and order. At the same time, networking between the main municipal actors (police, administrators, politicians, teachers, youth workers, etc.) is important to guarantee coordinated measures and a good exchange of information for monitoring the situation. The evaluated interventions have shown that the support of potential victims of right-wing extremism by these networking groups is very important. More than for the victims themselves (which often prefer the anonymity), such help lines sensitize the population to right-wing extremism and enhance the willingness to report incidents and observations to the police.

Some of the evaluated interventions used one or more of the intervention strategies cited above. The combination of all four strategies used in a long-term intervention in one municipality seemed to have the largest and most persistent effects (Eser Davolio & Drilling, 2007a,b). While de-escalation and a broad information campaign were adopted in the first “burning” phase, the involvement of minorities and mediation as a second step permitted a wide-spreading of activities carried out by a great number of municipal actors and representatives (school, police, youth work, administration, minorities, churches). After having reduced youth violence and right-wing extremism, further measures of prevention and

monitoring helped to avoid a rebirth of these problems. Consequently, this model of intervention can be called “Best Practice,” as it led to an empowerment of Civil Society and long-term community development. The interviewed actors in the municipality think that such a community development would not have been possible without the strong (political) pressure caused by youth violence and right-wing extremism and the support by the social worker who opened the municipality’s eyes to the importance of involving the minorities.

The evaluation of interventions based on just one strategy did not produce an enduring process of networking and awareness and reached only short-term effects.

Other interventions with large approaches (more than just one strategy) also showed good results in that the networking persisted and was used for other problems (such as vandalism, family violence or drug prevention) after having reduced the problems of youth violence and right-wing extremism.

It should be mentioned that the people surveyed were generally very cautious about causally attributing the decrease in right-wing extremism to the measures implemented, and they did not exclude the effects of other, external factors. Still, our study does allow some further conclusion to be drawn from the comparative study of 16 municipalities because in the municipalities that had undertaken comprehensive efforts to combat right-wing extremism, no new symptoms arose and there appeared to be no shifts of the problem to other locales during the survey period of two years.

The findings on the response of the population to right-wing extremism show that the situation has a double edge, so to speak: On the one hand, a conservative milieu dominates in rural regions; there is opposition to an increase of the number of immigrants locally, and little effort is made to integrate immigrants quickly. This paves the way for xenophobia and segregation. In this tense climate, right-wing extremist groups can appear as a form of territorial defense and self-assertion. On the other hand, right-wing extremist youth can be placed under conformity pressure if violent incidents and deviant behavior cause them to be recognized as a problem, and they themselves risk becoming stigmatized and excluded. Right-wing extremists in Switzerland are mostly socially integrated,

they have good social ties (family, workplace, membership in clubs, and so on) that they, as a rule, do not want to risk losing. For this reason, civic efforts in opposition to right-wing extremism provide important possibilities for intervention and sanctions.

Also, as to the willingness to report right-wing extremism and violence to the police, the rural or provincial framework leads to specific mechanisms. As long as there is little sensitization and public awareness of the problem of right-wing extremism, willingness to report to the police appears to be low. Contrary to the assumption that because in a village “everybody knows everybody,” social control will be very strong, this same social familiarity and proximity was interpreted by local actors as a contra-productive factor. Only if the population got sensitized to right-wing extremism by the commitment of local key persons did the watchfulness and reporting of incidents to the police increase.

So civil society in rural areas and small towns – which are aware of their problems and networked – can play a different role for intervention and countermeasures against right-wing extremism than in cities because social control can act as a brake. For when the climate of opinion becomes sensitized, right-wing extremist groups are shown in a negative light, become a problem and, in some cases, experience the withdrawal of social approval. This pressure towards social adaptation, together with increased police repression, usually leads to the breaking up of the right-wing extremist scene and reduces recruitment to right-wing extremist groups.

Social work and community development therefore have to empower and network civil society by combating tacit and latent approval that gives impetus to the right-wing extremist scene.

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Christoph Hauser, Simone Schweikert, Patricia Wolf

# Developing the Future Together: Involving Key Stakeholders into Regional Development Processes

## SWITZERLAND

The role of the cantons: Each canton has its own constitution, its government, its parliament, its courts and its laws, though they must, of course, be compatible with those of the Confederation. The cantons enjoy a great deal of administrative autonomy and freedom of decision-making. They have independent control over their education systems and social services, and each has its own police force. Each canton also sets its own level of taxation. In two of the smaller cantons – Appenzell Inner-Rhodes and Glarus – the people meet annually in a popular assembly, the *Landsgemeinde*, where each citizen can vote personally on local issues. In the other cantons decisions are taken by elected delegates.  
 → [http://www.swissworld.org/en/politics/general\\_information/role\\_of\\_the\\_cantons/](http://www.swissworld.org/en/politics/general_information/role_of_the_cantons/)

*How can one involve key stakeholders into the development of a regional innovation strategy? The EU-funded project RISforCCH has developed a methodology for dealing with this problem. This paper will describe the project journey, the developed methodology for stakeholder involvement and the results from applying it in Central Switzerland.*

## 1. Introduction

Regional Innovation Strategy for Central Switzerland (RIS) is an EU-funded project with the objective to enable all important stakeholders of the six central Swiss cantons to develop a regional innovation strategy. Beyond simple strategy development, the project's activities are aimed at uniting the innovative players of the region. These innovative key players should be enabled to plan and realise common innovation projects that will make the region an even more innovative and better place to live in. After an overview of existing literature on stakeholder involvement, the article will describe the methodology the RIS project has developed and used as well as present and reflect the results.

## 2. Existing Theory and Research

In literature there is a lot of evidence that stakeholder involvement is the key to strategy development. For organisations, for example, strategic management theory points out that a good strategy should be grounded on the system it aims to bring forward (Lombriser and Abplanalp, 2004). The sociological theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984) shows that it is the repetition of acts of individual agents that reproduces structures. The notion of structuration directs attention to the social embeddedness of practices into the society and co-evolutionary processes of systems. In consequence, this theory argues that network management needs to take into account the interdependence between the network structure that limits possible actions and the actor who reproduces this structure or changes

it (Sydow and Windeler, 1998). This supports the outlined assumption that a process aiming at fostering the development of an innovation system like a region – regarded as a network of different stakeholders with a certain structure – would need to take a co-evolutionary approach. Finally, empirical studies from politics and regional development projects (e.g. Ellman, 2003; Humphrey and Shaw, 2004) show that politicians aiming at proposing new regional structures need to know their stakeholders. Therefore, they have to involve them in the respective development process (Humphrey and Tomaney, 2001).

Theory on regional development and stakeholder involvement indicates that any project attempting to develop a regional strategy would have to develop a method to involve regional key stakeholders. For the RIS project, key stakeholders of the regional innovation strategy are people who either live in the region or work in the respective groups, organisations and institutions they are involved in. Therefore, the project activities would have to be totally open to participation by all regional stakeholders. How can this be guaranteed? The next chapter is going to describe the developed methodology and its assumptions.

### 3. The Research Approach

The RIS team wanted to involve stakeholders not only in the development process of the regional strategy itself but also in the earlier process of collecting the data used as basis for strategy development. Besides the collection of the data from different perspectives, the hidden objective of the RIS project was to stimulate mutual discussions on objectives for the future development of the innovation system and to enable stakeholders to take over responsibility for activities that help their region to develop into the desired direction. Thus, only an interactive action research approach (Kromey, 1990) seemed to be appropriate.

**3.1 Basis-SWOT-Workshops** From this, the idea of conducting Basis-SWOT-workshops with different stakeholder groups was born that was aimed at collecting internal factors, such as regional strengths and weaknesses, as well as external factors, such as regional opportunities and threats. In addition, participants had to define objectives that should be reached by the future strategy and concrete actions to the achievement of the objectives they would be willing to contribute to. In general, the SWOT analysis methodology helps to collect and visualise data that describes the actual situation of a group, an organisation/institution or a system. Besides that, it provides a methodology for strategy development as it helps to identify potential patterns for future development (Senn, 2001).

The minimum requirement to every workshop group (five to ten people) was that the group had to be homogenous concerning at least one major characteristic, i.e. all participants in the group are members of the same trade association or party, CEOs of companies located in the same town, etc. At the same time, the groups had to be heterogeneous enough that different perspectives on SWOTs would potentially stimulate discussions among the workshop participants. The design of the Basis-SWOT-Workshops allowed the RIS team to collect, document and discuss perspectives of different stakeholder groups on the innovation system. These perspectives serve now as a basis for the further elaboration of strategic goals and activities based on the internal S & W of the actors of the central Swiss innovation system, and for scenario building on external O & T relevant for potential futures of the respective context. The next section will describe the specific workshop design and the interactive approach a bit more in detail.

**3.2 Workshop Design** Basis-SWOT-Workshops are standardized workshops with a predefined length (2.5 to 3 hours), following a specific agenda, with specific materials, questions to be discussed and documentation formats. A typical workshop starts with an introduction into the context and the clarification of the homogeneous characteristic of the group and their relation to the wider innovation system. Thereafter, the moderator presents a model on knowledge transfer in innovation systems as well as different roles system members can play in this process (see Figure 1 below):

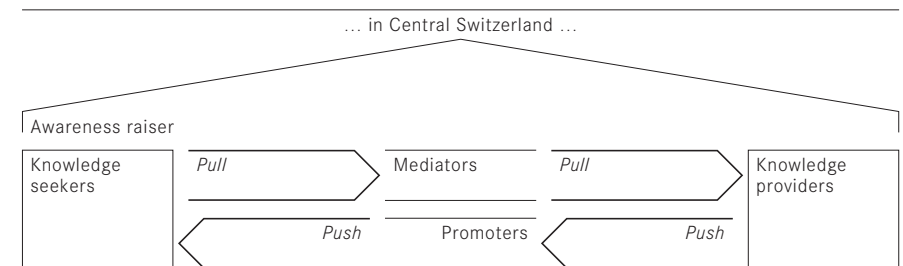


Fig. 1: Knowledge transfer model

The participants are then asked to position themselves in this picture, which helps them to define the homogenous characteristic of their group.

As a next step, the moderator provides a short explication of the overall strategy development process and the role of the SWOT analysis. Thereafter, he explains the methodology of the SWOT workshops and presents the agenda.

**3.2.1 Collection of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats** The next workshop phase is dedicated to the collection of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Here it is important that the moderator describes very clearly the difference between internal strengths and weaknesses that can be addressed by the participants, and external opportunities and threats that participants cannot influence. A further point that has to be made is that this is neither a personal SWOT nor one of the groups the participants belong to. The aim of the Basis-SWOT-Workshop is to gather this information of the innovation system they are members of.

After these explanations, participants start to write down SWOT of the innovation system individually. Because of the regional scope of Basis-SWOTs, workshop participants are asked to indicate who they consider being the “owner” of each single SWOT (e.g. the government can lower taxes) and to which topic (economy, people, administration, technology, education, etc.) it belongs. Therefore, they use a specific template (see Figure 2). The moderator pins them on the wall. He roughly clusters them.

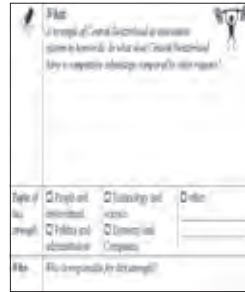


Fig. 2: SWOT template used for Basis SWOT workshops

**3.2.2 Selection of Most Important SWOT Categories** Next, the moderator presents the topic clusters in the different categories shortly. Participants get a last possibility to add something. The moderator then asks the participants to vote in each category for the three most important topic clusters. For voting, participants use 12 coloured adhesive dots. The most important topics per category are visualised in the SWOT matrix template (see Table 1 below). The moderator then roughly explains the options for strategy development.

	<i>S1: innovative companies</i>	<i>W1: conservative mindset</i>
<i>O1: EU policy</i>	Which strengths can we use to benefit from opportunities?	How can we overcome weaknesses that hinder us to address opportunities?
<i>T1: Becoming the "transit region" of Europe: pollution</i>	Which strengths will help us to stave off threats?	How can we overcome weaknesses that expose us to threats?

Table 1: SWOT matrix on strategy development options

**3.2.3 Potential Objectives of the Regional Strategy** In a next step, the moderator points out that strategy development is based on objectives. Thus, participants are asked in the next phase to think about potential objectives the innovation strategy should address. The moderator visualises these objectives in a mind map.

After the collection of the general objectives, participants get provided with a template for writing down the three most important concrete objectives that should be reached with the regional innovation strategy and read it out to the other participants.

**3.2.3 Personal Action Sheets** In the final phase, participants are asked to come up with at least one action they personally are going to conduct. On another template they state what they are ready to do, what help they would need from whom for this action and what the results of their activity will be. Finally, the moderator thanks the group members for their engagement, explains again how the results will be used in the further strategy development process and closes the session.

**3.3 Data Analysis** After the workshop the results documented in the templates are handed over to the back office. The back office then

1. brings the data into an adequate format and distributes it among the workshop participants,
2. integrates core data from all Basis-SWOT-Workshops (SWOTs, objectives of the regional innovation strategy and personal actions) into a common file.

The core data file is then analysed by researchers with a qualitative cluster analysis method (Lamenk, 1988). Technically, Atlas.ti is used. In this step, clusters are developed from each category and question.

**4. Findings** Starting in autumn 2006 and finishing in February 2007, the RIS project has conducted about 30 Basis-SWOT-Workshops with 110 participants. The results are presented below.

**4.1 Results: SWOT and Objectives for Central Switzerland** The most important results of the analysis are:

<i>Strengths</i>	%	<i>Key words mentioned</i>
Landscape	27	Attractive area to live in
Small structures	13	Clear structures; easy to oversee
Companies	13	Innovative, global, technologically competent
Inhabitants	13	Good qualification, positive working mentality, loyalty
<i>Weaknesses</i>		
Missing feeling of belonging to a common region	31	Structural fragmentation
Conservative views of inhabitants	25	Jealousy, small-mindedness
No strong industry	19	No high-tech technology
Not well known and insufficient marketing efforts	13	
<i>Opportunities</i>		
Use of external resources	28	Build-up of partnerships and networks with external partners; measures that attract qualified personal
Obtaining the attractiveness of the working and living environment	28	Consequent urban planning and mobility politics
Internal collaboration	13	Strengthening the information between politicians from different cantons; development of industrial clusters
Industrial innovation	13	Technology initiatives, new niches and communication means
<i>Threats</i>		
Loss of consensus and synergies between the different players of the cantons	21	
Not enough qualified personnel	13	Either too specialised or not qualified

Table 2: Results

The research shows that 27% of the participants see the landscape as a strength of the region and feel that the use of external resources could be an opportunity (28%), but they also miss the feeling of belonging to a region (31%) and 21% fear the loss of consensus and synergies between its different players.

**4.2 Reflection and Conclusion** It is obvious that the RIS project team has collected a solid number of data that will be used as basis for the development of the regional innovation strategy with the regional key stakeholders. The objective to foster commitment and ownership for the future regional innovation strategy among the participants has been reached.

The methodology of the workshops was easy to handle, provided a lot of data, stimulated discussions among participants and was not time-consuming. However, because of the relatively small participant number, the data is not representative in a statistical sense. It should now be validated with people who did not participate in the workshops.

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Annette Hug

## Project Methods: Transformation Versus Running in Circles

### SWITZERLAND

has one of the highest proportions of foreigners (currently 21.9%) in Europe. This situation can be explained by the economic structure of our country, its small size and a restrictive policy in terms of naturalisation. Nearly one-fifth of them were born in Switzerland and are therefore second- or even third-generation foreigners. More than half of residents without a Swiss passport have either been living in Switzerland for more than 15 years or were born here.

In his book “Animation – Le sens de l’action” (“Animation” – the sense and meaning of action), Jean-Claude Gillet formulates a conception based on seven pairs of opposites. One of them is “programme” versus “project” (Gillet, 1998, 132–140). “Programme” is described as an activity conceptualised and organised by professionals for beneficiaries. These beneficiaries are consumers; they don’t become subjects of their spare time activities; they are objects of what Lisa Pallak has recently called “Köfferlianimation” (Amberg, 2000, p. 34). In English, this could be translated as “community work out of the box.” “Project work,” on the other hand, involves people as subjects; the process is open to what might develop when people start to act and interact. Thus projects are synonymous with innovation: They allow new ideas and practices to emerge, as people who used to be excluded from actively participating in society enter the scene of action.

The contrast between “programme” and “project” is shaping the landscape of the socio-cultural scene in the German part of Switzerland up to today – and I guess that is the same in other

places. In the bachelor course we teach a “participatory project method” as the main method of community work. In the process of professionalisation of youth centres, one has often steered away from offering a fixed space and time to adolescents, towards project work with different groups of youth. This development runs parallel to changes in funding mechanisms: In the areas of gender, health and integration of migrant people it is still possible to get pilot projects funded, yet it is hard to acquire any institutional funding. This situation reminds me of what I experienced with development NGOs in Manila in the early 90s: The NGOs had to run exclusively on project funding. This situation gave rise to a practice called “creative accounting.” This allowed the NGOs to remain long-term, reliable partners of community organisations and to be responsible employers despite short project cycles.

This glance on the financial side of things leads to the central hypothesis, which I’m proposing for discussion in this group: *The project bias of socio-cultural animation does not promote innovation in the field of social inclusion and transformation. On the contrary, project work can in fact lead to the opposite of what Jean-Claude Gillet has called for: It excludes those people from action, especially from funded action, that are also being excluded from economic life.*

Now I could derive this hypothesis from impressions accumulated among youth and community workers in Switzerland. Or I could quote the critique of project funding raised in countries like India (Appandurai, 2000). But in order to keep the time schedule, I will just refer to the work of the French authors Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (2003). They have analysed the changes in management literature of the 80s and 90s in their work “Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme” – The new spirit of capitalism.

They observe an interesting change in reaction to the leftist and liberal criticism of the 70s: Work should no longer be a place where people are passive wheels in a machinery, they should be able to fulfil their potentials as human beings. From the critics, the demand for humanisation of working life entered the management literature. This was done by combining humanisation with the demand for increased productivity, especially with the productivity in a knowledge economy: Motivated employees, actively participating in the organisation of their tasks, were discovered as an improved human resource for the enterprise. Boltanski and Chiapello propose the term “project-based Polis” (p. 152) to describe today’s realities of economic life: People are not meant to belong to greater organisational units for a long time; they are entrepreneurs of themselves, moving flexibly in different networks, joining and leaving project teams every now and again. The main assets

a working person has to bring to the labour market are, according to Boltanski and Chiapello: To be able to initiate and to join projects, to handle various projects at a time, to develop and sustain a broad network of personal contacts, to be easily carried away and enthusiastic about ideas of others, to be able to trust people in changing project groups, to be autonomous, to use time efficiently, etc. (p. 154–166).

This is in fact the same view as in the literature of “governmental studies” in the wake of the late Michel Foucault (Bröckling et. al., 2000). Specific to the book of Boltanski and Chiapello is – amongst other things – the link to social movements they explicitly make. They say the spirit of the 1968 revolt has turned into a new resource for a more flexible, innovative western capitalism.

If we follow this line of argument and remember Jean-Claude Gillet, we have to state that community workers today are not only working with people who are used to being cautious and obedient workers in a Fordist employment regime, they are also confronted with young and older people who are excluded from employment because they don't take the initiative; because they are not in a position to establish personal networks; because they don't easily trust other people; because they are uncertain about their position in the world and yearn for reassurance and some certainties.

The community worker's call for action – for people to become the subject of their own life – (at least during spare time) becomes more complicated:

- Does community work, by focussing on project work with fast changing groups of people, replicate the same exclusion mechanisms observed in the field of qualified employment?
- What methods of work are most successful today in bringing new, formerly excluded people to action?

Boltanski and Chiapello don't propose a return to the Fordist regime of clear and multi-layered hierarchies and orders – I wouldn't propose returning to “programmes” as described by Gillet. Boltanski and Chiapello ask for new ways of accompanying project cycles by mechanisms of social security – falling out of the networks of project groups must not be equivalent to falling into no man's land. For community work I conclude that we need to teach and promote project work on equal footing with other methods that allow the fostering of contacts and reassuring relationships, thus laying the ground for really innovative project work. These methods include the – for a long time neglected – art of organising attractive, ritualistic community events and venues where people don't have to be project makers themselves.

Regarding the process of organizing projects, there are also questions to ask:

- Are community projects learning fields for youth, mothers and the elderly, where they learn and train those qualities most highly estimated on the labour market today? Or are they venues for people to discover a subjectivity or agency not welcomed or accepted in economic life?
- What concept of “autonomy” and “self-initiative” do community workers have today? Which aspects are the same as the dominant, economic concept? Which aspects differ?

Boltanski & Chiapello ask – as I would summarise – for a new, autonomous understanding of autonomy.

Especially in the work with marginalized youth it is very clear that there has to be a strong drive to rise and strengthen the abilities and social skills of young people in order to have a chance on the labour market. Yet are there elegant combinations imaginable, such as pragmatic work for social inclusion that contains the vision of personal or collective autonomy from the judgements of the labour market? (The Philippine NGOs “creative accounting” comes to my mind again: Would there be something like “creative inclusion into the economic sphere?”)

- How can the insight into the exclusive functions of project work be introduced into the methodology? How can project methods become methods to learn how to do projects?

Because I myself am still looking for these answers, I have brought the questions up for discussion at this conference.

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Isabelle My Hanh Derungs

# Transcultural Place Attachment – At Home across Borders

*Key words: place attachment – place identity – landscape as extended community*

## SWITZERLAND

The globalisation of migratory flows which, in Switzerland, used to go hand in hand with a high number of asylum seekers, has decreased considerably since 2003. In 2005, 10,100 new applications from asylum seekers were received. At the end of the same year, some 48,200 people going through the procedure of asylum had been registered in our country. There are also large numbers of people trying to enter Switzerland illegally. In 2005, nearly 5,500 of them were arrested. → <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/02/blank/key/bevoelkerungsstand.html>

## Introduction

The concept of place attachment requires an interdisciplinary approach, reaching from environmental psychology, human geography, cultural anthropology and ecological economics to landscape design. Although many definitions and theories mentioned in my speech need definitely more time to be explained and visualized, I do hope the topic still catches your attention and that you can follow the flow of my speech.

- 1) First I will outline the relevance of the topic of “home and attachment” in the age of migration and globalization
- 2) Then I shall introduce shortly the concept of place attachment which is linked to community, place identity, environment and landscape
- 3) Finally I will give a draft of how theory could be put into practice

## 1. Where is home in a flexibilized world?

Worldwide, innumerable burgeoning and growing cities seem to face the increasingly rapid multiple changes in economic, political, social and cultural terms. In many European countries the current endeavor for a multicultural society revolves around the acclamation of enriching diversity of values and lifestyles. The counterpart is the discourse on the unprecedented desintegration marking the multicultural and multioptional society. The debate is on increasing disorientation, polarization and insurmountable dissent. Apart from homogenizing the economic process, globalization brings to many societies more refined structural differentiation and socio-cultural diversification. Furthermore, ration-

alization bound up with disenchantment and demystification of the world presupposes the depersonalization of social relations. In search of new enchantment and challenges, progressive individuation and increasing mobility of subjects enforce social dissolution and displacement. E. Said calls this state of restlessness “a generalized condition of homelessness” (1979: 18).

Scientific and political debates discuss the impacts and consequences of migration that destabilize the community not only of the sending, but also of the receiving societies. The sense of affiliation, attachment and adhesion to cohesion is loosening. On the one hand, the economic expectation of flexibility and mobility seems to make a long-term commitment to local community impossible. On the other hand, there are people and groups coming from less “modernized” societies into the world of modernization. Here mobility is perceived as migration that takes people out of their “traditional” communities and thrusts them into “integration of modernization.” Within the framework of integration they are expected to get attached to the “given” place and to the “given” local community. A mutual contradiction for the coming and leaving individuals and groups when it comes to building and making settlement in a flexibilized world.

Being attached to a place and being mobile have often been polarized in the discourse of globalization and migration. Historically, being on constant move or being flexibilized must not result in detachment nor disruption of affiliation.

However, there is a difference: Modernization has brought fundamental changes in the way of how individuals and societies give meanings to a place. In the economic globalization, the meaning of place and home is increasingly created in a spacially decontextualized world of mass consumption, and individuals are increasingly left to themselves to construct meaning and identity. At the same time, many scholars recognize that creating a sense of home goes beyond economic (re)vitalization of a space and is one of the key quests of building healthy communities. Within this context the question remains what adhesion is needed to hold moving people to a place while local social cohesion tends to fall apart and environmental damage is increasing.

## 2. The Concept of Place Attachment

Place attachment is better known in Australia, North America and India but also in the United Kingdom. It is linked to community development, environmental development, cultural and heritage management. Yi-Fu Tuan uses the term

“topophilia” for the dialectical formation of perspectives and values to refer to the behavioral study of “human-environment relationships.” He differentiates space from place: “what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (1977: 235). Human geographers differentiate between mathematical, socio-economic, experiential/cultural and behavioural space that people have knowledge about but no feelings of home nor of attachment. Place – in comparison to space – means the environmental settings to which people are culturally producing expressive meanings by getting involved, thus committed. The concept allows inter- and transdisciplinary approaches. The following matrix of place attachment is simplified and consists of three main aspects:

**Attachment – Net of Relationships** The meanings that people attach to a place have always been an issue of great interest not only to different scientific disciplines. The term “attachment” focuses on emotions and affections. Place must become a conscious part of daily life’s rituals and routines. Tuan’s multicultural holistic approach of “topophilia” emphasizes the interweaving relationship between people and nature, between space and place, between habitat and landscape, between making aesthetics and giving ethics, to foster the sense of place. The relationship with the place is the reflection not merely of the living experiences, but of the perception and conception of the interacting people in creating meanings. Setha Low (1992) refines six general kinds of symbolic relationship and specifies cultural practices that link people to place. In other words, every society produces a kind of home or of homelessness based on its values and practices by using, producing or constructing space and place. The values or the “spirits” the place gets reflect the “identity” of the interactors with their environment.

The meanings that people attach to a place have always been an issue of great interest not only for different scientific disciplines but also for the locals and newcomers. Since the last century, while community attachment has become an important concept in the social sciences of research on modernization and urbanization and the disruptive effects of migration, place attachment stems mainly from environmental psychology, humanistic geography and cultural anthropology.

**Place Identity** The individual’s personal identity is defined in relation to the physical environment by means of complex patterns of attitudes, values and behaviour tendencies reaching far beyond emotional

attachment. The process results in place valuation as well as in place identification. For instance, James Fox (1997) shows in his research on the Austronesian experiences how diverse regions became one vast territorial area of feeling home for the Austronesians. They perceived the different landscapes as the land of their ancestors – no matter where they wandered. The landscape is perceived as a kind of extended community to whom they interact in their daily life and ritual performances (cp. Derungs & Derungs, 2006). There are many other examples in cultural anthropology showing how peoples protect their environment when brooks, rivers, trees and mountains are conceived as the peoples' extended community (Shiva, 1989; K. Derungs, 1994).

Edward Relph (1976) introduced the terms “insideness” and “outsideness,” which are associated with the terms of “insider” and “outsider” in reference to a collective or to a community. Attachment must not refer to one single place, as it depends much on the subjective experience of “insideness” when the individual feels a sense of coherence and meaningfulness (cp. Antonovsky's (1979) sense of coherence). The insider feels connected, related, thus familiar, rather than threatened (cp. I. Derungs, 2006). Consequently he/she is inside and has his/her place in the space of meanings. Whereas outsideness is used when the place is irrelevant to the person. According to Relph, it is possible to be an insider without visiting the place, as well as be an outsider in a place which used to or should be home.

**Landscape and Community** The studies of place attachment cannot leave out the aspect of landscape. Landscape has not merely a physical appearance. People define the space, they choose the place, perceive and shape the landscape according to their mindscape. They have always been involved with place and environment as they live in it. Landscape is the symbolic extension of the self and the communities that are embedded, reproduced and affirmed in daily actions, rituals, stories, and the meanings in reference to the landscape (see further Bender, 1993, Derungs & Derungs, 2006, Fox, 1997). According to David Hummon (1992) the sense of place is associated with a multi-dimensional understanding of community sentiment, which involves an interpretative perspective on the environment as well as an emotional reaction to the environment. Landscapes represent society's histories and memories. And the place as a social product represents a complex sign system or a text that contains the producers' ideas and conceptions of the relationships to the environment.

The processes of the demystification of nature and landscape have promoted a sense of fragmentation and alienation. Environment is perceived as foreign material or merely physical, conceived as an object for satisfaction, and treated as a space for living consumption. Emotional bonding is based on spiritual relationships which lead to a practice of ethical behaviours towards a space and how it would be expressed and protected as a place of home. The aspect of sustainability depends on the values and ethical criteria that a society applies in the “investment,” not of a space but of the quality of their lives. The encoding and decoding pattern of landscape depends on the culture, whether it is valued as functional, technical, inanimate or animate, genius or sacred. The environment and its specific elements and aspects become socialized by peoples' actions and interactions, and they are perceived not just as profane but as sacred sources for their well-being. When people (re)learn to reflect about the meanings they give, the relationships they have with their environment, and that the effects of the meanings and the relationships have effects on their quality of life in a holistic sense, they may change their behavioral patterns when filling the places with significance.

The sense of community and communal consciousness with the landscape and nature would ensure a sense of responsibility to the environment. The place is not a degraded object that should offer the people the feelings of home. But the opposite way around: the feeling at home depends on the responsibility of whether one makes one's belonging to the place possible by perceiving, conceiving and living with the natural environment as cultural landscape equally as social extended community.

To summarize, place attachment is an integrating concept with sustainable aspect. It involves patterns of attachments (spiritual, affective, cognitive, and productive), places (space, community, landscape, environment), different actors (individuals, groups, cultures), different relationships (spiritual, social, political, historical, economic), temporal aspects (linear vs. cyclical). The transcultural notion widens complexity and multiplies dimensions. Transcultural place attachment is an issue of sustainability of landscape. Individuals would be aware that the loss of a local place and landscape implies a loss on global dimension. Appreciating and protecting places and their landscapes will lead us to a more sustainable global community. Through the environmental awareness the relation of community becomes broader, transcultural and thus global: “The local place gets global spirit.”

### 3. Theory into Practice

Although I have been on various field trips abroad and at home and at numerous meetings with local and indigenous peoples, it seldom occurs to me to elaborate the rich materials to a complete concept. The field of Anthropology of Landscape has become an important part in my work on migration, identity and sustainable development. However, as an educator I also have the possibility to develop various awareness projects and programs. The following proposed design of an educational program consists of three main steps. It should be implemented in a module developed in cooperation with international partners:

- 1) The group explores communicative traces, signs, stories, mythologies, rituals, etc. of the local landscape and exchanges their knowledge and experiences, e.g. myths and stories of other places that used to be their home or that have some significance for them.
- 2) In interaction they discuss the structural and symbolic commonness of the places. They trace the processes of reflection and transfer from landscape (nature) to mindscape (culture). This stage is considered as meaning/identity-making and meaning/identity-creating process.
- 3) The transfer of sense (cognitive) and senses (perception) from environmental place to social place develops emotional and social place attachment. The discovery of the web of meanings of one place would find connections with the web of meanings of other places.

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Margarita Sanchez-Mazas, Yuri Tironi

## Le Conseil delémontain des jeunes: espace d'expérimentation ludique de la citoyenneté

### SUISSE

A maints égards, la structure de la population active occupée étrangère se distingue de son équivalent suisse. Les travailleurs étrangers sont généralement plus jeunes. En 2007, 57% des étrangers ont moins de 40 ans contre 44% des Suisses. Par ailleurs, la part des femmes est nettement plus basse chez les étrangers (38%) que chez les Suisses (47%). → [http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/dos/la\\_population\\_etrangere/intro.html](http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/dos/la_population_etrangere/intro.html)

### Pose du cadre

Le Conseil delémontain des jeunes (CDJ), créé en 1988, est le plus ancien de Suisse. Y siègent une quarantaine d'élus âgés de 11 à 16 ans. Ceux-ci travaillent sur des projets qui visent, par exemple, l'accès aux loisirs, l'offre d'espaces de jeux, ou encore divers problèmes sociaux. La majeure partie des actions aboutit à des réalisations concrètes. Les projets sont travaillés dans quatre petits groupes, appelés commissions. Un animateur socioculturel accompagne chacune d'elles. Les élus, réunis en plénum, discutent et valident le travail de celles-ci. Le fonctionnement du CDJ est basé sur une «copie éloignée» du système représentatif adulte. Cela ne l'empêche nullement d'être identifié à un dispositif participatif.

Le Conseil delémontain des jeunes est un champ d'intervention de l'animation socioculturelle. Le concept de participation est indissociable de cette dernière. Il y «occupe une place centrale» (Moser et al. 2004, p. 110), mais n'est pas un but en soi, il est toujours à considérer avec ce vers quoi il tend. En animation, il s'agit du développement de la citoyenneté, afin de maîtriser au mieux l'environnement dans lequel nous évoluons et de pouvoir y agir librement. Il s'agit donc de promouvoir la participation de tous les citoyens. Car seuls ceux qui ont appris à s'informer, à débattre, à décider, à s'impliquer dans un processus peuvent participer à l'évolution de notre société.

C'est donc un enjeu majeur pour les jeunes. Ils doivent avoir la possibilité de définir cette société, «qui est celle dans laquelle on leur demande de s'intégrer» (GLAJ-Vaud, 1999). «L'autonomie, comme la liberté, se conquiert. Devenir citoyen demande un effort volontaire qui doit être encouragé et soutenu. D'où l'importance de la participation, souvent revendiquée par les jeunes mais mal comprise par les adultes. Trop souvent, la participation offerte ne prend pas en compte les demandes réelles des jeunes qui se retrouvent coincés dans des structures

*alibi* sans réel pouvoir.» (Ibidem). En effet, aujourd'hui, sont qualifiées de citoyennes toutes pratiques ou expériences «qui impliquent une forme quelconque de participation des citoyens, et ce, peu importe le type et le degré de participation, le rôle accordé aux citoyens, et sans égard à leur statut» (Latentresse & Parazelli, 2006, p. 15).

Pour les jeunes, la participation permet «d'acquérir un savoir-faire important et de réunir des impressions et des expériences précieuses» (UNICEF, 2003, p. 11) pour la suite de leur vie. Il existe par contre un élément essentiel à ce succès. En effet, les jeunes élus devraient vivre leur participation comme un jeu. Dans tous les endroits de notre planète, les enfants jouent. «Le jeu est une activité permettant la découverte progressive du monde et de soi-même.» (Michellod, 1981, p. 9). Dans son sens le plus large, il est «le grand pont que les enfants doivent traverser pour passer sans encombre de l'enfance à l'âge adulte» (Lambert, opus cité, p. 1). Les enfants ont cette incroyable capacité à transformer en terrain de jeu n'importe quel espace et en jouet n'importe quel objet.

Suite à ce qui précède, nous postulons que si la participation des jeunes est complète et réelle, donc réussie, ils développent leur citoyenneté en vivant l'action de manière ludique. Afin de le vérifier au sein du CDJ, il s'agit alors d'analyser la mise en œuvre de la participation. Au niveau des jeunes, Thomas Jaun la décrit «comme la possibilité, pour les enfants et les jeunes, d'intervenir – en utilisant des formes et des méthodes appropriées – dans des processus de planification et de décision qui les concernent et de les influencer» (Jaun, 2003, p. 8). Cela signifie qu'ils contribuent activement à «l'aménagement des institutions qu'ils fréquentent (jardin d'enfants, écoles, garderies, équipements de loisirs, etc.) et de la commune ou du quartier dans lequel ils vivent» (UNICEF, opus cité, p. 8).

#### Enquête

En tenant compte de notre problématique et de notre connaissance du Conseil delémontain des jeunes, nous avons dénombré huit conditions nécessaires à la réussite de la participation des jeunes à partir de la nomenclature proposée par l'UNICEF (Ibidem, p. 29) et par Blanke (Blanke, opus cité, p. 119). Nous les avons vérifiées et analysées via trois modalités de recueil des données : des entretiens avec les élus et les animateurs, des observations in vivo lors de séances plénières et de commissions, et une analyse documentaire :

**1. Le plaisir** «Le plaisir est à la base de tous les projets élaborés par des jeunes.» (Brochure du Groupe d'intérêt jeunesse, 2006). Il est un des moteurs essentiels à l'action. Notre enquête nous révèle que cette condition est remplie.

**2. La participation libre aux élections** Les jeunes choisissent librement de se présenter aux élections. Si ce choix est réellement effectué de manière libre, il y a de fortes chances pour qu'ils soient partie prenante du processus et y jouent un rôle. Nous avons découvert qu'au CDJ, ce qui précède est une réalité.

**3. L'universalité de l'accès** Il est important de souligner la possibilité d'y accéder pour tous les jeunes de 11 à 16 ans habitant Delémont, qu'ils soient :

- fille ou garçon,
- suisse ou étranger,
- en situation de handicap ou non.

En théorie, il y a une exigence d'universalité. Malheureusement, nous ne pouvons la vérifier pleinement dans la réalité. Les filles ne représentent en moyenne qu'un tiers des élus. Au niveau du ratio suisses/étrangers, il n'existe pas de données accessibles pour se prononcer. Aucun jeune en situation de handicap n'a accédé au CDJ depuis sa création.

**4. L'accompagnement par des animateurs** Il faut des animateurs professionnels. Ils accompagnent les jeunes dans leur travail et permettent ainsi au processus de s'accomplir dans les meilleures conditions. Ils sont garants du cadre et effectuent le lien avec l'administration et les autorités communales. Ils doivent également posséder une vision plus globale de l'action. Cette dernière s'inscrit dans une communauté d'intérêts dépassant le cadre strictement communal, notamment la participation à la Fédération Suisse des Parlements des Jeunes, afin de réaliser une mise en réseau de compétences et de savoir-faire.

Notre enquête nous apprend que les jeunes partagent cet avis et pensent que les animateurs sont indispensables au bon fonctionnement du Conseil. Cependant, nous avons pu constater que des éléments sont à clarifier au niveau de leur statut, de leur formation continue ou de l'inscription du CDJ dans une vision plus globale que la structure elle-même.

**5. La compréhension du fonctionnement** Les jeunes savent à quoi ils s'engagent quand ils se présentent aux élections. Ils saisissent le fonctionnement global du CDJ et le rôle qu'ils peuvent y jouer.

Suite à notre travail et compte tenu des informations qu'ils reçoivent, nous pouvons affirmer que les jeunes saisissent le fonctionnement du Conseil, à l'exception de deux éléments. Le premier est le rôle tenu par les différents représentants de la commune: Maire et Conseiller communal de tutelle. Le deuxième est la notion de représentation. Les jeunes élus n'ont pas vraiment conscience qu'ils représentent l'ensemble des jeunes qui sont de fait leurs électeurs. De manière surprenante, aucune évaluation du fonctionnement et de l'action du CDJ n'a été réalisée à ce jour!

**6. Le choix des projets** Il est essentiel que les projets travaillés soient choisis par les jeunes. Ces derniers connaissent leurs envies et sont des spécialistes en matière d'intérêts des jeunes. Cette condition est remplie.

**7. La reconnaissance** Les élus sont reconnus dans leur statut. «Toute personne qui choisit de s'engager et de participer souhaite être prise au sérieux.» (Moser, et al., opus cité, p. 120).

Nous pouvons affirmer que les jeunes se sentent reconnus dans leur rôle par la commune et par leurs parents. Au niveau de leurs pairs et de leurs enseignants, il est plus difficile de se prononcer car ils n'échangent que peu avec ceux-ci sur le sujet. La commune reconnaît le CDJ en lui fournissant un budget pour la réalisation de ses projets, des locaux et des animateurs. Elle lui transfère de manière concrète une partie de son pouvoir. Nous avons constaté toutefois qu'il n'existe pas un archi-vage systématique de l'histoire de la structure.

**8. La communication** Le travail du CDJ est communiqué aux autorités adultes, aux jeunes non élus et au public en général. L'action est ainsi valorisée et rendue visible par sa médiatisation. Le CDJ est donc présent et participe au débat public.

Notre recherche démontre que le Conseil des jeunes communique de différentes manières. Cela s'effectue via les médias, des brochures, une BD ou encore des courriers spécifiques. La condition est donc remplie. En revanche, les trois projets visibles dans la ville ne portent malheureusement pas sa signature. La communication est complètement spontanée et personne ne la pilote.

Nous constatons que la réponse à notre questionnaire est mitigée. La mise en œuvre de la participation est plutôt réussie, malgré quelques bémols, et les jeunes développent ainsi leur citoyenneté. Nous émettons l'hypothèse que c'est certainement une des raisons de la longévité de la structure. En effet, d'autres communes ont vu naître des conseils de jeunes qui, avec le temps, se sont essouffés et ont fini par disparaître.

Les élus ressentent le CDJ comme un espace de jeu comportant certaines règles. Pour Piaget (Piaget, opus cité, p.4), avec la socialisation de l'enfant, ce dernier adapte de plus en plus son imagination symbolique aux données de la réalité. Il donne des règles au jeu. Il passe du *play* au *game*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> L'anglais est plus précis que le français. Pour le mot jeu, il a deux mots: *play* (jeu se déployant librement, sans contrainte au niveau de l'imagination) et *game* (jeu avec des règles précises).

Le jeu sert de médiateur entre le réel et l'imaginaire. Au CDJ, l'imagination des jeunes se combine avec la réalité d'un budget, d'un règlement, des envies des autres élus, etc. Il faut con-juguer la face *play* et la face *game*. Un jeu oui, mais sérieux!

Les jeunes élus sont dans un processus qui leur permet de développer leur conscience et leur maîtrise de l'environnement et de certains aspects de la vie dans lesquels ils évoluent. Ils participent ainsi à la définition de notre société.

### Perspectives

**Et pourquoi les adultes ne joueraient-ils pas aussi?** Ne pourrait-on pas renverser la perspective? Autrement dit, préconiser que le monde de l'adulte s'inspire du monde de la jeunesse. Au lieu de prétendre que les jeunes sont des adultes en herbe, ne pourrions-nous pas penser que les adultes sont des jeunes «dégrossis»? Un élément de réponse est certainement à chercher, comme le précisait déjà Huizinga au début du siècle passé, dans le fait que dans notre conscience, l'idée de jeu s'oppose à celle de sérieux. Pourtant, selon Bourdieu: «L'image du jeu est sans doute la moins mauvaise pour évoquer les choses sociales.» (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 80). Cela ne concerne donc pas uniquement l'enfant! Dans l'idée du développement de la citoyenneté chez l'adulte, le jeu est pourtant adapté. Il permet en effet de le responsabiliser et de le rendre acteur du processus.

**Une redynamisation de la démocratie** La perte de sens et de légitimité des démocraties occidentales, comme le constate notamment Habermas (2000), est en partie due à la mondialisation. De manière parallèle et complémentaire, il faut tenir compte de la distance toujours plus grande entre les citoyens et leurs représentants, laquelle induit un affaiblissement de la représentativité. Une redynamisation de la démocratie ne passerait-elle pas par l'instauration d'espaces participatifs, à l'image du CDJ?

Mais attention, les dispositifs participatifs ne servent en rien le développement du processus de citoyenneté s'ils sont instrumentalisés. Différents auteurs soulèvent deux formes répandues de manipulation. La première vise à utiliser le dispositif afin de faciliter « la préparation de décisions dont les décideurs pressentent qu'elles risquent d'être controversées : pour anticiper des réactions imprévisibles, ils trouvent bon de donner la parole, d'ouvrir les microphones, mais en ayant programmé leur fermeture, une fois les informations utiles obtenues. » (Callon, 2001, p. 211). La deuxième réduit le dispositif à un simple outil de légitimation : « Les décideurs consultent, donnent la parole, mais en se gardant bien de tenir compte de ce qui est dit et de ce qui est proposé. » (Ibidem). Il est donc indispensable de mettre en place des procédures qui empêchent cette instrumentalisation afin que cette démocratisation de la démocratie soit effective. La solution que nous avons adoptée dans notre travail se cristallise sur les conditions nécessaires à la participation des jeunes au CDJ. Cette solution s'appuie sur la théorie de l'animation socioculturelle. Nous émettons l'hypothèse qu'elle pourrait servir à dans l'analyse et à la compréhension d'autres dispositifs participatifs. Pour ces derniers, il importerait d'établir les conditions nécessaires à la mise en œuvre de la participation. Il s'agirait ensuite de constamment les vérifier, les évaluer et les réajuster. Alors seulement ces dispositifs participeront au développement d'une citoyenneté réelle. L'animateur socioculturel a son rôle à jouer dans ce processus.

L'analyse de l'expérience du Conseil delémontain des jeunes nous invite à repenser les dispositifs participatifs comme des espaces d'expérimentation, où la dimension ludique contribuerait de manière décisive aux apprentissages nécessaires à l'exercice de la citoyenneté (Berger Mathieu et Sanchez-Mazas Margarita, à paraître).

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Alex Willener

# The BaBeL Project: Sustainable Neighbourhood Development in Lucerne's Baselstrasse Neighbourhood

## SWITZERLAND

The oldest traces of human existence in Switzerland date back about 150,000 years, and the oldest flint tool found in the country is thought to be about 100,000 years old. The best known early prehistoric site is at Cotencher in Canton Neuchâtel, where Neandertal hunters left flint cutting tools in a cave some 60,000 years ago.  
→ [http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/prehistory\\_to\\_romans/](http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/prehistory_to_romans/)

«Baselstrasse – where Lucerne is cosmopolitan»  
«Switzerland's most striking ghetto»  
«Baselstrasse – Lucerne's most colorful street»

Three national newspaper headlines put in a nutshell both the dynamism and the problems of this particular neighbourhood. But what realities lie behind these assessments, and how is the term “Neighbourhood Development” to be understood within this context?

Ever since settlement began in this area, the Baselstrasse and Bernstrasse neighbourhood in the City of Lucerne has known various functions within the urban context. In this area outside the city walls was located, for instance, the prison, the execution grounds or the pig market. The less well-to-do moving in from rural areas in search of a better life found affordable accommodation here. Subsequently, beginning in the 19th century, the neighbourhood became a new home for immigrant workers, first from southern Europe, and later on, beginning in the 1970s, from southeastern Europe as well.

Today, the neighbourhood is characterized by its multinational population hailing from 70 nations, all maintaining their specific lifestyles. As a natural consequence, a large variety of ethnic businesses have emerged along Baselstrasse. For many people moving to Lucerne today, the neighbourhood serves as a kind of gateway, inexpensive accommodation and a large degree of population turnover providing the necessary leeway. Thanks to the comparatively low rent levels, the neighbourhood also provides niches for businesses, students and creative professionals.

### The Need for Action before the Start of the Project in Early 2000

At the end of the 1990s, the Baselstrasse/Bernstrasse problems gradually became more pronounced. This was due to several different types of dynamics which, to a certain extent, intensified one another:

- Throughout its history, the neighbourhood was repeatedly assigned functions and served purposes which were not welcome at the urban core. Time and again, this tradition made the neighbourhood appear problematic and of lesser value.
- The increase in the number of economically weak people to a level above average triggers a process with a momentum of its own, which has a lasting impact on the neighbourhood's reputation. People managing to climb the social ladder so far as to increase their chances in the housing market, on the other hand, move away, and their freed-up apartments will be made available to incomers who, for various reasons, have no access to the general housing market and are glad, for the time being, just to find accommodation, regardless of how seedy or polluted it is. The social dynamics of this neighbourhood are reflected in its educational and sociocultural facilities, where teachers, youth workers and other professionals are faced with enormous challenges.
- As a result of the bad housing outlook, there is a sustainable neglect of maintenance and necessary investment. Many of the buildings are in bad repair. Many house owners follow a "let's wait and see" management strategy. A few black sheep among them even take advantage of the neighbourhood's precarious situation in order to make a quick profit in the sex business or on the back of asylum seekers.
- Intense traffic and noise pollution are among the primary causes of a diminished quality of life in the neighbourhood. Several thoroughfares and a railway embankment divide the neighbourhood into narrow strips and make access to the city's recreational areas, such as playgrounds, the banks of the Reuss or the forest difficult (especially for children). Hence, the neighbourhood retains the character of an area "outside the city walls."

On the other hand, the area around also boasts a number of qualities which outsiders will not immediately spot: inexpensive apartments in old buildings, for example, small business and creative office niches, as well as a cosmopolitan mix of stores and restaurants. And, not least of all, this area is home to various committed individuals and organizations whose resources the development project has been able to build on.

### First Steps: BaBeL Objectives and Organizational Structure

The aim of BaBeL (*Baselstrasse/Bernstrasse Lucerne*) was to enhance the status of the environment for the benefit of the population groups living in this neighbourhood today so that to them, the neighbourhood no longer has the feel of a "transit camp." It is, however, not BaBeL's objective to drive out the neighbourhood's current population.

BaBeL was structured as a project with a term of 5 years (2002–2006). The project team was comprised of four lecturers of Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, representing 4 disciplines: architecture, economy, arts and sociocultural work, and two representatives of the City of Lucerne. In this shape and form, the project team had an intermediary function ensuring communication between the various stakeholders, i. e. communicating the relevant interests.

BaBeL builds on the conviction that the project can be successful only if all persons and institutions who are active in this neighbourhood and who, by their commitment and by making decisions, determine the course for the neighbourhood, are in full support of the BaBeL idea. They will, within their individual spheres of activity, contribute far more to the implementation of the BaBeL concept than the project team or the city authorities. Against this background, a participative approach has been used from the start. Right from the beginning, the population, the institutions anchored in the neighborhood and further stakeholders were involved in the project. Particular efforts were made to involve the migrant population. Within the framework of a subproject, a contact network for connecting with the various migrant population groups was established. For day-to-day contact establishment and activation, a neighbourhood worker was appointed, working from her home base in a vacant store.

### **The Consensus Scenario – The Road to Further Development**

The definition of objectives outlined above has established a wide range of development perspectives. Six possible scenarios were drawn up to serve as the methodological tool. Each scenario focuses on a different aspect of development (e.g. on “Education, Culture and Social Networks” or “Improvement of Public Spaces”) without, however, excluding any of the others.

In over 30 group meetings, these scenarios were discussed with the various stakeholders in order to differentiate between desirable, acceptable and undesirable development trends and to assemble, from the elements of the six scenarios, a new consensus scenario which is shared by a majority of the persons involved in the process. In a final large group intervention, the different assessments were condensed into a unified consensus scenario which describes, in a nutshell, the following development perspective:

- Multiculturalism is to be maintained and strengthened as a characteristic, the term “multicultural” covering more than just ethnic diversity but different lifestyles and chapters in the lives of the domestic population.
- The neighborhood is to be improved so as to be perceived by the various population groups as their home and not just as a transit camp. Therefore, one of the objectives is a decrease in population turnover.
- Not only must social structures be strengthened, both open spaces and the buildings’ stock must be improved as well.
- In the sociocultural field, great emphasis must be placed on issues of education, integration and neighbourhood infrastructures.

### **Building Stones for Implementing the Consensus Scenario**

From the consensus scenario a total of 16 fields of action have been derived. They were metaphorically called “building stones” in order to show that their combination is important for the desirable effects. Each of these building stones comprises several measures, all together covering a wide area of topics including

energy-saving and noise protection pilot projects, extracurricular and curricular child care, better access to the river banks and the forest, the improvement of open spaces and parks, healthcare/prevention, the strengthening of local economy and traffic optimizations. Wherever possible, the neighbourhood’s population or organizations were involved in the implementation of the corresponding sub-projects.

The three following building stones are meant to illustrate the implementation process.

**The BaBeL Kids Project** The neighbourhood population’s foremost request was that the living conditions of the many children and adolescents living here be improved. A great number of children, for instance, start kindergarten with a development deficit, some lack care in their leisure time and therefore spend it on the streets or in front of the TV.

The neighbourhood’s private, municipal and church organizations involved in childcare formed a network. Going by the name of BaBeL Kids, the project offers a wide range of activities, such as games, sports, culture, circus, as well as newly developed forms of participation, supporting children and adolescents in finding their identity and becoming permanently integrated in society. Among the highlights of the project is the annual BaBeL Fussball Cup (football tournament), which is usually attended by up to 200 children of all nationalities. Furthermore, in cooperation with the City of Lucerne, playgrounds fallen into disrepair have been rebuilt. BaBeL Kids is an extraordinary success, judging from the feedback left by schools and other institutions.

**Art in Public Space – A New Design for the Baselstrasse Access Overpass** Until recently, a somewhat gloomy railway overpass stood as a symbol of the neighbourhood’s separation from the rest of the city, just waiting to be turned into something friendlier by the Lucerne School of Arts and Design and the kids from the BaBeL neighbourhood. Under the guidance of one of the School’s lecturers, the children first visited the location and then molded their ideas for improvement in clay. They presented their models to a team of art students whose task it was to take up these suggestions to redesign the overpass. The result of the joint effort was a visually unusual “double image” made up of a large number of painted slats that will show you either domestic or exotic animals, depending on what direction you approach the overpass from.

**Shop and Food** It is important for the neighbourhood that its stores – mainly small ethnic businesses – can support their owners and their families. However, frequent ownership changes and derelict premises rather give the impression of a neighborhood going to seed. Against this background, and in the building stone dedicated to strengthening the business structures, the local community center has developed its Shop and Food project. The point of departure for the project was the understanding that many Swiss people are shy about buying their groceries at an African, Latin American or Asian store, and even if they can muster the courage, they may still be at a loss standing in front of shelves full of colourful, exotic products they do not know. On the other hand, many store owners are not used to explaining products to people who do not belong to their ethnic group. The Shop and Food project resolves these issues by regularly organizing tours of selected shops, where participants not only receive information on the products and recipes but are served food as well. The tours, despite a relatively hefty price tag, have become a huge success. Tickets are sold out regularly. The success of the project is illustrated by the fact that those shops that take part in the project seem to have a stable basis to survive: all of them still exist after three years of the project.

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#### **Learning from the BaBeL Project**

To conclude my remarks, I would like to point out a few aspects which honor the BaBeL project insofar as it has broken new ground in certain areas, providing new ideas which could be taken up again elsewhere.

**Transdisciplinary Collaboration** A great number of dynamics on various levels form the character of a city's neighbourhood. Take its topographic situation, for example, or the economic development, the regional planning framework, real estate market mechanisms, transport policy decisions, or demographic or migration policy developments. Now when it comes to analyzing a neighbourhood's situation, in order to subsequently push its development into a desired direction, it is crucial that the status quo and the lever required for change not be looked at through glasses tinted by one specific discipline only. This is because, depending on the point of view chosen, the contemplation of the situation can lead to entirely different explanations and hence to differing approaches.

From this insight follows that using different expert views is mandatory. Not as a substitute for the view(s) of the district's popu-

lation, of course – using their everyday life expertise is indispensable and a prerequisite of a successful neighbourhood development process – but in the sense of professional support of the justified requests for change of the neighbourhood's stakeholders.

This necessity for transdisciplinary collaboration founded on the "subject matter," if you will, can be complemented by a normative requirement. The sustainable development approach, as is generally known, is based on the three sustainability dimensions of society, economy and ecology. If these dimensions are taken seriously within the context of their impact, interdisciplinary collaboration will be the logical consequence.

In the implementation phase, too, it is important to act, to the extent possible, not from each discipline's point of view alone but using integral project approaches. Take the sociocultural activities for children in the BaBeL project, which were combined with planning measures aimed at improving green and public spaces.

**Made-to-Measure Method Development** Even though both nationally and internationally, broad experience has been gained in neighbourhood development, it is impossible to build on a single standardized set of approaches. Each local situation – influenced by different developments and prevailing conditions – is unique. Strategies must be contextually adapted, methods must be modified, re-developed or specifically combined on a case-by-case basis. Case in point: The work using scenarios which the BaBeL project chose after analysis had shown that not the entire population shared the same ideas regarding their neighbourhood's desirable future development. Consequently, scenarios were established on the basis of numerous interviews, their words translated by an illustrator living in the neighborhood, into vivid images, which were then used for discussing the desirable development with the most diverse stakeholders. Thanks to the depictions, people with little knowledge of German were able to make statements as well. In addition, they promoted an associative form of discussing in the groups, which in part led to unexpected results.



Rudy van den Hoven

# Changes and Challenges in the *Schilderswijk*. Revitalisation in a Dutch Neighbourhood.

## THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands lies between the North Sea on the north and west, Germany on the east, and Belgium on the south. Large parts of the total area consist of water, however. A parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarch, the kingdom includes the former colonies of the Netherlands, Antilles and Aruba. The capital is Amsterdam and the seat of government The Hague. → <http://www.britannica.com/nations/Netherlands,-The>

## Introduction

This paper offers a short description of a research project which is currently being carried out in one of the neighbourhoods of the city of The Hague. Interviews have been held with local residents, professionals in the field of education, health, social services, community work and local government about the main changes and problems that are taking place in the area, as well as the most important challenges in tackling these problems and the development of the local community.

The research focuses in particular on the problem of poverty, given the fact that it concerns one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Netherlands.

Although the neighbourhood has been the object of several programmes for urban regeneration and despite improvements at the physical level, the socio-economic position of its residents did not substantially change.

For the next four years the neighbourhood will participate in a new national programme, which will include 40 of the most disadvantaged areas in the Netherlands.

## The local context

Built in the second half of the nineteenth century as a working class neighbourhood with often very poor living conditions and located near the city centre, today the neighbourhood houses, within an overall population of about 33,000 inhabitants, a variety of vulnerable groups who are subject to the risks of exclusion, marginalisation and exploitation. Groups, which might be understood as the other face of the fast developing urban economy of high-qualified and well paid jobs particularly in the service and government sector. At the same time, and as a part of international developments

and networks, a considerable labour force of legal and illegal immigrants is constituted. Many of them do not have the necessary documents and qualifications and, as a consequence, only have access to the lower part of the labour market, constituted by low-qualified and low-paid jobs and the informal sector (Burgers, 2004). A labour force that plays, nevertheless, an important role in some parts of the regional economy and labour market. Having no access to the housing market in most other parts of the city, they are attracted to the neighbourhood of the *Schilderswijk* because of the concentration of relatively cheap houses in the area.

It concerns an area which belongs traditionally to the poorest neighbourhoods of The Hague and of the Netherlands, just as it is today. About 42% of the population lives at the social minimum level, representing 25% of all poor households of The Hague (KWIZ, 2006).

Despite an overall tendency of poverty becoming more temporary, here many people are poor long-term. Many of them are characterised by very limited social networks, often made up by people in similar situations and with little capacity of offering support in order to overcome the problems they are dealing with.

A particular problem is constituted by the concentration and social isolation of some ethnic minority groups in some parts of the neighbourhood, with very few relationships with other groups and organisations in the area. In some cases this might constitute an important obstacle for the social integration and emancipation of the group members.

Those who do succeed to improve their situation leave the area as soon as the opportunity arrives and are substituted by new groups looking for cheap housing.

### Changes

Over the last decades and in a context of globalisation, the neighbourhood has gone through a number of changes affecting the living conditions of its inhabitants in several ways.

From a poor working-class neighbourhood it has changed into a poor multi-ethnic neighbourhood, in which many of the old, traditional certainties have disappeared and problems of poverty are accompanied by new problems concerning the communication and the living together of a variety of cultures and lifestyles. Today, over 80% of the population belongs to an ethnic minority. Amongst them we may find over 60 different cultural and ethnic minorities.

At the economic level a lot of small-scale local businesses and employment matching the characteristics of local people have disappeared and have been replaced by large-scale companies, often located in the suburban areas of the city.

The Dutch welfare system has gone through a number of changes: service provision has become more restrictive, market principles have been introduced into the field of social policy and changes have taken place in the relation between state and citizen, visible e.g. in the call for more personal responsibility and active citizenship.

A tendency in social policy towards care in the community has resulted in an increasing number of vulnerable people in the local community.

Although the neighbourhood has been the object of several programmes for urban regeneration and despite the improvements at the physical level, it did not change substantially the position of residents at the socio-economic level.

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**Tendencies in social policy and interventions** According to the interviews with local residents and professionals, several changes and tendencies are noticed in the field of social policy and social interventions that do affect and condition their capacity to act and intervene at the local level:

- There has been a strong emphasis in policies and interventions over the last 10 to 15 years on socio-cultural problems, the lack of social cohesion and social integration, often accompanied by what we could call a “culturalisation” of social and socio-economic prob-

lems, considering cultural factors and cultural differences as the main causes of these problems (Ghorashi, 2006). Far less attention has been paid to the improvement of the socio-economic position of citizens.

- An institutional logic of “managerialism” has become dominant over the logic of the professional and the logic of the citizen, leaving little or no space for professional discretion and user participation (Lorenz, 2007).
- A neo-liberal influence is being felt, emphasising values of individual responsibility, autonomy and freedom. But at the same time, all kinds of control mechanisms are applied. A more selective but often also more repressive and moralising approach towards citizens is noted. A relation with service users which is characterised by (mutual) distrust seems to prevail.
- The absence of a shared, long-term perspective on the future of the neighbourhood is mentioned as one of the main obstacles. The present situation is characterised by fragmentation of services, a coming and going of short-term projects and interventions, a reduction of complexity and a focus on immediate results. Professionals in the field of social work and community development fear to be instrumentalised in the daily management of situations of social exclusion and disturbing behaviour, keeping them within “acceptable” boundaries rather than dealing with problems from a perspective of sustainable local development.

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### Challenges

For the next four years the neighbourhood will participate in a new national programme which will include 40 of the most disadvantaged areas in the Netherlands.

Regarding the experiences of the past and the opinions expressed by local professionals and community members, a number of challenges is lying ahead, some of which we will mention here briefly.

1. The improvement of the socio-economic position of local residents. This may seem obvious, but many interventions in the past envisaged almost exclusively the physical regeneration of the area, considering insufficiently the needs as well as the opportunities it offered for the improvement of the socio-economic position of its residents.

From 2001/2002 on, policies and interventions focused strongly on problems of social cohesion and social integration, mainly from a socio-cultural point of view. Both perspectives, however, paid little attention to the wishes and ambitions of citizens regarding their future and the possibility for social mobility. For this reason, one of the challenges for the next years will be to create new opportunities for the social mobility of the inhabitants of the area.

2. At the same time, conditions need to be created in order to keep those who do manage to improve their socio-economic position in the area. Given the fact that The Hague is one of the most segregated cities in the Netherlands and the subsequent concentration of poor households and marginal groups in some of its neighbourhoods, a more mixed population constitutes for many people one of the main objectives for the coming years. Rather than attracting people from outside the area, the strategy seems to be to stop the move out of the city of the new middle-class families to the suburban areas and to maintain them in the neighbourhood. This requires an investment in the quality and variety of the housing stock, as well as in the environment and the quality of services (social, cultural, leisure), taking into account the needs and ambitions of this new urban middle-class.

3. In order to meet both challenges mentioned above, changes will be needed both at the policy level as well as in the predominant institutional culture.

A long-term perspective on the future of the neighbourhood, shared and supported by all stakeholders, has to be developed, in contrast to the multi-

tude of fragmented, short-term projects and interventions of the past, which is more than the sum of the contributions of the individual organisations involved.

But it also requires a clear diagnosis of what the key factors, the obstacles and opportunities are for local development. It requires an understanding of the relationship between the different levels of intervention: the individual or family level, group and neighbourhood level, the city and even the national level. In particular the relationship between the neighbourhood and the city needs further attention.

4. A next challenge is constituted by the development of new ways of community involvement and participation which match the diversity of the local community. The “old” traditional model of representative residents’ organisations, speaking and acting on behalf of the local community, as used during earlier periods of urban regeneration, seems to have lost its meaning. Instead, new methods and tools will be needed, linking into the variety of groups and initiatives in the community and the informal social networks of local residents.
5. Also, the concepts of social cohesion and social integration might need reconsideration, as well as the development of new approaches no longer based on the nostalgic and romantic notions about the “good old neighbourhood” but appropriate within a context of diversity of identities and life-styles. Although social cohesion and social integration are often stated as the main aims of policies and interventions, interviews show that there is no clear understanding of these concepts and of what exactly the expected results should be.
6. Finally, for community development, working within a context of individualisation, diversity and vulnerability, the challenge will be to avoid both an individualisation and a “culturalisation” of social problems and to combine attention for individual histories and personal circumstances with collective (development) strategies.

The current attention in the political debate, as well as in social policies and interventions for the support of vulnerable families and individuals and personal “tailor made” interventions may result in more individualised approaches, localising social problems at the individual level and not rarely with clearly moralising and paternalistic characteristics, at the costs of more collective and development-oriented approaches.

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Chantal Crenn

# «Chez nous, c'est Marrakech<sup>1</sup>» ou l'animation en «territoire rural» prise dans les toiles de la mondialisation

1

Propos tenus par un élu de ce territoire, lors d'une de nos rencontres.

## FRANCE

Francia désigne à l'origine la région du nord de l'Europe, peuplée, ou plutôt dominée, par un peuple de guerriers germaniques qui se nomment eux-mêmes les Francs.

Francia est une adaptation latine du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle du terme Franko(n), nom que donnaient les Francs à leur domaine, alors situé probablement dans l'actuelle Flandre belge. En effet, dès les 3<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> siècles les Romains avaient déjà des contacts avec les Francs, qu'ils enrôlaient comme mercenaires dans leur armée, et ce bien avant les invasions germaniques proprement dites. Francia n'a alors pas une connotation politique mais plutôt géographique ou sociologique, comme Maghreb ou Balkans au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle. → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/France>

## Introduction

Dans cet article, je vais m'attacher à traiter de la rencontre de modèles globaux, associés aux dynamiques de la mondialisation et d'une société locale, le monde viticole situé entre Saint-Emilion et Bergerac où se vivent, autour des pratiques d'animation, des «drames», au sens goffmien du terme, jusque-là considérés comme proprement urbains. J'entends par là, la présence prétendue «dangereuse» des jeunes dits «d'origine marocaine» dans les espaces publics (notamment autour de structures d'animation telles des Points Rencontres Jeunes) de plusieurs petites villes viticoles observées. Dans cette rencontre entre majoritaires et minoritaires, au sens sociologique du terme, entre élus, animateurs et jeunes dits «d'origine» se trace une frontière ethnique qui puise largement dans un imaginaire mondialisé tout en occultant une réalité migratoire locale plus complexe que celle qu'elle donne à voir. Ici, dans ce qui s'y négocie, dans ce qui s'y produit, se joue un processus de différenciation ethnique auquel l'animation dite «en milieu rural»<sup>2</sup> n'échappe pas. Bref, dans ce contexte, à l'écart de la métropole bordelaise, la question de la différence ethnique se pose à sa manière tout en possédant nombre d'attributs de l'urbanité. En effet, d'un côté, comme dans les ensembles urbains, dans la société viticole qui nous intéresse, la question de la différence renvoie tantôt (le débat social nous invite largement à le faire) à des identités

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La séparation entre rural et urbain n'est plus aussi tranchée qu'auparavant. On parlera plutôt d'un continuum rural/urbain et d'une «culture urbaine» présente dans tout l'hexagone. «L'urbanité» est donc présente «même à la campagne».

relées à des «communautés», à des individus saisis et mobilisés en tant que membres d'une «communauté», «la communauté des musulmans du monde», par exemple, tantôt on constate l'individuation poussée des acteurs sociaux. D'un

autre côté, certains acteurs de la vigne et des élus affichent fortement une appartenance à un passé prétendu «glorieux», «propre au territoire» et mettent en place des stratégies patrimoniales (Nuit du Patrimoine, confrérie viticole, reconstitution historique etc.) et éludent quasiment la question de la participation des «immigrés» à la construction de l'ensemble local. Dans ce contexte, comment l'animatrice<sup>3</sup> (ou l'animateur) reçoit-il/elle les expressions de reconnaissance<sup>4</sup> des jeunes dits «Marocains»? Comment articule-t-il/elle ces expressions individuelles aux logiques collectives de mobilisation et d'identification? L'anthropologie m'a semblé pouvoir permettre d'interroger le processus de mondialisation dans lequel les animatrices(teurs) sont pris(e)s afin de mieux leur permettre de résister aux définitions stigmatisantes imposées aux minorités ethniques par les élus et institutionnels dont ils dépendent.

#### Mondialisation, animation et migration: quand l'imaginaire s'impose

Dans un contexte de mondialisation de l'information, de circulation plus rapide des individus, de globalisation économique, la prudence est nécessaire. Cette prudence est obligatoire à une époque où les identités, qu'elles soient hexagonales ou prétendues communautaires, sont manipulées à des fins politiques et dépendent autant de souhaits de reconnaissance que de logiques d'assignations catégorielles largement stéréotypées à des fins hégémoniques. Car loin de traiter d'un sujet nouveau, l'article que je propose ici s'articule avec des questions produites depuis fort longtemps dans le champ professionnel de l'animation sociale et socioculturelle: comment articuler universalisme et particularisme, mobilisations collectives et émancipation individuelle? A toutes ces questions territorialisées localement par les animatrices(teurs), la mondialisation n'a pas été suffisamment associée, me semble-t-il.

La multiplication des rapports marchands entraîne des modifications dans les rapports des groupes sociaux étudiés et notamment pour les familles marocaines observées, tant en

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Les animatrices (le plus souvent) et les animateurs rencontré(e)s sur ces territoires ont entre 25 et 50 ans. Ils sont diplômés de BPJEPS ou du DUT animation sociale socioculturelle des IUT de France; seuls les animateurs (trices) dits «d'origine marocaine» ne possèdent pas les diplômes de la profession sans pour autant ne pas être diplômés puisqu'ils ont au minimum un DEA.

4

Je pense particulièrement aux récits que m'ont faits les animatrices(teurs) au sujet de ces jeunes qui revêtent de manière ostentatoire le maillot marocain dans les rues de ces petites bastides du Sud-Ouest ou qui y parlent «arabe»...ou encore qui s'agglutinent devant les PRJ «entre eux», «entre garçons» jusqu'à des heures avancées de la nuit.

territoire viticole français qu'au Maroc, lors des allers-retours croissants des émigrants qui, depuis les années 1960 ont accompagné l'histoire réciproque de la France et du Maroc. Ces va-et-vient sont certes tributaires de relations économiques préétablies mais aussi sources de nouveaux rapports sociaux en France et au Maroc pour certains émigrants. La globalisation économique produit également des réponses culturelles<sup>5</sup>

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Jean-Pierre Warnier montre dans son ouvrage l'abus de langage que constitue le fait de parler de mondialisation culturelle. Cela revient souvent à confondre industrie de la culture et culture.

(prises dans le sens anthropologique) que j'ai pu «observer» tant du côté des animatrices(teurs) que dans les familles au Maroc et en France. A l'instar d'Arjun Appadurai (1996) et de Jean-Pierre Warnier (1999), je me suis aperçue que dans les relations aux jeunes dits «Marocains», l'imaginaire tenait, ici, une place très importante.

En Aquitaine... Déplacements plus rapides, nouvelles technologies de communication et de distribution ont en effet modifié «l'espace rural et viticole» observé qui se trouve lui aussi au cœur des enjeux de la globalisation économique. A travers les médias, transitent des images relatives à des domaines variés. La notion d'imaginaire nous renvoie à celle de «commu-

6

A l'expression de Benedict Anderson, j'ai rajouté la marque du pluriel car nous en avons rencontré plusieurs. Plusieurs, en fonction de la génération, du genre, du statut social etc. des individus rencontrés.

nautés imaginées»<sup>6</sup> introduites par Benedict Anderson (1983). Ces dernières se sont forgées au niveau local en situation d'exclusion économique. Les références faites par les acteurs sociaux rencontrés tantôt à «un Maroc urbain émancipé» tantôt à «une campagne marocaine *bio*» ou encore à «une communauté arabe mondiale» ou les trois à la fois me sont alors apparues comme un moyen de résistance à leur éviction de la sphère viticole mais aussi à leur assignation identitaire au niveau national tout en revendiquant leur appartenance au territoire viticole.

Au Maroc, le phénomène de globalisation par les médias, les allées et venues des émigrants, les échanges économiques accrus avec l'Occident, donnent aux familles d'émigrants rencontrées le sentiment que leur vie quotidienne pourrait être autre (Crenn, 2003). Cela remanie profondément la notion de statut appliquée aux acteurs sociaux dans la sphère de la parenté, de la religion et du politique mais aussi dans la sphère du travail qui n'est plus uniquement liée à l'action de travailler

elle-même mais, entre autres, au fait de posséder de l'argent. Et les dits « Marocains » ne sont pas les seuls concernés par l'impact du processus de mondialisation sur leur imaginaire. En Aquitaine, les animatrices(teurs), les élu(e)s que j'ai rencontré(e)s sur ce territoire viticole le sont aussi. Bref, il est incontestable que les échanges internationaux, avec le marketing, le développement des médias, le tourisme de masse, constituent des éléments qui influent sur la manière dont les animatrices(teurs) vont s'organiser pour élaborer leur vie quotidienne et professionnelle et pour catégoriser l'Autre. Les voyages estivaux au Maroc dans les villes « mythiques » de Marrakech ou de Fès (où arrivent tous les jours des centaines de touristes) qui me sont contés par certain(e)s animatrices (teurs) rencontré(e)s continuent à alimenter une vision traditionnelle voire archaïque de la culture marocaine. Certains ont eu le sentiment disent-ils/elles d'être pendant leur séjour dans les contes des *Mille et une nuit*. Ces associations symboliques rattachent ainsi la culture marocaine contemporaine à un exotisme plutôt oriental. Rares sont ceux qui sont allés dans les familles, ici où là-bas, des jeunes qu'ils ou elles côtoient tous les jours. A cela s'ajoute la manière dont islam radical (surtout depuis le 11 septembre 2001) et « affaire du voile » occupent régulièrement le devant de la scène médiatique en France. Dans le champ de l'animation comme ailleurs, les professionnels ne peuvent plus se contenter de l'observation du local (même s'il est clair que cette méthode reste la clef de voûte de la pratique de diagnostics sociaux nécessaires pour préparer des projets), il est crucial aussi d'appréhender ces vies complexes, en partie imaginées. Une approche à la fois locale, nationale mais aussi internationale s'impose d'elle-même pour mieux comprendre les processus de différenciation ethnique dans le champ de l'animation de ce territoire « rural ». En ce qui concerne les jeunes dits « Marocains » auxquels sont confronté(e)s les animatrices(teurs), les catégories utilisées pour interpréter les situations professionnelles auxquelles ils sont confrontés sont certes liées aux enjeux locaux mais aussi aux informations que les médias donnent (Appadurai, 2001, 96-99). Ce que l'on peut avancer comme hypothèse, c'est que la modification de l'équilibre économique<sup>7</sup> viticole lié à la mondialisation, avec un appauvrissement considérable de la popula-

7  
Une des petites villes viticoles observées fait partie selon une enquête de l'Express (27.09.2007), « l'Insee doit revoir sa copie », d'une des 15 villes les plus pauvres de France.

tion (chômage généralisé des ouvriers de la vigne) ainsi que la surmédiatisation de la question migratoire associée à la surrenchère de la figure du « jeune issu de » comme « fauteur de trouble au niveau national et local », a entraîné le brouillage de la figure de « l'immigré ouvrier agricole » de passage et corvéable à merci.

### **Mondialisation du vignoble et/ou le brouillage de la figure de « l'immigré »**

En effet, les « immigrés » perçus comme de passage se sont installés. Malgré des conditions de vie précaires (emploi saisonnier, travail au noir, logement insalubre), ces ouvriers et ouvrières estiment partager avec leurs patrons viticulteurs un savoir viticole. Dans leur discours, cette connaissance professionnelle induit l'idée d'un enracinement local. Depuis les années 1990, ils vivent avec consternation leur quasi-exclusion de la sphère productive viticole (relégués à des tâches subalternes, intérimaires ou chômeurs). Car, finalement, les enquêtes que je mène au sein des ces familles depuis 2002 montrent un enracinement local et un processus d'acculturation largement amorcé. Mes observations contrastent avec les constats peu nuancés établis par les animatrices(teurs) travaillant sur le territoire: selon eux/elles, les jeunes garçons qu'ils côtoient « sont restés très Marocains », « ont des attitudes très viriles », « restent entre eux, ils sont agressifs, parlent arabe entre eux ... sont en échec scolaire ... » et constituent « un public difficile » pour lequel disent-ils/elles « ils ne se sont pas formés ». Pourtant, contrairement à ce que ressentent les professionnels rencontrés qui voient dans cette population maghrébine une sorte de continuité culturelle, on peut parler de rupture entre l'héritage ouvrier agricole des pères et la « carrière scolaire » plus ou moins allongée des garçons. De plus, un phénomène nouveau accompagne ces processus complexes d'identification/différenciation. Depuis la fin des années 1990, dans ces territoires viticoles, continue à s'installer une nouvelle population de jeunes migrants venus eux aussi du Maghreb. Il s'agit de migrants mêlant des hommes et femmes jeunes (les « brûleurs de frontière » ou *harragas*), et des hommes venus dans le cadre de mariage, souvent de cousins, dans les familles anciennement installées. Ils participent à ce que le sens commun de ce territoire viticole ap-

pelle de manière ironique «la délocalisation à domicile». Ils viennent remplacer dans le vignoble des oncles ou tantes désormais trop coûteux. Contrairement à ce que perçoivent la plupart des animatrices(teurs) confrontés à ces jeunes, qui ne voient plus souvent qu'un seul groupe ethno-culturel au sein de cette population, se côtoient plusieurs groupes d'individus qui sont de nationalité française ou marocaine aux parcours très variés. Beaucoup sont nés en France de parents installés en Aquitaine depuis plus de 30 ans. Ils proviennent de différentes vagues migratoires aux origines géographiques diverses, aux parcours sociaux variés, mais tous sont confrontés aux mutations et difficultés que le monde vitivinicole traverse. Les animatrices(teurs) côtoient aussi des filles ou des garçons récemment arrivés dont les parents sont restés au pays et qui sont venus réaliser «une aventure individuelle». Les quelques rares animatrices(teurs) rencontré(e)s qui y distinguent deux groupes, perçoivent les «nouveaux» comme eux aussi «de cultures très maghrébines», et les nomment les «musulmans». Pourtant, là encore, il est nécessaire de nuancer : les parcours migratoires montrent que ces jeunes possèdent un minimum de familiarité avec la culture française qui a permis à bon nombre de candidats à l'émigration de réaliser leur projet. Mais il importe moins de récuser ces accusations de traditionalisme, d'enfermement dans la tradition musulmane ou dans une culture d'origine comme non conformes à la réalité que d'interroger ce qui conduit les animatrices(teurs) à voir ces jeunes, en dépit de la diversité des pratiques, comme «Marocains», représentation qui traduit elle aussi une réalité : celle d'une société locale ethnicisée non pas en référence à une «ethnie» spécifique mais à une ethnicité générique, celle assignée à l'étranger, à l'immigré. Car ce dont on s'aperçoit ici, comme en milieu urbain, c'est que la catégorie sociale «jeunes issus de» est étroitement liée à une recherche par la société locale d'un sens aux difficultés qu'elle traverse.

### Conclusion

La tâche est urgente, difficile pour les animatrices/teurs. Les nouveaux mouvements migratoires nécessitent de penser l'interdépendance et l'imbrication croissante entre des centres et des périphéries. Cela multiplie les branchements, les jeux sur les identités et les renvois de signifiants de l'inter-

national au local en passant par le local. Il est urgent également d'avoir conscience que la mondialisation engendre de la polarisation qui loin de mélanger les cultures et les identités organise leur coexistence dans des mondes économiques, territoriaux de plus en plus disjoints et construit les identités des acteurs des mondes dévalorisés (ceux du travail illégal dans les vignes, des quartiers ségrégués) en différences irréductibles. Je voudrai insister sur la manière dont l'animation pourrait être un lieu d'expérimentation de réponses à ces interrogations liées à la différence, aux relations interethniques en intégrant dans la formation des animatrices (teurs) l'anthropologie sociale qui grâce à sa méthode d'implication/distanciation permet de résister aux définitions unilatérales de phénomènes très complexes.

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Michel Lac

# Les enjeux de l'animation vus par la presse française: une grille de lecture des représentations professionnelles des animateurs?

## FRANCE

Son territoire métropolitain est bordé par l'océan Atlantique à l'ouest, par la Manche (qui la sépare du Royaume-Uni) et la mer du Nord au nord, par la Belgique, le Luxembourg, l'Allemagne, la Suisse et l'Italie à l'est, et par la mer Méditerranée, l'Andorre, Monaco et l'Espagne au sud. La France d'outre-mer est bordée par le Brésil et le Suriname via la Guyane ainsi que le Royaume des Pays-Bas via l'île de Saint-Martin, mais aussi par l'océan Pacifique via la Polynésie française, Wallis-et-Futuna, la Nouvelle-Calédonie et l'île Clipperton; l'océan Indien via La Réunion, Mayotte et les Îles Éparses; l'océan Antarctique et l'Australie via les Terres australes et antarctiques françaises et la mer des Caraïbes via la Guadeloupe, la Martinique, l'île Saint-Martin et l'île Saint-Barthélemy. → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/France>

## Introduction

Plusieurs études (S. Akin et O. Douar, par exemple, dans «Qui sont les animateurs aujourd'hui?» relèvent 72 dénominations différentes renvoyant toutes à des offres d'emploi d'animateur) pointent le(s) champ(s) de l'animation comme une nébuleuse non seulement du point de vue factuel, institutionnel ou encore organisationnel et professionnel mais aussi dans l'usage d'appellations multiples et changeantes dans le temps entraînant un renforcement de cette idée de flou. Pourtant, nombre de ces dénominations correspondent à des spécificités voire des spécialisations tangibles et pertinentes dans la définition de ou des animation(s) et de leurs enjeux spacio-institutionnels.

De quoi parle-t-on lorsque nous parlons d'animation? Mais aussi et peut-être avant tout comment parle-t-on de l'animation? Quel(s) sont les impact(s) de la médiatisation de l'animation sur le secteur et l'identité professionnelle des acteurs?

Cet article présente une forme de réponse à ces différents questionnements et constats à partir de la construction d'une typologie sous forme de grille de lecture des champs de l'animation. Cette typologie est issue d'un recueil systématique d'articles de presse traitant de l'animation dans 4 quotidiens et 2 hebdomadaires français depuis 5 ans. Il s'agit donc de repérer le plus finement possible les représentations des champs de l'animation portées et diffusées par les médias français afin, dans un second temps, de les confronter aux discours plus «professionnels» des acteurs de ce champ.

A partir d'une articulation entre médiatisation, représentations et enjeux pratiques, politiques et géographiques de l'animation il s'agira alors de mettre en perspective une vision que l'on pourrait qualifier de professionnelle ou experte de l'animation avec une acception plus large de ce champ dans la société telle que relayée par la presse française.

### Cadre théorique de référence

Le principe retenu dans cette étude est d'observer et de comprendre le rôle des médias dans la construction d'une image ou d'une représentation sociale mais aussi professionnelle. A cette fin nous nous proposons de nous intéresser à l'actualité en observant l'image de l'animation et des animateurs véhiculée à travers la presse écrite depuis 5 ans.

Pour servir ce projet nous nous appuyons principalement sur les processus de la pensée sociale (attitudes, opinions) en nous orientant plus particulièrement sur la communication sociale (M.L. Rouquette, 1998), la psychologie sociale des médias (P. Marchand, 2004) et la théorie des représentations sociales telle que définie par S. Moscovici, (1976).

Au-delà des éléments recueillis et analysés sur l'objet «animation» nous tenons à préciser que cette démarche prend place dans une dynamique de réflexions plus large concernant l'étude des représentations sociales. Une des questions étant notamment de savoir dans quelle mesure les médias donnent à voir des formes de représentations proches de celles que nous pourrions recueillir auprès d'un échantillon représentatif de la population française (représentation sociale) ou d'un échantillon d'animateurs (représentation professionnelle).

Il s'agit dès lors de préciser la distinction que nous faisons entre

*les représentations sociales*: définies en psychologie sociale comme des «formes de connaissance, socialement élaborée et partagée, ayant une visée pratique et concourant à la construction d'une réalité commune à un ensemble social» (Jodelet, D.), ces formes de connaissance sont dites «naïves» ou «de sens commun»;

et *les représentations professionnelles* (Piasser, A., 1999): «Ni savoir scientifique, ni savoir de sens commun, les représentations professionnelles sont élaborées dans l'action et

l'interaction professionnelles, qui les contextualisent, par des acteurs dont elles fondent les identités professionnelles correspondant à des groupes du champ professionnel considéré, en rapport avec des objets saillants pour eux dans ce champ» (Bataille et al., 1997: 63). La proximité avec l'objet, les enjeux identitaires importants, la dimension pratique vont entraîner une connaissance particulière de l'objet en question, nous sommes alors en présence de connaissances spécifiques dans le sens où elles ne peuvent être caractérisées de «naïves».

Ces deux formes de représentations peuvent être appréhendées, recueillies et définies à partir des mêmes méthodes, toutes basées sur l'analyse de discours (sous toutes ses formes).

### Méthodologie

Nous avons constitué un corpus de 132 articles répartis sur 4 quotidiens et 2 hebdomadaires représentant plusieurs sensibilités de la presse écrite de 2002 à 2007. Ce corpus représente l'ensemble des articles mis à disposition par «europresse»<sup>1</sup> dans lesquels apparaissent au moins une fois le mot animation décliné sous 4 formes: «animation socioculturelle», «animation sociale», «animation culturelle», «animateur(trice)»... la forme «animation socioéducative» ne renvoyant à aucun article de presse depuis 5 ans dans le panel de publication retenu («Le Monde», «L'Humanité», «le Figaro», «Libération», «Le Point» et «L'Express»). Ces articles ont été codés puis analysés à l'aide du logiciel Alceste<sup>2</sup> permettant un traitement statistique lexical multidimensionnel. Les résultats font ressortir 4 grandes familles de discours en rapport avec l'animation et ses spécificités d'appellation. Dans un second temps les résultats obtenus ont été mis en articulation notamment en termes de représentations sociales et professionnelles avec un ensemble de données recueillies depuis 2000 auprès d'animateurs en formation DEUST et Licence professionnelle d'animation.

1

Site Internet Europresse centralise l'intégralité des articles de presse écrite des partenaires avec qui il a des accords à l'exception des articles pour qui l'éditeur n'a pas négocié les droits numériques. Il possède un moteur de recherche puissant qui permet de sélectionner les articles par mots clés, par choix d'éditeur et par définition d'une plage temporelle.

2

Le logiciel Alceste - Analyse des Lexèmes Cooccurents dans les Enoncés Simplifiés d'un Texte - créé par Max Reinert est un outil d'analyse multidimensionnelle qui fonctionne selon une méthode d'analyse textuelle. C'est une méthode descriptive qui permet de mettre à jour l'organisation topique du discours, c'est-à-dire de mettre en lien le vocable en fonction de sa place et de son contexte d'énonciation

## Résultats

L'analyse des contextes d'utilisation de la notion d'animation dans les articles de presse laisse apparaître une différenciation entre les différentes dénominations. Ces distinctions permettent d'établir une typologie des différents champs investis par le secteur de l'animation.

Ainsi *l'animation socioculturelle* serait clairement identifiée comme secteur d'intervention auprès d'un public (familles, gens, jeunes). Inscrite dans les institutions éducatives elle serait rattachée tout particulièrement à un « niveau » politique national. Plus équivoque, son champ d'intervention serait double: local (ville, banlieue) pour partie mais aussi international avec une vraie traduction des enjeux comme relevant de l'interculturalité.

*L'animation sociale* renverrait spécifiquement à la notion de service public. Pour autant son inscription institutionnelle relèverait d'une dialectique entre secteur privé et secteur public dont l'enjeu national serait avant tout traduit en termes de moyens mis à disposition (ou non) par les ministères et les entreprises.

*L'animation culturelle* aurait une double vocation, culturelle (souvent confondue avec artistique) et environnementale. Très ancrée au niveau local et notamment urbain (même si l'on relève une inscription territoriale plus large allant jusqu'au régional) son interlocuteur privilégié serait municipal par le biais notamment des mairies. Cette double vocation relèverait d'une articulation entre développement urbain en termes d'aménagement et participation d'une dynamique culturelle citadine.

*Les animateurs*, hors culturels, seraient (et cela semble logique) inscrits dans un champ pluriel constitué de tous les niveaux (du local à l'international) regroupés sous l'appellation « société ». Sans appartenance institutionnelle particulière l'animateur se placerait au-dessus ou du moins à côté en se référant à un niveau plus idéologique que politique. Les enjeux pluriels de l'animateur se déclinaient sous forme de couples contrastés entre révolte et prévention, militance et loisirs, médiation et enseignement.

## Discussion et mise en regard avec les discours « professionnels »

La question des enjeux de l'animation aujourd'hui et des différents niveaux socio-culturels-politiques etc. dans lesquels elle intervient et agit, se pose alors non pas de façon singulière mais plurielle. Les résultats présentés indiquent une distinction sensible entre différents champs de l'animation, différences corrélées aux termes utilisés pour les nommer.

Adosser l'animation au domaine culturel c'est faire appel à un champ lexical proche de celui du développement local et territorial. La représentation sociale véhiculée est pour partie empreinte du domaine de l'aménagement de la vie citadine. L'animation, dans ce cadre, est un élément particulier de la dynamique citoyenne au sens de « cité ».

Par contre l'animation sociale est traitée par les journaux comme un champ plus large, un agent d'une citoyenneté au sens de l'adaptation à la société dans son ensemble et de la recherche de son harmonie. Ici la représentation véhiculée renvoie à la notion d'ordre public mais aussi aux maux de la société. Ces maux sont d'ailleurs ceux-là même que subit le champ de l'animation sociale.

Enfin l'animation socioculturelle est décrite comme un mode d'intervention, une interface entre différents publics voire entre les individus et leur environnement. La représentation véhiculée est celle d'un mode d'intervention éducative visant encore une fois le développement d'une citoyenneté comprise comme le lien à établir ou à maintenir entre les différents acteurs (réels et/ou institutionnels) de la société.

L'animateur, pour sa part, se retrouve pris dans ces (ses) différentes logiques. Porteur de valeurs dont il est le garant, il est présenté comme un acteur à la fois isolé et surtout indifférencié. Ainsi quel que soit son champ d'intervention l'animateur est le même... dans les journaux.

Parler « d'animateur », c'est bien parler d'un acteur de « l'animation » tout en spécifiant que l'animation n'est pas univoque. Ce paradoxe apparent nous amène à mettre en résonance les éléments de représentations sociales portées par les médias avec les discours émanant d'une partie des professionnels du secteur.

Depuis 7 ans nous questionnons systématiquement les animateurs en formation professionnelle à l'université sur

leur(s) représentation(s) de leur(s) métier(s). Sans entrer dans le détail nous pouvons affirmer que les propos recueillis auprès de ces professionnels concernant l'animation peuvent être lus comme une traduction souvent confuse des éléments relevés dans la presse. La tendance est même au «surdécoupage» du secteur en fonction des objectifs visés (socio, culturels ou socioculturel).

De manière plus floue (dans les discours) la distinction opérée entre animation (sous toutes ses formes) et animateur dans la presse l'est aussi par les professionnels eux-mêmes. Comme dans la presse, les discours des animateurs nous renvoient que les enjeux sociétaux et le niveau idéologique (héritage de l'éducation populaire) sont aujourd'hui (mais n'en a-t-il pas toujours été ainsi) non pas portés par le secteur mais bien par les acteurs... ce constat est une constante que l'on retrouve à travers les maux renvoyés en permanence par les animateurs concernant leur profession et plus spécifiquement leur identité professionnelle.

Il apparaît, dans cette première analyse, que les deux types de représentations (sociales et professionnelles) sont largement corrélés. La distinction entre professionnels et non professionnels ne semble donc pas évidente dans le cadre de l'animation. Dit autrement, les animateurs n'auraient qu'une connaissance naïve de leur métier et de leur champ.

En fait, les animateurs se retrouvent coincés dans une logique à l'intérieure de laquelle ils tentent d'exister et surtout d'agir à tous les niveaux tout en «sentant» bien qu'ils ne peuvent être (efficents) partout. En cherchant à couvrir l'ensemble du champ et de ses enjeux l'animateur se retrouve souvent dans une forme de mal-être professionnel car il ne peut (si l'on se base sur la typologie proposée par la presse française) pas fonctionner sur trois logiques à la fois... et pourtant c'est ce qu'il tente désespérément.

Ainsi pour les animateurs il est un «allant de soi» que leur métier est «un» même si le champ est pluriel. Ils s'appuient (sans oser le dire) sur la proposition simple: «un animateur c'est celui qui fait de l'animation» et «l'animation c'est ce qui est fait par les animateurs».

Ces deux phrases sont considérées par tous comme des évidences, tellement qu'elles en perdent toute pertinence dans une tentative de définition du métier ...

... Mais l'étude présentée ainsi que les représentations relevées chez les professionnelles et dans la presse nous amènent, en guise de conclusion, à formuler l'hypothèse qu'animateur et animation sont deux objets de représentation bien distincts. Le sens qu'on leur donne n'est pas le même, mieux encore ils ne participent pas ou peu de la définition de l'un ou de l'autre. ... L'évidence de l'imbrication étroite et inaliénable entre animation et animateur ne serait alors qu'un trompe-l'œil lexical pas toujours opérant... du moins dans le cadre théorique des représentations sociales.

Il s'agit dès lors, pour les formateurs, théoriciens de l'animation ou autres, de questionner (en le remettant en question) le lien ou le non-lien entre les acteurs et leur champ afin de (re)construire le métier, ses pratiques et représentations professionnelles.

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Philippe Marty

## Éléments de connaissance des dimensions sociocognitives des pratiques professionnelles des animateurs de Centre de Loisirs Associé à l'École

### FRANCE

En ce qui concerne le taux de fécondité, il est de 2,01 bébés par femme; seules l'Albanie et l'Islande ont des indices de fécondité plus élevés en Europe. En outre, la pyramide des âges voit depuis le début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle sa structure évoluer avec une augmentation progressive de la population la plus âgée, en raison à la fois de la progression de l'espérance de vie (la France jouit d'une des plus longues espérances de vie au monde) et de l'arrivée vers le troisième âge de la génération du baby boom (ce phénomène est appelé communément le papy boom). → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/France>

### Résumé

Cette contribution se donne pour objectif de décrire et expliquer les pratiques professionnelles des animateurs de Centre de loisirs Associé à l'École dans leurs dimensions personnelles.

Notre étude s'appuie sur la théorie de l'agentivité de A. Bandura et sur son modèle triadique réciproque. À partir de la composante sociocognitive des pratiques, nous avons visité trois grandes dimensions: les représentations professionnelles, le sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle et le phénomène d'attribution.

Un questionnaire a été renseigné par 192 animateurs de C.L.A.E. Les données recueillies ont été étudiées à l'aide d'analyses uni, bi et multidimensionnelles.

Les résultats montrent qu'à partir des dimensions cognitives étudiées, il est possible de repérer des profils types de pratiques professionnelles d'animateurs.

Dans cette contribution, nous nous intéresserons aux pratiques professionnelles des animateurs. Il s'agit de mieux comprendre l'activité des animateurs en situation d'intervention éducative. Ce travail a fait l'objet d'une thèse de doctorat qui s'est tout particulièrement intéressée à l'étude des pratiques professionnelles d'animation. À ce jour, peu de recherches scientifiques ont pris pour objet les pratiques des animateurs en situation. Les travaux existants se sont appuyés majoritairement sur l'étude des fonctions de l'animation (J.C. Gillet, 1985). Les recherches qui ont eu pour objet l'animation socioculturelle ont proposé le plus souvent de l'aborder à partir de sa fonction d'utilité dans la société. Ainsi, une majorité d'auteurs parle de l'animation à partir de ce qu'elle peut avoir de fonctionnel. Pour autant, qu'il s'agisse d'auteurs individuels, collectifs ou institutionnels, les classifications proposées sont toutes

ancrées dans les contextes sociopolitiques et institutionnels desquels émergent les modes de pensées concernés.

En ce qui concerne le domaine plus particulier des pratiques professionnelles des animateurs, la plupart des recherches se sont intéressées aux finalités poursuivies et aux représentations qu'en ont les partenaires. Certaines ont aussi tenté une analyse des composantes environnementales de l'animation (les publics, les institutions, les contextes socioéconomiques...). A l'heure actuelle, peu de travaux permettent d'avancer par une voie scientifique sur la question des pratiques mises en œuvre par les animateurs. Seuls des discours existent, mais ils sont souvent fortement engagés.

#### Point d'appui théorique

Nous considérons que le sujet « animateur » ne peut être étudié comme un acteur autonome et unique. Il est soumis en permanence aux contraintes et contingences du contexte. Partant de ce postulat, nous emprunterons à A. Bandura son modèle dit « triadique » pour construire notre modèle d'intelligibilité des pratiques professionnelles des animateurs en contexte. L'intérêt de ce dernier est de dépasser l'approche binaire qui considère trop souvent les éléments du contexte ou les facteurs internes à la personne comme seuls déterminants des actes des individus. Pour A. Bandura, le fonctionnement humain est le produit de l'interaction dynamique de trois séries de facteurs: personnels, comportementaux et environnementaux.

- Le pôle concernant la *personne* (P): les facteurs qui interviennent peuvent prendre des formes diverses: des événements concernant le niveau cognitif, émotionnel ou encore biologique, des perceptions personnelles d'efficacité ou encore des réactions affectives;
- le pôle du *comportement* (C): il décrit les patterns d'action effectivement réalisés et les schémas comportementaux;
- le pôle *environnemental* (E): à la fois local et global, il constitue la troisième série de facteurs. Pour A. Bandura, il est représenté par « les propriétés de l'environnement social et organisationnel, les contraintes qu'il impose, les stimulations qu'il offre et les réactions qu'il entraîne sur les comportements (...) ».

Nous proposons dans cet article de visiter les dimensions personnelles de la pratique. Nous évoquerons trois dimensions rendant compte de la composante sociocognitive: les représentations professionnelles, le sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle et le phénomène d'attribution.

#### Notre champ d'investigation

La diversité des situations d'animation nous a conduit à réduire notre champ d'investigation; nous avons choisi de nous centrer sur les pratiques des animateurs en Accueil de Loisirs Associé à l'Ecole (A.L.A.E.), anciennement nommés Centre de Loisirs Associé à l'Ecole (C.L.A.E.). Le développement des A.L.A.E. dans la région Midi Pyrénées située dans le sud-ouest de la France et tout particulièrement dans la commune de Toulouse a été déterminant dans le choix de ce terrain d'investigation.

Selon la circulaire du 7 février 1973 de l'Education Nationale et de la Jeunesse et des Sports, le dispositif du C.L.A.E. s'inscrit dans la perspective de lier les Centres de Loisirs au monde scolaire. Ces centres sont destinés aux enfants de quatre à onze ans et ont pour but d'assurer la continuité entre les temps scolaires et ceux consacrés aux loisirs des jeunes. Le temps de l'A.L.A.E. est un temps contraint qui se situe « entre »: entre deux temps d'enseignement, entre le temps d'école et le temps familial ou encore entre le temps de l'école et le temps des loisirs du mercredi après midi. Sa fonction première est d'accompagner l'enfant d'un temps à l'autre.

#### Méthodologie et outils de recueil de données

Pour recueillir l'information nécessaire à l'étude de la composante sociocognitive des pratiques des animateurs professionnels, nous avons utilisé un questionnaire. Celui-ci abordait en premier lieu des questions générales de type informations socioculturelles pour se centrer ensuite sur les trois grandes dimensions sociocognitives étudiées. Ce type d'outil présentait au moins deux intérêts: réaliser un recueil de données à grande échelle (192 questionnaires ont été renseignés par des animateurs de C.L.A.E.) et opérationnaliser les propositions de A. Bandura quant à l'étude du « sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle ». Cet auteur préconise de présenter aux individus des items décrivant différents niveaux d'exigence d'une tâche et de leur demander d'évaluer la force de leur croyance en leur capacité d'exécuter les activités présentées.

Le questionnaire comportait des items se rapportant aux trois dimensions sociocognitives étudiées: représentations professionnelles, sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle et phénomène d'attribution.

- Les items liés aux représentations professionnelles des individus abordent trois grandes catégories: comment l'individu qualifie l'animateur, comment l'individu a choisi de devenir animateur et quelles sont, pour l'individu, les fonctions d'animation;
- les items liés au sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle des individus comportent 31 questions;

- les items liés à l'attribution mesurent le niveau de chaque individu à partir de 10 questions.

Nous avons effectué des analyses uni, bi et multidimensionnelles. Ces dernières ont été réalisées à partir de classifications hiérarchiques ascendantes (CAH) qui ont permis de construire des classes homogènes de variables selon les valeurs qu'elles prennent sur l'ensemble des sujets étudiés. Nous avons pu de la sorte constituer des typologies de pratiques d'animateurs à propos de la composante sociocognitive.

### Quelques résultats

**Le sentiment d'efficacité professionnelle** Concernant cette dimension, nous avons souhaité mesurer la force de la croyance des individus interrogés en leur capacité d'exécuter certaines activités. Pour chacun des items, l'animateur devait estimer, sur une échelle d'appréciation, la force de sa croyance à réussir la tâche proposée. Nous avons présenté aux sujets interrogés des items décrivant différents niveaux d'exigence concernant une tâche.

A partir des résultats obtenus, nous avons réalisé des pourcentages de répartition des effectifs obtenus pour chaque item. Les informations sur ces derniers permettent de caractériser les réponses des individus concernant la dimension du Sentiment d'Efficacité Professionnelle (SEP). On peut constater que les résultats qui relèvent de dimensions générales sont différents de ceux qui relèvent de dimensions plus techniques. Par exemple, on constate que pour la catégorie d'items qui renvoie aux « aspects généraux » et pour celle qui concerne « le travail en équipe », le SEP des animateurs est plutôt fort. A l'inverse pour l'ensemble des autres catégories d'items, le SEP des animateurs est plutôt faible. On peut dire que lorsqu'on confronte des animateurs à des questions qui renvoient à des aspects qui font référence à des postures professionnelles (ponctualité, rapports à autrui) ou à des positionnements théoriques (éléments de définition, discours sur le projet), ils ont une force de croyance importante quant au fait d'être performant dans la situation proposée. Cela s'avère être plutôt le contraire lorsque l'animateur est confronté à des questions qui relèvent plus du niveau « technique » de type « expliciter les intentions du projet de la séance, s'adapter aux différents publics, mettre en œuvre les meilleurs moyens de réussite ».

On peut donc supposer que les animateurs possèdent un SEP d'autant plus élevé que les activités réclamées sont de nature à faire appel à des compétences générales de type « savoir » et « savoir-être ». Au contraire, le SEP de l'animateur a plutôt tendance à être faible lorsque les activités font référence à des compétences plus spécifiques de type « savoir-faire ».

**Les représentations professionnelles** Les représentations sociales et professionnelles des animateurs ont été prises en compte pour caractériser leurs pratiques. Trois grandes questions correspondant aux trois variables choisies ont été formulées et devaient être renseignées par les individus pour indiquer leur degré de satisfaction.

Pour rendre compte des différentes variables de la dimension des représentations, nous avons réalisé une analyse multidimensionnelle de type CAH (Classification Hiérarchique Ascendante) sur l'ensemble des modalités concernant cette dimension. Les résultats obtenus nous permettent de décrire des profils d'animateurs; ils sont au nombre de trois:

- le premier correspond à un animateur qui se décrit plutôt comme un « éducateur » et qui est devenu animateur par intérêt pour les enfants. Il qualifie ses fonctions d'animation comme très liées à des notions de sécurité;
- pour le second, c'est plutôt un animateur « médiateur » ou « travailleur social » qui est devenu animateur par opportunité et par besoin. Il pense que ses fonctions ont pour but de dynamiser le groupe d'individus;
- le troisième est un animateur « technicien » qui est devenu animateur par conviction et qui définit ses fonctions par le fait d'être garant des règles de vie du groupe.

Bien sûr, il s'agit là d'une convention. Il est nécessaire de rappeler que derrière chaque famille il existe un ensemble de modalités qui s'agrègent entre elles.

**Le phénomène d'« attribution »** F. Heider (1958) est à l'origine du courant de recherche sur l'attribution. Il définit l'attribution comme « le processus par lequel l'homme appréhende la réalité et peut la prédire et la maîtriser. C'est la recherche par un individu des causes d'un événement, c'est-à-dire la recherche d'une structure permanente mais non directement observable qui sous-tend les effets, les manifestations directement perceptibles » (Heider, 1958). L'attribution peut être de deux sortes: situationnelle (la cause est inhérente aux événements ou aux comportements de la personne qui en est l'auteur) et dispositionnelle (c'est dans la situation qu'il faut chercher les causes). Pour chacun de ces deux types d'attribution, nous avons différencié deux niveaux: d'un côté les individus qui possèdent un niveau d'attribution externe et de l'autre côté les individus qui possèdent un niveau d'attribution interne. Chacun des types d'attribution peut être expliqué par un de ces deux niveaux.

Dans une partie du questionnaire, nous avons confronté les individus à dix situations fictives qui peuvent être fréquemment rencontrées en C.L.A.E. Nous avons demandé, à partir de deux propositions formulées, de se positionner sur une échelle d'appréciation dont les mesures allaient de 1 à 6. Sur les dix questions proposées, la moitié était de type dispositionnel et l'autre moitié était de type situationnel, ceci afin de tester le niveau d'attribution des individus à propos des deux types d'explication.

Nous retiendrons qu'en ce qui concerne notre échantillon, les animateurs ont plutôt tendance à ramener les causes de l'échec à leurs propres responsabilités. Par conséquent, ils pensent qu'ils pourraient intervenir un peu plus ou différemment dans les situations proposées.

La distribution des réponses obtenues se dichotomise de manière significative, ce qui permet de caractériser les deux grandes familles d'attributions théoriques. Il est possible d'en rendre compte de la façon suivante :

- les animateurs qui attribuent les causes d'un événement à des facteurs qui leur sont propres : c'est l'attribution causale interne;
- les animateurs qui attribuent les causes d'un événement à des facteurs qui leur sont étrangers ; c'est l'attribution causale externe.

Cette répartition est confirmée quels que soient les items proposés dans notre protocole.

### Eléments de conclusion

Nous avons posé en préalable à cette étude la nécessité de caractériser les pratiques professionnelles des animateurs dans le but de les décrire et de les expliquer. Les résultats obtenus à partir des dimensions sociocognitives montrent que les pratiques des animateurs relèvent de configurations de pratiques qui ne sont pas totalement aléatoires. En d'autres termes, il est possible de construire des profils « idéal-type » au travers desquels nous repérons des catégories d'animateurs.

Notre travail de thèse a montré que les pratiques professionnelles des animateurs n'étaient pas caractérisées exclusivement par les dimensions de la composante personnelle. En référence au modèle triadique réciproque de A. Bandura (1983), il est nécessaire d'étudier les deux autres composantes, c'est-à-dire la composante comportementale et la composante environnementale. C'est aussi à l'étude des relations entre ces différentes composantes qu'il sera important à l'avenir de travailler. Les questions suivantes se posent : à ressources sociocognitives égales, les pratiques des animateurs sont-elles identiques ? Qui, des dimensions comportementales ou des dimensions socio-

cognitives, guide les pratiques ? Quel est le niveau d'influence des dimensions environnementales sur les pratiques des animateurs ? Il serait intéressant de rendre compte de l'évolution des dimensions comportementales en fonction des contraintes situationnelles à ressources cognitives égales. C'est à l'étude de ces processus et de nouvelles modalités de pratiques professionnelles des animateurs que nous souhaitons dès à présent consacrer nos études.

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Abdourahmane Ndiaye

# Institutions des territoires et mondialisation. L'étude de cas du PLIE des Graves

## FRANCE

En 2006, l'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE) estimait que 4,9 millions d'immigrés (comprendre nés étrangers hors du territoire) vivaient en France (8% de la population). Il faut aussi noter que sont considérés comme français les enfants de parents immigrés (droit du sol) et non comme étrangers. La plupart des immigrés viennent d'Europe (Grèce, Portugal, Espagne, Italie, mais aussi Pologne, Roumanie et les pays formant l'ancienne Yougoslavie), du Maghreb et d'Afrique noire, notamment ses anciennes colonies. → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/France>

Les transformations socioéconomiques amorcées depuis le début des années 1980 ont fortement remis en cause les modèles de croissance et de cohésion sociale mis en place par l'Etat providence durant les Trente Glorieuses. L'ouverture et la concurrence internationales génèrent une compétition aboutissant à la sélection des territoires les plus dynamiques et des groupes sociaux les plus productifs, concentrant richesses et pouvoirs. Elle contraint les territoires à innover dans les réponses qu'ils apportent à leurs citoyens pour amoindrir la portée des inégalités et exclusions. Le manque de réactivité des acteurs traditionnels de cohésion sociale valorise les acteurs de l'économie solidaire et l'insertion par l'activité économique (IAE). Les organisations d'économie solidaire mobilisent des acteurs collectifs, requalifient les groupes sociaux et revitalisent les territoires. Le développement des territoires n'est plus le choix déterministe d'une dotation favorable en facteurs de production. Il est davantage le résultat d'un maillage réussi entre acteurs publics et privés porteurs de projets pertinents et mobilisateurs, s'appuyant sur des institutions adéquates (Veltz 2002). La libération et la mise en valeur de potentiels locaux d'initiatives sont désormais le sens premier des logiques de décentralisation, le partage des pouvoirs étant relégué en arrière plan. Ainsi, la géographie des coûts et des stocks de facteurs cède la place à celle de la qualité des organisations et institutions. La mondialisation renforce l'articulation des échelles globale et locales. Les économies des territoires sont alors vues comme des réponses adéquates à la mondialisation, à condition que leur compétitivité repose sur des formes de coopé-

ration et des capacités d'apprentissage hautement spécifiques. En mettant en avant l'articulation obligatoire des échelles globale et locales, la mondialisation signe le recul de l'Etat et introduit une dimension nouvelle à l'analyse des relations et non des oppositions entre dynamiques exogènes et endogènes au territoire.

L'IAE développée sur les territoires peut-elle limiter les effets pervers de la mondialisation ? L'économie des territoires est-elle capable de promouvoir une démocratie locale, participative ? Permet-elle une meilleure cohésion sociale ? On s'intéresse ici aux nouvelles relations entre le local et le global. Par une approche de sociologie économique, on questionne les plans locaux pour l'insertion économique par l'emploi (PLIE), en tant qu'institution centrale dans les configurations des politiques locales pour l'emploi. On répond à la double question de savoir si les politiques locales de lutte contre les exclusions arrivent à amortir les chocs générés par le global ; et si le processus d'évaluation du dispositif PLIE ne gagnerait pas à distinguer efficacité du dispositif et bénéfice des publics.

### 1. Quel type d'évaluation pour les PLIE ?

Le PLIE est un mécanisme d'insertion socioéconomique pour des publics en difficulté. Parler du concept d'insertion amène souvent à un glissement vers la notion de lutte contre les exclusions. Le concept d'insertion subsiste par défaut, en tant que négation de l'exclusion. C'est pourquoi les positivités théoriques et pratiques de l'insertion demeurent opaques (Eme, 1994). Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est pour créer et entretenir des solidarités (liens sociaux) que l'Etat providence, les élus locaux, les chefs d'entreprises et les acteurs associatifs explorent des pratiques innovantes qualifiées d'IAE. Evidemment, avant la crise des années 1980, on ne parlait pas d'insertion. Le renouveau du concept d'insertion (intégration, inclusion) s'explique par l'essoufflement des Trente Glorieuses qui généraient non seulement une croissance soutenue, mais aussi une réduction des

inégalités socioéconomiques. La régulation fordiste distillait un double mouvement d'augmentation des richesses et de réduction des inégalités que Kuznets appelle le trickle down effect ou effet de percolation. La croissance, perçue comme une mécanique redistributive, génère toujours du bien-être, puisqu'elle réduit les inégalités. D'où l'idée répandue que la croissance conduit à une cohésion sociale durable qui s'appuie sur une justice sociale. Dans ce modèle, le social est une variable qui s'autoajuste si tant est que le marché alloue efficacement les ressources. Néanmoins, alors que les richesses produites n'ont jamais été égalées dans l'histoire de l'humanité, les inégalités générées n'ont jamais été aussi fortes, mettant à nu les contradictions du système capitaliste. Cette crise est liée au basculement dans la révolution technologique qui transforme les modes d'organisation du travail et induit plus de précarité dans les classes moyennes. Selon Eme (1994), l'insertion désigne les nouveaux schémas d'action territorialisés, décentralisés, transversaux et partenariaux. L'insertion est ainsi dotée du pouvoir de faire coïncider trajectoires personnelles et dynamiques collectives. Ces modes d'action collective s'intéressent à la cohésion sociale en tant que fait social total territorialisé, tandis que les causes des marginalisations et des exclusions articulent niveau global et niveau local. C'est donc l'absence d'articulation entre échelles locales et globale qui rend les pratiques d'insertion inappropriées. En effet, tout en ayant une vision globale de cohésion sociale, l'insertion passe par l'individu. Elle est ainsi réduite à une capacité à bâtir ou à rebâtir des parcours individuels. Dès lors, on comprend pourquoi parler d'évaluation de l'insertion revient souvent à appliquer la méthode coût objectif aux dispositifs mis en place et donc à renvoyer à l'estimation chiffrée des personnes bénéficiaires de parcours conduisant vers des emplois consolidés ou non. Ces modèles d'évaluation sont sous-tendus par des raisonnements à causalité de type déterministe, à savoir que le passage dans un dispositif doit inéluctablement produire des effets positifs. Ce postulat doit être nuan-

cé, d'autant que l'objet sur lequel travaille le dispositif d'insertion n'est pas rigoureusement défini. Tels qu'ils sont évalués, les parcours ne peuvent être que le résultat du passage dans le dispositif, rien d'autre n'étant mis en avant pour expliquer une situation complexe à causes et conséquences multiples. On introduit le biais méthodologique d'associer les données de l'efficacité organisationnelle du PLIE et celles mesurées « ex-post » sur les « parcours ». Notre démarche exhorte à distinguer les deux objets d'étude pour les analyser individuellement et conjointement, au travers des synergies qui les structurent.

Ainsi, on peut mesurer l'efficacité du dispositif PLIE en tant qu'il concourt à entretenir et à renforcer la cohésion sociale, en considérant que le dispositif est une organisation dotée d'un ensemble de moyens (humains, matériels, institutionnels, ...) poursuivant des objectifs (insertion, cohésion sociale, ...). Au-delà des aspects quantitatifs, on peut interroger des dimensions qualitatives: durabilité de l'emploi, niveau de rémunération, avantages sociaux attachés à l'emploi, confort psychologique et social que confère l'emploi... On arrive à mesurer la capacité des PLIE à insérer le territoire dans l'économie nationale et au-delà dans l'économie mondialisée.

## 2. Etude de cas du PLIE des Graves<sup>1</sup>

En Aquitaine, il existe 14 PLIE sur les 202 recensés en France. Les PLIE d'Aquitaine cherchent à offrir un maillage le plus serré possible compte tenu des ressources dont ils disposent. Ils constituent les maîtres d'œuvre des politiques territoriales, locales et intercommunales d'insertion et d'emploi. Ils sont de ce fait amenés à coordonner ces politiques, en donnant de la cohérence et de la visibilité aux parcours d'insertion et de retour à l'emploi des publics les plus éloignés de l'emploi (Maitreau, 2006). Les PLIE sont aussi sollicités pour accompagner des projets porteurs d'emplois. A priori, ils ne se substituent pas au dispositif de droit commun mais occupent plutôt un espace laissé vacant, à la lisière du marché.

<sup>1</sup>  
Barbier & Perez (1999) proposent une évaluation macro de l'efficacité organisationnelle du dispositif PLIE, au travers d'une centaine d'études de cas.

## 2

Le PLIE des Graves couvre quatorze communes qui forment la Communauté de communes de Montesquieu. Elle est peuplée par 54 000 habitants et bénéficie de l'implantation de 4 000 entreprises. Il est cofinancé par les collectivités territoriales, le Conseil Général, le Conseil Régional et le fonds social européen.

A travers son premier protocole d'accord signé en 2001 pour une durée de cinq ans, le PLIE des Graves<sup>2</sup> s'est donné comme ambition d'accompagner 941 personnes éloignées de l'emploi. A la fin de l'année 2004, son objectif est atteint à 80%, puisque 745 bénéficiaires sont réinsérés. Un peu plus de la moitié accède à un emploi durable à la sortie du PLIE. Ce taux de sortie très positif est largement supérieur à la moyenne nationale qui plafonne à 34%.

Le PLIE des Graves est porté par l'Association pour le développement local et l'emploi (Adele) et signe des partenariats avec des associations locales d'insertion. Il associe la régie de quartier Association Girondine Agir Bâtir, Réussir pour l'Emploi (Gabarre), impliquée dans le bâtiment, les travaux publics, la gestion des ordures ménagères et l'enlèvement des encombrants. Sur les dimensions environnementales liées à la préservation et la gestion des actifs naturels, le PLIE travaille avec ARCINS Environnement Service, une association d'IAE créée à l'initiative de la Mairie de Bègles en 1994 et conventionnée « Atelier et Chantier d'Insertion ». Le PLIE des Graves collabore également étroitement avec ARCINS Entreprises, une entreprise d'insertion loi 1901 spécialisée dans l'aménagement et l'entretien d'espaces verts.

La réussite des PLIE est fonction de la disponibilité et de l'écoute des élus locaux, de la qualité partenariale du tissu économique (entreprises, associations, administrations publiques et parapubliques), de l'efficacité des actions mises en œuvre mais aussi du savoir-faire et de la connaissance du terrain par les acteurs locaux. La mise en valeur des ressources locales traduit un ancrage local fort.

Au niveau institutionnel, ce sont les élus locaux, en partenariat avec l'administration déconcentrée, qui constituent les centres de décision. Les pouvoirs locaux sont porteurs d'initiatives d'insertion, en définissant les objectifs à atteindre et en mettant à disposition des moyens structurants. Ils innoveront par la redéfinition des appels d'offres des marchés publics de manière à constituer un débouché pour les struc-

tures d'insertion. Ceci est rendu possible par des dispositifs réglementaires et législatifs qui créent des contrats (insertion-revenu minimum d'activité, initiative emploi, jeunes en entreprise, nouvelles embauches) pouvant être une transition entre de grandes difficultés d'insertion et un emploi durable. Force est de reconnaître que ces contrats ne sont pas toujours valorisants. Ils peuvent produire des travailleurs de seconde catégorie, ayant des revenus fixés en deçà de celui du marché du travail.

Les PLIE sont des instruments complexes qui ouvrent des espaces de concertation, de confrontation, d'échanges d'idées et de consensus politiques. Ils constituent donc un mode d'action collective au sens de Crozier & Friedberg (1977). En effet, il s'agit bien d'un espace qui favorise l'agir ensemble, en créant des synergies entre les pouvoirs publics centraux, les élus locaux, les associations et les usagers. De ce fait, ils participent à l'émergence d'une démocratie locale.

En revanche, les PLIE ne sont pas des dispositifs catégoriels, puisque les jeunes, les hommes, les femmes, les chômeurs de longue durée et les bénéficiaires des minima sociaux s'y retrouvent sans discrimination.

### Conclusion : limites de l'évaluation de l'IAE et des dispositifs PLIE

L'insertion est un concept faible, d'une évaluation à l'autre, les références évoquées sont fluctuantes, avec une amplitude aléatoire. Pour les tenants de l'IAE, l'insertion est sociale, elle inclut l'ensemble des dimensions de la vie d'un individu. Ainsi, les mécanismes mis en place cherchent à socialiser l'individu, tant au niveau psychologique que professionnel, culturel, politique ou économique. Pour d'autres, il s'agit d'une insertion professionnelle, entendue comme un accompagnement vers un emploi. Pour d'autres encore, l'insertion est économique dans le sens où elle donne les moyens économiques à un individu de mener une vie décente. Pour d'autres enfin, l'insertion est socioculturelle,

elle a pour objectif de sortir l'individu de sa marginalité culturelle, ce que les politiques publiques en France ont appelé l'intégration (liens socioculturels ou interculturels). Selon qu'on se situe dans une de ces perspectives, les objectifs et approches ne sont pas les mêmes. Le fait que le concept d'insertion soit flou constitue un biais important pour l'évaluateur. Il faut donc clarifier l'objet d'étude de manière à circonscrire correctement le cadre d'analyse.

Le dispositif IAE ne garantit pas toujours une insertion hautement qualitative. Tout en étant « insérés », les publics en difficulté n'échappent pas à une nouvelle forme de pauvreté, celle des travailleurs dotés de contrats précaires et de revenus insuffisants pour un minimum vital. Ainsi, si l'IAE constitue une étape importante du parcours d'insertion vers un emploi, elle n'en garantit pas les conditions suffisantes.

Les dispositifs d'insertion, tels que pensés et mis en œuvre, négligent trop souvent l'environnement global dans lequel ils évoluent. Les politiques locales doivent s'articuler au niveau global. Sans quoi, insertion peut rimer avec précarité et délocalisations avec exclusions. Pour devenir une alternative viable, l'IAE doit être un mécanisme contre la pauvreté et les inégalités, au-delà de la lutte contre les exclusions.

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Yves Raibaud

## Les animateurs des cultures urbaines participent-ils à la construction de nouvelles images ethniques?

### FRANCE

Constitutionnellement, la France est un État laïque. La laïcité à la française entraîne une séparation réciproque entre les Églises et l'État, sur la base du postulat que pour que l'État puisse respecter toutes les religions, il ne doit en reconnaître aucune. Par principe donc, l'État français s'interdit les recensements à caractère religieux. Malgré de la diminution des croyances, notamment du catholicisme, la religion catholique demeure dominante en France; elle a grandement influencé la culture du pays et lui a valu le surnom de « Fille aînée de l'Église ». Même aujourd'hui, alors que l'État est laïc, le catholicisme reste particulièrement présent: on peut citer ainsi les jours fériés qui sont, pour la plupart, des fêtes religieuses chrétiennes, ou encore les écoles privées, dont neuf sur dix sont catholiques. → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/France>

Depuis la mise en place en France de la politique de la ville, financée en partie par des fonds européens, les cultures urbaines (rock, rap, hip-hop, graff, glisse urbaine...) ont été encouragées par des aides publiques dans les quartiers défavorisés à forte population d'origine étrangère. Des événements et des activités consacrés à ces cultures ont été régulièrement programmés dans ces quartiers. Ces actions ne sont pas organisées par les habitants eux-mêmes mais par des opérateurs subventionnés (avec l'appui des animateurs) ce qui les distingue d'autres manifestations à caractère ethnique organisées par les associations de migrants.

Des activités culturelles nommées *Rap dans les cités*, *Cités musicales*, *Quartiers musicaux*, *festival des Hauts de Garonne* sont proposées chaque année aux jeunes des banlieues de Bordeaux. Il s'agit pour l'organisateur, l'association *Musiques de Nuit Diffusion* (MND) d'utiliser des standards culturels médiatisés ayant fait leur preuve dans la régulation des tensions sociales des grandes villes du monde. Les arguments qui prouvent l'utilité de ces actions évoquent la nécessité de «recréer du lien social» et de «désenclaver les quartiers d'exil» par la promotion de cultures urbaines à forte connotation ethnique pour des jeunes issus de l'immigration mais nés en France et de culture française. La culture et les loisirs deviennent un moyen de traiter sur place (et non en centre ville) les problèmes sociaux posés par une jeunesse désœuvrée et turbulente.

Ne s'agit-il pas dans les faits de construire une identité ethnique pour des gens nés et éduqués en France? Quelle est la logique de ces politiques publiques? A quelles valeurs se réfèrent-elles?

Cet article résume les conclusions d'une enquête (Crozat, 2005) et d'un rapport d'étude menée dans le cadre de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine (Augustin, 2000). Nous montrons d'abord comment les manifestations à caractère ethnique sont considérées différemment selon qu'elles sont organisées par les migrants eux-mêmes ou par des opérateurs subventionnés. Nous présentons ensuite les actions menées par un opérateur spécialisé dans les cultures urbaines et les musiques du monde en partenariat avec les équipements socioculturels de quartier. Enfin nous analysons ces exemples à partir de modèles théoriques interrogeant ces politiques publiques et l'accueil favorable qui leur est fait par les animateurs.

En conclusion nous posons la question de l'utilité de ces actions. L'hypothèse qu'elles participent à la modernisation et à la généralisation des pratiques culturelles n'est pas écartée, mais il faut poser au préalable un regard critique sur ce qui apparaît aussi comme un nouveau mode de contrôle culturel des banlieues.

#### **Des événements peu considérés: les fêtes organisées par les migrants eux-mêmes**

Le public de ces fêtes vit plutôt au centre ville et est composé d'immigrants récents. Le but est de retrouver l'ambiance du pays d'origine pendant une soirée (par exemple un repas animé par des musiciens traditionnels). Quelques groupes installés depuis longtemps maintiennent des liens forts avec le pays d'origine au moyen d'une structure plus solide: les Sénégalais disposent de plusieurs associations, les Portugais perpétuent le folklore rural de leur pays à travers des associations culturelles. On utilise dans ces fêtes la langue d'origine, même si les jeunes la maîtrisent moins bien. La première fonction de ces associations est l'entraide. Ces fêtes, qui expriment une rupture de quelques heures avec le pays d'accueil, reçoivent les officiels du pays d'origine (le consul), jamais de France.

Des entrepreneurs privés remplacent parfois les associations d'entraide. Dans ce cas les repas dansants laissent la place aux spectacles de musique et de danse, ouverts à un public plus large. Ces événements affirment parfois une identité culturelle élargie, souvent continentale (l'Afrique, l'Inde, l'Amérique latine) tendant à gommer les différences régionales au

profit de cultures «métisses». D'autres activités ethniques sont proposées en complément: cours de danse, coiffure, cuisine, mode, marché traditionnel.

Dans le cas des fêtes ethniques, les négociations entre les organisateurs et l'Etat portent sur l'autorisation plutôt que sur l'attribution d'une subvention. Cette autorisation est accordée au regard de la volonté d'intégration des immigrés et de la capacité de leurs porte-parole à prouver qu'ils ne troublent pas l'ordre public. Lorsque la fête s'ouvre à un public plus large les autorisations administratives sont accordées sans difficulté. Certaines manifestations interculturelles sont subventionnées au titre de l'aide à la francophonie: le passé colonial est oublié au profit de l'universalisme de la culture française et des droits de l'homme.

#### **Cultures urbaines et musiques du monde: des fêtes ségrégatives?**

A ces exemples s'opposent d'autres manifestations se réclamant des cultures urbaines et des musiques du monde. *Musiques de Nuit Diffusion* (MND) est une entreprise associative autonome, capable de proposer des réponses culturelles aux problèmes de gestion urbaine. Sur le plan artistique, MND évite la musique rock et favorise la culture hip-hop et les musiques du monde. Sur le plan stratégique, MND cible les jeunes issus de l'immigration des quartiers et choisit comme partenaires les centres sociaux et la politique de la ville. Sur le plan idéologique, MND fait appel aux expressions artistiques des ghettos des grandes villes du monde (Sao Paulo, Dakar, Johannesburg) comme moyens d'identification pour la jeunesse de ces quartiers et sources d'inspiration pour des artistes émergents. Les cultures proposées sont donc à la fois intégrationnistes puisqu'elles proposent une modernité artistique qui efface les pays et cultures d'origine et ségrégationnistes puisqu'elles leur substituent des analogies liées à la couleur de la peau (assimilation des Brésiliens, des Antillais, des Noirs américains et des Africains) et à la violence urbaine (assimilation des quartiers des villes françaises aux ghettos, *townships* et *favelas* des mégapoles du monde).

Ces actions s'inscrivent dans le cadre de la politique de la ville mise en place pour compenser les inégalités territo-

riales dans les grandes villes françaises. Elles consacrent l'idée d'un développement culturel séparé des centres et de périphéries, rompant le principe républicain d'un accès égal pour tous aux cultures légitimes.

### Des pratiques artistiques adaptées?

Il existe dans les quartiers de la rive droite de Bordeaux une tradition musicale populaire (harmonies, fanfares, chorales et écoles de musique). L'action de MND lui substitue de nouvelles formes de pratiques artistiques plus adaptées aux goûts supposés des jeunes. Ces innovations n'arrivent pas par les écoles de musique et de danse mais par les équipements socioculturels de quartier, intéressés à renouveler leur offre. Outre les nombreux ateliers de rap et de danse hip-hop, d'autres formes musicales s'implantent grâce à l'action de MND et au festival des Hauts de Garonne.

Le *Steel-Band*<sup>1</sup> de Bassens (Gironde) est un exemple de transfert d'une musique du monde dans un quartier défavorisé. Suite à un spectacle organisé par MND avec un groupe de percussions brésilien composé d'enfants des rues, des jeunes émettent le souhait de faire de la percussion. MND propose alors au centre social de Bassens, un atelier de musique avec un animateur, des instruments et les outils pédagogiques qui vont avec. La présentation de l'atelier est précédée par un film racontant l'histoire de «Donel, enfant de Trinidad» et la légende du *Steel-Band* qui sera par la suite énoncée à chaque concert et rappelée dans les plaquettes de présentation du groupe. Ce récit qui a pour but de permettre l'identification des jeunes avec les musiciens de Trinidad-et-Tobago peut être résumé en 3 points:

- Les réponses à l'oppression esclavagiste sont la fête et la musique; celles-ci sont devenues, à Trinidad-et-Tobago, les fondements de l'identité nationale.
- Le tambour africain cède la place au bidon, qui transforme le symbole de l'oppression capitaliste (les bidons de pétrole américain) en instrument du changement culturel et social.

<sup>1</sup> Orchestre composé de bidons de différentes tailles et «accordés» de différentes manières.

- Le bidon organise la jeune nation, canalise la violence dans des compétitions, met la culture en ordre et la démocratise.

Bassens, zone portuaire proche des raffineries de Bordeaux, est imaginée comme une réplique de Trinidad. Les concerts du *Steel-Band* à Bordeaux sont mis en scène comme une innovation artistique venue des quartiers, apportant une vision esthétique de ceux-ci. Ainsi la diffusion des cultures urbaines mondiales, puis l'action culturelle dans les quartiers créent les conditions de l'émergence d'artistes locaux porteurs de l'imaginaire des cultures du monde.

Un autre objectif des actions de MND est de découvrir des talents, de permettre à de jeunes artistes issus des quartiers de se professionnaliser. Nous avons décrit ailleurs le parcours de quatre danseurs de hip-hop qui se sont fait connaître à Bordeaux et en France sous le nom de Compagnie Révolution. Dans un premier temps ces jeunes des banlieues dansent dans les centres commerciaux, les parkings, les rues piétonnes. Ils sont ensuite accueillis dans les équipements socioculturels des quartiers. Ils y créent leurs premiers spectacles et sont employés pour animer des ateliers, ce qui les oblige à formuler du sens et énoncer un discours sur leurs pratiques (respect de l'autre, non-violence...). Leurs créations sont influencées par les stages qu'ils font grâce à MND avec des artistes reconnus du rap et du hip-hop. Dans un troisième temps le jeu des institutions culturelles les amène au Conservatoire Régional de Musique et de Danse (où on les incite à travailler avec les chorégraphes de danse contemporaine), les logiques de marché vers le *show-business*. Enfin les institutions culturelles leur proposent de valoriser la création culturelle des quartiers sur les scènes subventionnées à Bordeaux et en France.

L'organisation de spectacles et de stages dans les quartiers vient apporter un surplus d'identification à ceux-ci en les associant à l'expression culturelle des ghettos des grandes mégapoles. Les quartiers porteurs des signes et attributs de cet imaginaire hip-hop sont reflétés comme tels par les médias: immeubles dégradés, grillages, population de couleur, gamins vêtus de vêtements amples, casquettes de base-ball, baskets, musiciens rap. Le public extérieur est invité à souffrir à distance pour ses banlieues, à assister sans juger à la représentation d'un

monde chaotique. Le spectacle fait alors office de *catharsis* en présentant de façon esthétique la violence urbaine.

Les municipalités socialistes de la rive droite de Bordeaux sont tentées de faire la promotion de leurs territoires à travers ces actions, censées leur donner une image de jeunesse et de dynamisme. Cependant c'est la vocation sociale de ces manifestations qui apparaît en premier, contribuant un peu plus à l'étiquetage de ces parties de la ville. D'autre part l'absence d'implication des populations concernées dans la définition du projet culturel est une explication de l'échec des politiques culturelles dites « d'intégration » : elles ségréguent, créent l'étranger quand il n'existe pas, sur la base d'un modèle ethnique médiatisé que les jeunes s'approprient et dont ils contribuent ensuite à la diffusion et à la reproduction.

Ces quelques observations peuvent également fournir un cadre d'interprétation pour analyser l'action des animateurs. Les cultures urbaines et les musiques du monde agissent comme des *ersatz* de la culture d'origine des populations immigrées. En prônant l'idée d'une intégration des jeunes grâce à des références aux cultures dominées d'Amérique du Nord et du Sud, des Caraïbes ou d'Afrique, les animateurs ne participent-ils pas à la gestion politique de la misère sociale ? La traduction de formes de violence symbolique en pratiques culturelles (cultures des ghettos urbains) n'aurait-elle pas pour fonction de transformer les relations de domination et de soumission en relations affectives ?

Pour les artistes issus des quartiers l'identité ethnique associée avec le nom et la coloration de la peau fonctionne comme un capital symbolique, qu'il soit positif ou négatif. Ces artistes bénéficient en France d'une promotion culturelle en adhérant au discours sur l'intégration républicaine. Ils produisent en retour une forme de justification sociale et politique des dispositifs de la politique de la ville. Les artistes, les animateurs et les équipements qui les emploient apparaissent ainsi comme les acteurs d'un nouveau mode de gestion des quartiers dans lequel la culture joue un rôle majeur. Les entrepreneurs culturels qu'ils sollicitent pour mener à bien leurs actions répondent quant à eux à l'ouverture d'un marché de la gestion urbaine. Pour développer leurs entreprises (ce qui revient à capter les ressources publiques consacrées à la gestion urbaine)

ils créent des argumentaires spécifiques associant les cultures urbaines et les musiques du monde aux problématiques d'intégration et à l'idéologie du développement local interculturel.

Ainsi, dans un pays où l'ethnicité est officiellement niée, les pouvoirs publics participent à la construction d'images ethniques au dépend de jeunes qui ne sont pas des étrangers. Ce processus s'effectue sans donner à ces groupes les moyens de se structurer puisque les événements organisés sont contrôlés (les associations d'étrangers sont au contraire ignorées, ce qui freine leur transformation en structures communautaires ethniques comme cela se fait dans d'autres pays). La production de cette ethnicité nouvelle doit être comprise comme un processus d'hyperréalisation particulièrement efficace en France et dans le monde, ce qui génère des inquiétudes. On peut certes signaler la capacité d'artistes sortis des lieux décrits à s'emparer des modèles proposés et à les détourner à leur profit. On peut y voir aussi l'efficacité performative du discours qui amène ces détournements à se référer en permanence à l'étiquetage des quartiers. Cette situation produit un système socio-spatial spécifique, intégré et revendiqué par les jeunes auxquels ces images ethniques s'adressent et au moyen desquelles ils sont contrôlés.

Est-ce bien le rôle des animateurs de promouvoir ces processus ?

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Judith Allen, Ripin Kalra, Tony Lloyd-Jones

# Community Asset Management: Life Cycles and Learning

**Community asset management** is about the management, life-time planning construction and physical maintenance of common assets to be carried out by the user-communities themselves in partnership, where appropriate with local government, local businesses, non-governmental organisations and government agencies. It focuses on how low-income communities can manage and maintain new and existing community buildings.

**“You must travel the world to learn even if you have to go as far as China.”**

The research underlying this paper is drawn from two sources. The first is the Max Lock Centre’s projects on cost-effective construction technology projects in Asia and Africa (India, Malawi, Kenya, South Africa) and on community-based slum upgrading in Indonesia. The second is a set of projects on neighbourhood management in 49 neighbourhoods in 13 European countries.

**Social capability strategies:** The aim of this paper is to develop a diagnostic tool to identify those capabilities which need to be supported in order to facilitate community asset management. These will differ from place to place, reflecting varied institutional situations, community structures, processes and dynamics, and building type and use. The diagnostic tool is designed to support an assessment of where, when and how to step in.

**Theoretical underpinnings:** The diagnostic tool is loosely based in concepts of “third space” as the creative intersection between formal local governmental institutions and local civil society. Modernist political theory tends to emphasise a functional separation between “society” and “state” (best articulated by Habermas, 1984), see Figure 1. This leaves an “empty space” between state and

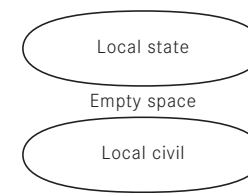


Fig. 1: Modernist conception of state and civil society

## GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain is the largest island of the British Isles. It lies to the northwest of Continental Europe, with Ireland to the west, and makes up the larger part of the territory of the United Kingdom. It is surrounded by 1,000 smaller islands and islets. It occupies an area of 209,331 km<sup>2</sup>. It is the third most populous island after Java and Honsh. Great Britain stretches over about ten degrees of latitude on its longer, north-south axis. → [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_britain)

society, which is seen as an arena of contestation between what Habermas terms “a desiccated state bureaucracy,” seeking to impose its dynamics on civil society, and the “lifeworld,” which provides a basis for resisting state repression. Nevertheless, a problem in this conceptualisation is that the lifeworld also incorporates its own forms of oppression, which are not explicitly linked to the activity of the state.

An alternative, more postmodernist perspective, derived from Soja (1996), conceptualises the situation in terms of the de-differentiation of societal functions. This generates a view of the relationship between civil society and the state as one of overlap, shown in Figure 2. The problem, then, is how to think about social processes in this “third space” of interaction. The immediate problem is that Soja imports assumptions about the repressive nature of the state, and his approach tends to fold into a top-down, repressive process of de-differentiation.

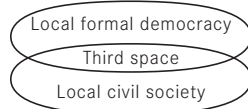


Fig. 2: Postmodernist conception of state and civil society

However, there are other ways of thinking about the third space. Bell Hooks (1990) observes that it is neither state, nor civil society, but both together. Thus, one way to think about the point of intervention is to conceive of it as an “as-yet-unfinished” story in space and time. At the end of his sojourn in Europe, Castells characterised “the creative moment” for urban social movements as lying between ineffectiveness because the movement was completely outside of existing power structures and ineffectiveness because it was completely co-opted. In a similar way, Massey (2005) conceptualises space as a “creative” place in which there is a multiplicity of intersecting life trajectories, creating at any point in time a simultaneity of “stories-so-far.”

From these theoretical bases, we can say that the creative space and moment, the intersection of a multiplicity of life trajectories and simultaneity of “stories-so-far” generates a point of intervention, a third space, which opens opportunities for negotiating changes.

**Formal and informal flows of communication:** If we combine these ideas, we can divide the types of communication and/or information flows in particular situations into two. The first consists of informal, tacit or non-articulated knowledge: positional, often taken for granted, among a group of local actors. The second type of communication is formal, top to bottom and bottom to top. Such communication may be characterised by what is sometimes termed “de-formation professionnelle,” strategic considerations (overt and covert), etc.

In short, this is the form of communication which is most often studied in the literature as a way of showing how strategic top to bottom communication embodies forms of disempowerment. In contrast, our interest lies precisely in how the intersection between these two forms of communication within the third space generate a potential for creating empowerment.

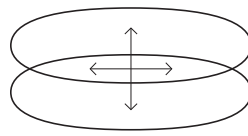


Fig. 3: Formal and informal communication and information flows

Rosenberg (2007) has dissected some of the assumptions behind such an analysis in his discussion of the pre-conditions for being able to democratically determine “the common good.” In brief, he argues that empathetic identification with “others” is essential to inform a democratic discussion of the common good, and such empathetic identification is most easily achieved by informal methods of interaction, by being able to put oneself into the shoes of the other.

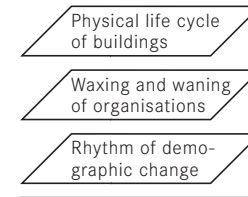


Fig. 4: Three layers: three dynamics

The diagnostic tool we are developing is based on this understanding of third space. For this reason, the tool needs to be seen as both layered and dynamic and assuming an as-yet-undetermined outcome. The nearest metaphor is a game of three-dimensional chess (see Figure 4).

**The three life cycles**

There are three quite different life cycles, which operate according to different dynamic rhythms in a specific small place, a “neighbourhood space,” with its associated localised communities.

**Rhythm of demographic change** Virtually all neighbourhood studies indicate that three variables or dimensions are important to understand how place brings together a multiplicity of stories-so-far: Age, length of residence and ethnicity. These dimensions vary in significance in different neighbourhoods. However, neighbourhood studies are nearly always static snapshots in time. In order to understand the notion of “stories-so-far,” it is necessary to think of the variables dynamically, over time, to see how the stories have developed and to imagine the potential futures that might emerge from the stories-so-far (see Table 1).

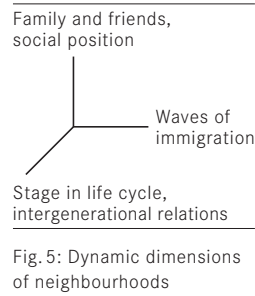
Static variables	Dynamic variables
Age	Family, friends and social position
Ethnicity	Successive waves of immigration*
Length of residence	Stage in life cycle and intergenerational relationships

\* In generalising, it is important to note that “immigration” does not necessarily involve ethnic difference. It is a case of how and when “outsiders” come to live within a specific neighbourhood space.

Table 1: Static and dynamic variables

By thinking of these dimensions dynamically, they become more complex, but in this complexity it is possible to imagine how neighbourhoods/communities in different places and countries may be characterised by distinctive meta-stories. This was an especially significant finding of the research in Malawi, Kenya and South Africa.

Figure 5 indicates how any individual or group might be located on these interrelated dynamic demographic dimensions. Each of the demographic dimensions has built into it a status or hierarchy division. These divisions underlie three key characteristics of the “as yet unfinished stories” in the neighbourhood space: identities, interests and issues (shown in Table 2).



Identity	What are the demographic characteristics of low-status and high-status groups?
Interests	How do different groups relate to the neighbourhood space? Do they see it as “home?” As a “gateway” to another place? Or as a “trap” which they cannot leave?
Issues	How does the conjunction of identity and interests relate to the way local community assets are managed and maintained?

Table 2: As-yet-unfinished stories in the neighbourhood space

**Waxing and waning of organisations** The research indicated that there are three generic types of organisations which can be found in neighbourhood spaces: Entirely voluntary residents’ organisations, organisations set up by community workers, and organisations set up by service delivery agents. Voluntary residents’ groups can be located within civil society, while the other two tended to be third space organisations, bringing together state activities and residents.

In India and in Europe, voluntary residents’ organisations were most frequently found around religious facilities. The other two types of organisations varied according to the scope of localised state functions. In third world countries, school buildings and multi-purpose community buildings were an important focus for such organisations. The more extensive and penetrating local state functions in Europe created a different range of facilities, which could be the focus for residents’ groups.

The focus of the European research was on identifying actors who had a presence in neighbourhood spaces. Figure 6 shows the full range of actors who were identified. The top level of the diagram indicates groups found in neighbourhood spaces and the next level indicates workers who may be found in neigh-

bourhood spaces. The bottom two levels indicate significant actors outside the neighbourhood space who have the authority to set the frameworks within which neighbourhood level workers carry out their jobs. The bold arrows indicate relationships among actors which are built into formal structures. The dashed arrows indicate relationships which are contingent, reflecting more informal relationships, which may or may not be present in a particular neighbourhood.

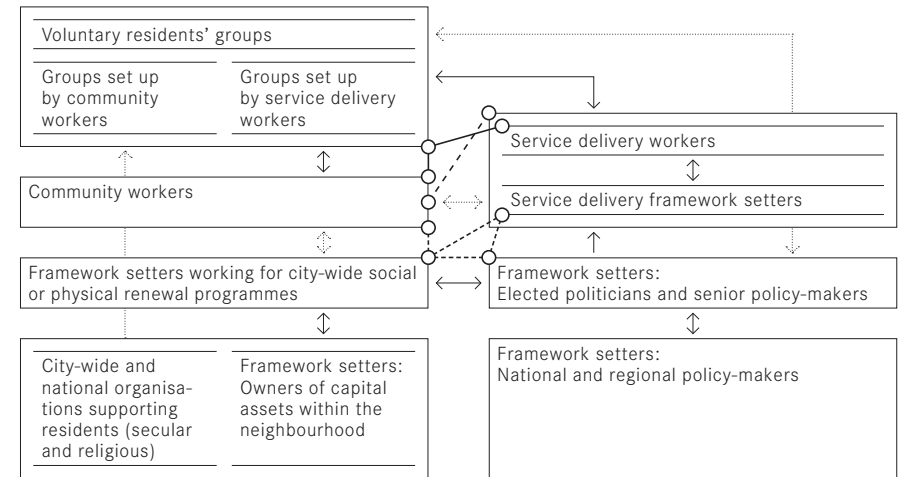


Fig. 6: Actors in neighbourhoods with its links among

Figure 6 shows linkages among actors. In the most common cases, there are two sets of strong linkages. The first is among residents’ groups, service delivery workers, and (if present) community workers. The second is between framework setters, politicians and wider organisations. The normal operation of intra- and interorganisational relationships functions both to separate the neighbourhood space from the decision-makers who set the broad framework for what happens in the neighbourhood and who ensure that normal access between residents and agencies is focused on service delivery. The key point is that community development workers, if they are present, provide resources to span the gap between state agencies and neighbourhood spaces.

Consequently, neighbourhood-based residents’ groups wax and wane, come and go, as part of a normal process, depending on the resources available to them. In addition, the normal pattern of third space activity by neighbourhood groups is shaped by the range of state services delivered locally and how these may change over time. Offsetting these normal relationships will be the strength of feeling about local issues which, in turn, will be partly shaped by the pattern of demographic change in the neighbourhood.

**Life cycle of buildings** The concept of the life cycle of buildings brings together two elements. One is the physical or material characteristics of the building itself, and how these change over time. The second element encapsulates the notion of human intervention into these material processes.

For diagnostic purposes, the life cycle of buildings in neighbourhood spaces can be simplified into four stages and a set of questions about each of the stages. These are shown in Table 3.

Stage in life cycle	Key questions
Build	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Localised or “foreign” technology used in design?</li> <li>— Build quality and materials?</li> <li>— Who provided the building?</li> </ul>
Manage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Planned use or additional and/or different uses?</li> <li>— Who has decided on changes?</li> </ul>
Mend	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Possible to use local skills or specialised skills required?</li> </ul>
Replace, extend or abandon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Who makes this decision and how?</li> <li>— Is it an explicit decision or a decision by default as a building deteriorates physically?</li> </ul>

Table 3: Life cycles of neighbourhood space community assets

The research in India and Africa, which investigated a simplified situation (compared with neighbourhood spaces in the middle of European cities), showed that there was more community involvement in maintaining local assets when:

- Buildings used local technologies, similar to the houses people lived in, because there was a higher level of local skills available for mending the buildings.
- Multiple uses, in addition to a planned single use of a provided building, generated a wider interest in managing and mending buildings.
- Funds generated by projects located within the buildings remained within the local area, both because this generated cash resources for maintenance and incorporated the building as a factor of production in local economic activity.
- The building was managed and maintained by the local community rather than by a far-away governmental department, because local actors used the building regularly, were more likely to notice specific maintenance problems, and had a direct interest in its upkeep.

- Maintaining the building was not socially or economically dependent on non-neighbourhood-space actors (landlords, government engineering departments, NGOs).
- There were sufficient local residents who could contribute time resources to managing and maintaining the building, recognising that self-employed people and smaller households (3–4 members) do not have sufficient time resources to contribute.
- The building was used in a way which had its own annual cycle requiring maintenance once a year (most commonly, annual religious or cultural cycles).

These findings strongly suggest that the way a community asset is inserted into the third space of a neighbourhood is important in ensuring its maintenance. While it is clear that many community asset buildings are initially provided in a top-down way, investing in their maintenance in the neighbourhood third space.

### Conclusions

Building a neighbourhood-based social capability for community asset management is not a simple process of defining skills and supplying training. Rather, it depends on a conjunction of factors – demographic, organisational, physical – all of which are constantly changing. This implies two things: First, decisions about where, when and how to step in require systematic analysis, and second, capability building, itself, is not a once-and-for-all intervention but needs to be thought of in terms of taking the stories-so-far forward in a set of intermittent interventions.

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Kath Beveridge, Dave Valentine

# Neighbourhood Planning and Service Delivery in Aberdeen

## GREAT BRITAIN

Geographically, the island is marked by low, rolling countryside in the east and south, while hills and mountains predominate in the western and northern regions. Before the end of the last ice age, Great Britain was a peninsula of Europe; the rising sea levels caused by glacial melting at the end of the ice age caused the formation of the English Channel, the body of water which now separates Great Britain from Continental Europe at a minimum distance of 34 km.

→ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_britain)

## 1. Context

Aberdeen with a population of 210,000 is the leading oil and gas capital in Europe and for the time being has a strong and thriving economy supported by investment from leading corporate organisations operating globally. The city has one of the biggest income gaps between those in poor areas of the city and the high earners, and one of the key issues facing the city is depopulation resulting from land and property prices. This creates particular dynamics that are impacting on the city's poorer communities experiencing all the effects of relative poverty. Public sector bodies have been engaged in a long-term community planning process with the citizens in the city with the stated aim of improving quality of life, more active, informed and involved communities/citizens and to close the opportunity gap between the most deprived communities and the Scottish norm.

This is being undertaken in the policy context of devolved coalition government in Scotland. The country has a small population of 5 million and the relationship between the Scottish parliament and local government has its tensions between control and collaboration on how the country should be governed. The key policy objectives that are governing “community

<sup>1</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ relations” are community planning legislation<sup>1</sup>. This promotes partnership working at a strategic and operational level, community regeneration to close the

the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003

opportunity gap between wealthy and poor communities and to mainstream equality action into day-to-day delivery of services. The organisational and management strategy for achieving this is through devolved and integrated service delivery responsive at neighbourhood level.

There are opportunities in this context for the use of community development practises in a number of different settings

and for different stated and unintentional purposes. For example at policy level to support community participation in policy formation or at community level to build the capacity of communities to participate on a less unequal power base with those agencies who are collectively and more closely engaged with communities. Some agencies take a deliberate interventionist approach and engage in influencing community relations to “improve” the quality of life in relation to “anti-social behaviour.” This can lead to divergent community development approaches deployed by different agencies in a specific regeneration area.

The move to provide closer and responsive services at a neighbourhood level has the advantage of bringing decision-making nearer to communities through the area committee and partnership arrangements strengthening local accountability. It does, however, increase the surveillance and levels of state intervention by public sector agencies, potentially limiting the space for the development of community-based agenda setting and action.

The proximity of state intervention on the one hand and engagement of communities in driving and setting the direction of development locally on the other is influenced by national and local policy setting. When the nature of particular interventionist policies are focused on supporting one group of interests against those of another, it may be more focused on solutions aimed at dealing with conflict in communities, e.g. anti-social behaviour orders, CCTV installation and youth disorder. In other respects, agency-driven policies support cohesion in communities through self-help and community action programmes, e.g. healthy house, learning houses and community safety initiatives.

It is helpful to map particular initiatives and policy implementation against the following model, which might assist in considering the origins and purpose of the policy intervention, the effects on community cohesion or conflict, the different role of community development workers and activists in this context and the dynamics that are created within communities and between agencies engaged in these different interventions.



Local government has engaged, as part of its community planning implementation, with an international study programme, the Demos Project, and has engaged Professor Michael Carley as the academic advisor and consultant. The Demos Project Guidelines (EU 5th Framework) have helped shape our approach.

This paper is presented from our perspective as community development professionals engaged within the setting of local government and wider public authority service delivery. It forms a critique of our work, which has influenced the restructuring of the Council at neighbourhood level and has led the process, which developed “neighbourhood community action plans” in each of the 37 neighbourhoods in the city.

## 2. Neighbourhood Planning and Service Delivery

To facilitate the delivery of integrated and responsive public services at a very local level, we have developed with our community planning partners a Framework for Neighbourhood Planning and Service Delivery. In each neighbourhood this will give communities early participation and influence in the production of single resourced service plans delivered by multi-disciplinary, inter-agency “teams.”

The Framework includes a common model for a Neighbourhood Network and an annual planning and delivery cycle for each neighbourhood. This requires the active participation of four stakeholder groups: a Tasking and Co-ordinating Group

(Community Planning Partners), the local elected members of the City Council, the local communities and their representatives and the operational staff delivering services to the neighbourhood. Together they are required to produce a Neighbourhood Community Action Plan (NCAP) based on issues identified by the local community, the index of multiple deprivation, statutory duties and service improvement data.

The original NCAPs were developed through a “Planning for Real” event in each neighbourhood, followed by a prioritising process. These are now built on by on-going dialogue between community representatives and service managers. The on-going dialogue each year should culminate in local agreement on priorities prior to the annual public sector budget setting process. Neighbourhood priorities will thus be addressed by funded responses.

This work is being pursued through complementary organisational capacity building and community capacity building. The former focuses on the restructuring of local services (breaking down professional silos and re-aggregating multi-disciplinary teams providing integrated services at a local level), the production of guidance, training and standards for community engagement and the creation of posts to facilitate neighbourhood planning.

Community capacity building is a current priority for our community development staff. Locally based workers are responsible for helping communities identify local issues, to establish and support community organisations and community representatives and to support community responses to local issues. An audit of community capacity building resources has helped coordinate workers with a community development role and those who contribute to community development.

We are also supporting those staff to take on a role that helps mediate neighbourhood planning by using a networking approach to facilitate a two-way flow of information by supporting on-going dialogue and by participating in the Neighbourhood Network.

### 3. Discussion

In undertaking this work we are interested in the following questions.

- Are we providing real influence in decision-making for communities?
- Are we actually engaging the community?
- What is the link between participative and representative democracy?
- Are we making full use of community development?
- Is there potential to engage communities through this process to tackle wider economic or global issues?

In designing an approach that aims to facilitate actual influence in decision-making for local communities, we are responding to community representatives’ complaints that, despite the increase in public consultation and participation, they still feel their voice is not heard and that public authorities are only “going through the motions.”

The problem is that public authorities are responding to the requirement to consult and engage without properly equipping themselves with the capacity or time to do it well and without properly connecting it to decision-making. The outcomes of this superficial approach include:

- Services can be faced with parallel plans from the Council and from community engagement with the former taking precedence.
- Community views are too specific or too general to be taken account of with no opportunity to discuss and negotiate.
- Community views arrive too late in the policy-making process to be taken account of.

Whilst community capacity building is a key requirement for community empowerment, we have wanted to use our position within the Local Authority to also give priority to organisational capacity building.

To begin with, we have provided support for officers undertaking community engagement in the form of policy papers, guid-

ance and protocols. This has been reinforced more recently with the publication, in Scotland, of National Standards for Community Engagement. Relevant and useful though these resources are, they do not in themselves change behaviour or address competing priorities. This difficulty is in fact part of the larger problem of resistance to multi-disciplinary working, joined-up services and customer responsiveness. In Aberdeen this has been tackled by a radical restructuring within the City Council that has reduced the corporate management team, created integrated Council service departments, focused on neighbourhood needs and service delivery and developed a neighbourhood planning framework and annual planning cycle. These changes are designed to facilitate greater influence by:

- Creating an ongoing dialogue with communities that permits a more sophisticated discussion covering statutory duties, statistical data, service intelligence and community experiences and preferences. This should be more effective than one-off consultation, as it will allow clarification, challenge and negotiation.
- Requiring service managers to respond to neighbourhood priorities and build them into the budget setting and service planning processes.
- Seeing participative democracy as being complementary to representative democracy.
- Coordinating community capacity building resources.

The question of whether we are engaging all sections of the community requires us to consider community capacity building. A particular challenge we face is to encourage and support representative community groups to examine how they communicate and involve the wider community. Traditionally, young people, young families, people with disabilities, minority ethnic groups, and the LGBT community do not participate in representative community groups like community councils, tenants associations, etc. We have consultative forums, in Aberdeen, for these equalities groups at a city level but need to consider how we involve these communities in our Neighbourhood Planning initiative.

We are using a networking approach to partnership working and community engagement to reduce the demands on people's time and agencies' resources and because it can widen community participation. Local community workers have been given specific responsibility to develop flexible, self-reliant networks within the neighbourhoods. Whilst we see this as a key element of building community capacity and the process of community empowerment, it has met with some resistance from community development workers. For some it is a challenging aspect of practice, for others it is a challenge to working to the agenda of local people.

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Patricia Bryant

## Include Us In

*This article is based on the Project “Participatory Projects and Mainstream Governance,” funded by the European Commission’s Programme of Preparatory Actions in Combating Social Exclusion.*

This paper will describe the transnational project and its findings, which explored existing participation efforts in four European countries. The partners in the project represented Hull DOC, a community association in Hull, UK, The Gypsy Unit of Kent County Council, Kenward Trust, a rehabilitation trust for drug and substance abuse users, Asociacion Antonio Nocche, a Spanish Gypsy Community Group, LABOS, the laboratory of political science at the University of Rome, Agriturismo Association in the Abruzzo mountain region of Italy, a Community Workers Co-operative in Ireland and a residents’ association in Tallaght, Ireland and Medway Council based in Kent, UK.

Participation and allied terms such as “active citizenship” and “local people’s involvement” are in common usage amongst policy makers at the European level and some member states with reference to people’s capacity to make a contribution to and play a role in the social and economic affairs of their community.

It is widely regarded amongst those working in the field of community development as a key component in a strategy to combat social exclusion and to promote social integration.

The project looked at the work of eight organisations and local authorities in combating social exclusion through participation.

The areas of work targeted by the partners in this project included traveller and gypsy communities, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, capacity building and training, urban regeneration and rural development. Participatory research methods were used with beneficiaries, project staff and local authorities.

Participation in the labour market has been the main focus of European policy to combat social exclusion and is the main aim of many national programmes and local projects. Chanan, G. (1999) points out that “whilst the Structural Funds (the main instrument through which the European Union addresses disadvantage) provide scope for broad interpretation, their main concern is with employment.”

### GREAT BRITAIN

Traces of early man have been found in Great Britain from some 700,000 years ago and modern man from about 30,000 years ago. Up until about 9,000 years ago, Great Britain was joined to Ireland. As recently as 8,000 years ago, Great Britain was joined to the continent. The southeastern part of Great Britain was still connected by a strip of low marsh to the European mainland in what is now north-eastern France. In Cheddar Gorge near Bristol, the remains of animal species native to mainland Europe, such as antelopes, brown bears, and wild horses, have been found alongside a human skeleton, Cheddar Man, dated to about 7150 B.C. Thus, animals and humans must have moved between mainland Europe and Great Britain via a crossing. → [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_britain)

Most projects are forced to place emphasis on employment initiatives in order to secure funds. However, a substantial proportion of people in the European Union are not in the labour market and this narrow focus on participation for the purpose of raising employment levels fails to address the more complex and multi-dimensional aspects of social exclusion.

Many of the projects we visited were engaged in promoting participation of various kinds:

- The development of participation to enable personal development
- Participation in the labour market
- Participation to access rights and services
- Participation in the political/public realm

Many of the people we met spoke of the growth in their self-confidence that had resulted from being a member of an organisation of people in a similar situation to their own.

Members from the Galway Travellers Support Group said the single most important benefit that had come from their participation was a feeling of dignity and self-worth as travellers in a wider community in which they often experienced hostility. The presence of a vibrant community sector in which networks of groups sharing similar concerns, interests or leisure pursuits exists can be a powerful indicator of the degree of social cohesion in a locality (Chanan, 1998).

In Ireland we visited a residents' association in Tallaght, in Dublin Ireland. The estate had a variety of inner-city urban issues, youth anti-social behaviour, drug use, social cohesion issues and high unemployment. We found that the group was very supported by the membership of experienced community workers and had very strong views about what kind of urban regeneration they wanted to happen in their environment. The association had negotiated with the local authority a "Planning For Real" participatory approach to the design of the regeneration of the area and had worked hard to achieve the participation of all the residents on the estate. They were tackling social exclusion on a number of fronts and were using participatory methods to include as many people as possible in the decisions that affected their quality of life.

The Agriturismo community organisation in Italy is working to promote sustainable livelihoods through the development of sensitive tourism and traditional skills in a rural mountainous area characterized by long-term depopulation and high levels of poverty. All the young people in the mountain villages had left to get work in the city, leaving an aged population whose main crop was

lentils and saffron. The re-development of stone derelict houses into tourist accommodations and the development of wine co-operatives and co-operative farming initiatives have drawn the people into a community of solidarity and significance.

In Spain, the A Cotio Project works with a range of people, predominantly with ex-prisoners, mental health problems, and drug addiction to support their communities' integration into the labour market. We visited the project, which is situated in a large Gypsy encampment; the community association had battled and negotiated with the government to acknowledge the social exclusion their community faces. Participation can lead to conflict where power imbalances in society are the status quo and people challenge the statutory powers to gain access and claim their human rights. Wilson (1999) argues that "participatory initiatives can in fact reproduce patterns of exclusion and that appropriate methods are needed to engage the most disadvantaged and marginalised sections of the community."

In Britain, Hull Doc, a community organisation in the north of Britain establishing a reputation for offering training in participatory analysis and the take-up of this training is developing community support networks across the country. The area is highly deprived and many adults and children attend the community organisation on a daily basis, seeking help or participating in various initiatives the group has developed. The organisation was far-sighted to realise that local solutions must be shared and their outreach activities across Britain are impressive.

The project travelled to all four countries with beneficiaries from community organisations involved in the partnership and project staff with a translator.

At times there were as many as fifteen people travelling and the organisational aspects of the project were challenging, especially negotiating the mountainous regions in Italy. The benefits of this transnational project were multifold in that at each stage of the project, the building of lasting relationships, the sharing of techniques aimed at gaining maximum participation was facilitated across these four countries.

The difficulties of delivering such transnational projects are far outweighed with the benefits. Our visits and dialogical exchanges shared knowledge and lessons learnt when seeking to develop participation. The project gave immense encouragement to the project staff and the beneficiaries, confirming that all over the world people are engaged in meaningful work to develop communities and promote social inclusion.

A number of European countries, including England, Italy and Ireland are currently going through reform of local government, with the stated intention of strengthening democracy at a local level. During the study visits we spoke to a number of local authority representatives, who were reluctant to allow full participation in decision-making despite their awareness of a formal move to a more participatory agenda. Their responses placed them firmly on the lower rungs of non-participation and Degrees of Tokenism in Arnstein, S. (1969) *A ladder of Citizen Participation*.

“Participation” is a multifaceted word much like “social exclusion” and means different things to different people. How participation is enacted and the motivations behind it vary considerably and this paper will proceed to address the debate of “participation” and what the term means today in the global and local arenas of community development.

### The Local Government

#### Modernising Agenda

Local government reform has been ongoing throughout Europe in the last decade and there has been an extensive UK regional consultation process undertaken called “Change Up” (2003). This programme of action was designed to transform the effectiveness of the voluntary and community sector, currently referred to as the Third Sector. The third sector consultation process was aimed at seeking the views of the voluntary sector on community participation in civil renewal.

Concurrently, the UK government has published the white paper “Stronger and Prosperous Communities” (2006). The white paper is the latest step in the government’s agenda for the modernisation of local government. It outlines new proposals for “devolving power” to local government whilst placing a duty on them to co-operate with the statutory partners at the local level and also to engage with other partners in the voluntary and community sector, thereby significantly strengthening local governments’ leadership role in local areas. The paper also outlines plans for improving partnership working, as well as providing a major expansion of opportunities for local people to influence decision-making.

Local authorities and statutory partners are now preparing themselves to deliver these new reforms, which constitute a radical change in their relationships with the voluntary and community sector and individuals in their localities and require them to strengthen community participation.

### Definitions

“Participation” in the context of community participation is defined as follows:

*Participation in political science and theory of management is an umbrella term including different means for the public to directly participate in political, economical or management decisions. (Wikipedia)*

*Is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them. (World Bank)*

### Civic And Civil Participation

There are tensions between two interpretations of civil society: active citizenship (citizens participating in state affairs) and the second interpretation, the right to be left alone (citizens distancing themselves from the state and politics and associating for apolitical reasons). Chanan, G. (2003) ODPM. Searching for solid foundations has often made the distinction between *vertical participation* relating to governance, such as participation in a local Strategic Partnership or in a council committee (in other words, *civic participation*) and *horizontal participation* relating to community activity, such as participation in a sports club or faith group (in other words, *civil participation*).

The UK General Household Study (GHS 2000) found that few people go straight from a situation of no involvement to one of active engagement within their neighbourhood. Knowingly or not, most are on a ladder of involvement, with simple acts of good neighbourliness at one end and a regular commitment with a formal or statutory organisation, or a position of community leadership at the other end. The study of the GHS 2000 finds that some 13% of respondents nationally had been involved in a local organisation with responsibilities and 8% without responsibilities. Informal community involvement in contrast revealed 74% of people had done a favour for a neighbour and 72% had received a favour from a neighbour. It appears therefore that the national culture of community involvement in the UK is currently more extensively oriented towards participation in informal than formal community involvement.

The perception of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) is that the habits and social norms associated with participation and collective action are disappearing. The low and already falling turnouts at elections, falling membership rolls in political parties and trade unions, plus widespread difficulties of recruiting volunteers and trustees are being aired as a problem. The

question raised: where will the next generation of active citizens come from? In a Joseph Rowntree Report: The Value Added by Community Involvement in Governance through Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs). The reports' findings were that many LSPs fail to involve local people. Many community representatives report they find it hard to influence the LSPs and are prevented from raising contentious issues, making them feel sidelined and tokenised.

### Voluntary Organisations/Users' Views

The government's efforts to include and work with the voluntary and community sector in the development of policies and strategies raise a number of questions as to what the role of the sector should be. Lack of independence and co-option are the perceived biggest threats. Is the sector to become an instrument for the government rather than a force for change in its own right? Will public service provision and financial dependency on government funding diminish the advocacy and campaign function of the sector? Despite many groups and organisations not delivering public services and having little to do with government, the government's instrumentalist approach is a cause for concern to them. "The right to dissent is as important as the right to participate."

### Conclusion

Transnational community development knowledge exchange is an invaluable resource for the sharing of knowledge and best practice, and the experiences and the people I met and worked with will forever stay in my memory, together with the immeasurable value of raised feelings of dignity and self-worth experienced by people participating in community action. There are many barriers to participation, particularly for deprived communities, and community development has a significant role to play in strengthening community participation for democratic renewal globally and locally. Community development has a long history of working at the interface of communities and local and central government. In practice, community development workers in many circumstances often act as "navigator" to help councils and communities understand each other better.

By investing in and supporting community development work, local government can more effectively balance their new duties of community leader and facilitator of community empowerment.

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Guy Stevenson

#### **GREAT BRITAIN**

Great Britain may well be a calque of the French term Grande Bretagne, which is used in France to distinguish Britain from Brittany (in French: Bretagne). Since the English court and aristocracy was largely French-speaking for about two centuries after the Norman Conquest of 1066, the French term may have naturally passed into English usage.  
→ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_britain)

# “It Ain’t Disneyland” – Connections and Disconnections in Participation, Partnership and Community Engagement

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## **Introduction**

The development of area based partnerships has become a central theme of the New Labour governments’ attempts to reinvigorate urban renewal through broader community engagement, and as a more penetrative means of tackling social exclusion. New opportunities at all levels of government to broaden participation have made themselves theoretically possible. This paper explores some of the issues thrown up by this new agenda and how far these positive approaches to engagement have invigorated a new dialogue between the communities often labelled most disadvantaged and those that govern them. This, though arguably against a background where largely entrenched institutional barriers mitigating unfavourably against substantive change and renewal, remain unchallenged.

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## **The participatory dilemma**

Central to the theme of participation, that increased partnership and the democratic accountability that this implies has been the attempt to localise debate and decision-making within those communities often deemed most excluded. The view expressed by government, and central to the tenant of engagement and social inclusion, is to increase joint working and enable communities to be better involved in neighbourhood renewal (SEU, 2001). And whilst certainly brave attempts have been made, this attempt at “joining it up locally” has not been without its difficulties. With this plethora of new initiatives, policies and partnerships aimed at revitalising participation, becoming at best no more than a chaotic patchwork. Sometimes rendering this commitment to joining up local governance is potentially more incoherent than some of its predecessors (Burgess, Hall, Mawson and Pearce, 2001).

So in what way can participation become more coherent? What is it for? Why are we seeking out opportunities to involve people in the first place? And what exactly is it that participation is enabling people to do? Establishing a clear sense of its role is essential so participation becomes more than some overcooked, isolated policy, driven more by the need for adopting the correct process than a genuine regard for real people taking control of the things that are most likely to impact their lives. To make this something more comprehensively transformative requires commitment to understanding those things most likely to shape people's everyday lives and experiences. Identifying and harnessing this local expertise and individual understanding is central in formulating a discourse to confront those critical imbalances between power, disenfranchisement and neighbourhood renewal. Exposure of this potential for a critical, honest reflection on practice and policy between the practitioner and the communities and neighbourhoods in which they are working is key in meeting the demands of the current governments' regeneration and public participation strategy.

This may present us with a problem in that consultation and community involvement, as envisaged by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit or, more currently, in the form of the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), is not always the panacea that policy at times describes. Too often the confusion created between the UK government's big stick approach and its language of inclusion and renewal are an awkward alliance. This appropriation of language (historically more allied to that of a radical tradition) by the New Right in redefining collective rights as those of individual responsibilities has diluted the critical importance of community action in confronting inequality (Ledwith, 2001). This, in turn, has led to a sense where community action has been hijacked for a more coercive use, with the government urging us to shop our neighbours, friends and relatives within a broad spectrum of policy areas from community safety to benefit fraud. And, to an extent, critically undermining some of the potentially radical opportunities offered through legislation. Though even these opportunities may be fundamentally undermined where the solutions offered have the potential to become absolutist and/or reactionary. The election of far right councillors in a number of English borough authorities raises troubling questions on the kind of radical agenda for renewal that some neighbourhoods may desire. And for practitioners such as myself seeking to apply an approach to

empowerment and social justice that embraces many differing traditions and beliefs, this raises difficulties on the type participation is being mobilised.

This is not to say that the challenges inherent in turning policy into transformative practice may never produce positive attempts at participation, leadership and reflective engagement; and here it is worth citing an example from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in some detail to underline the point. Localising regeneration through its Local Area Partnerships (LAPs) has enabled the possibility of developing innovative practice as a cogent response to partnership working across neighbourhoods of the borough's Local Strategic Partnership. One such example, the Cleveland Estate in the west of the borough, was experiencing "a number of issues that had combined to create 'environments of fear' within the estate" (EDAW, 2006, p. 33). The LAP's response, through its Neighbourhood Management Team, rather than marginalise those deemed as responsible for the neighbourhoods' problems, was to make them central to their resolution. Links were made on the estate, not only through some formal consultation but with additional street level input from the area's Neighbourhood Manager, Rapid Response Youth Team and a third sector agency, Oxford House. Relationships were substantiated, with each agency supporting young people on the estate to recognise, develop and use their own skills and abilities; in turn challenging old prejudices and identifying strategies that centralised their participation as the core means of resolving issues on the estate.

Hence, young people became the solution and the primary agents of change across their locale. They formed and developed the Cleveland Youth Coalition, initially young men, though this was later to change. With support from the Mediation Services they undertook a programme to rebuild relationships with the police and older members of the community. They organised activities for all those living on the estate, trips away for older residents, summer activities for the younger ones and estate-based events during the holidays. The initial results were encouraging, with new relationships established with service providers, bridges built between differing generations, reductions in reported crime and anti-social behaviour. And, important within the context of this paper, the re-imagining of a partnership response, with young people taking the lead in shaping and delivering the negotiations to achieve this. I should additionally emphasise here the element

of weight given to reflecting on the actions and decision that were taken, whether conscious or not, from all participants. Negotiation took place between differing interest groups; relatively complex problems were addressed through mutual and supported discourse rather than a slanging match. And there was a definable link between the borough's renewal and regeneration strategies and the activity on the ground.

#### **Participation = Revitalisation?**

Despite the successes identified above, one should not, though, lose sight of the difficulties inherent in applying radical approaches to participation and engagement, particularly when working within large strategic bodies. It is questionable, for example, whether regeneration and partnership agencies such as Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) in the UK will be able to truly adapt themselves to a more critical inclusion of the community in their decision-making apparatus. Too often the language of major stakeholders assumes "communities are coherent, identifiable bodies with a single set of interests" (Atkinson, 2003, p. 170). The example above underlines this point inasmuch as the conflicting issues related not just to age but ethnicity, language and gender, all presenting their own persuasive dynamic as the priority in setting a programme for change. As a result, attempting a transformative discourse between disadvantaged groups and unwieldy structures, such as LSPs, will present complex barriers to overcome. Particularly where one attempts to substantiate a link between inclusion and participation in forming changes in policy on the one hand and action on the other. In some instances LSPs may in fact do the complete antithesis of even the most basic forms of participatory discourse. Le Galles, for example, through his study of partnerships in Rennes, France, found that community involvement was merely "used by political elites to legitimise political exchanges between themselves" and local politicians (Ball and Maginn 2005, p. 21). And the all too often cited complaint of consultation fatigue across neighbourhoods and communities in this country further underlines the potential for abusing the term community engagement to justify a particular policy direction.

This fatigue is further exacerbated where weaknesses in strategic direction and conflicting interests from partners across LSPs and/or local government inadvertently identify consultation as a mechanism obviating any need for rational or complex discussion on how to achieve

critical change in structures and delivery. This inability of central and local government to reform itself is, as Rob Atkinson concludes, core to its failure in creating the joined-up approach that partnership working across a whole range of disciplines implies (Atkinson 2003). My own experiences in neighbourhood management have underlined this point well. With a sense of increasing discomfort in the unerring reliability of local government to change nothing of its management and governance structures, despite employing teams of individuals for whom those changes would be regarded as a prerequisite to accommodate the very function of their job. And if this presents difficulties for me as an insider, where does it leave people living in our most deprived and marginalised neighbourhoods? Whoever is oft referred to participation will only go to underline the inherent reticence of their local authority to delimit the veto on decisions that are not viewed as in the right interest of the people who govern them. Lorraine Blaxter et al. to some degree, support this assertion; indeed, their research conducted into Coventry Partnership found that to achieve real change in behaviours and cultures,

*There had to be a readiness on the part of the structurally powerful partners to let go of the control and take risks. (Blaxter, Farnell and Watts, 2003, p. 138)*

This reluctance to build in risk and devolved responsibility from the centre may have been further weakened by the latest comprehensive spending review from the UK government. With a demand on local authorities to make percentage cuts in spending, rationalising resources and reducing further the long term impact of the renewal agenda.

How far is it possible that this increased drive toward greater engagement and participation will enable a more detailed reflection on what Margaret Ledwith describes as "the critical connections between personal experiences and the oppressive political structures which perpetuate discrimination" (2006, p. 2). Attempting some level of its insertion is to my mind central in putting the case for aspects and methodologies inherent in community development practice within a regeneration context. The example from Tower Hamlets, was to an extent, life-changing for those living on the estate. The evaluation report found that relationships improved across generations, ethnicity and age. Opportunities were increased with young people gaining access to skills and knowledge that broadened entry to work, further

education and training. A central theme to the discussion, formal or otherwise, on the estate was how the neighbourhood was often excluded from the provision of resources available elsewhere in the borough. Whilst this acknowledged that the area may not have been actively discriminated against, there was at least a deficit in terms of other neighbourhoods' ability in mobilising their needs more effectively. Active participation from all parties looked to combat some of the structural inequalities impacting on their neighbourhood, even at this micro level: Addressing with service providers the relative paucity of provision on the estate, negotiating with political representatives to ensure wider recognition of the area; and identifying practical methods for confronting broader issues of racism, unemployment and crime.

It is clear that in the broader scheme of things, that work at this level can have only a limited impact though the methods of inclusion and participation in this instance were lauded as good practice and seen through the LSP as not being impossible to apply elsewhere across the partnership.

### Conclusion

So how able are we to say then that policy translated into practice will result in a qualitative difference on the ground? If our most disadvantaged urban districts are to become something more, better than recipients of minor shifts in power distribution and participation at the lowest levels, then recognising the skills, knowledge and ability that exist within them must be the core components required and harnessed to enable and facilitate change. At a policy level one may argue that positive attempts are being made to realign participation within the regeneration and renewal framework in such a way as to ensure its relevance. Recent collaboration between the Community Development Foundation and the DCLG in applying the core principles of community development within the policy arena are encouraging, potentially formulating a distinctive approach toward better policy implementation. Despite this, difficult questions as to whether we, as practitioners, will be able to genuinely work to revitalise our communities or act merely as agents for improving and manipulating the nature of participation, power and accountability remain. Broadening the involvement of those most traditionally excluded is not on its own a panacea, though, and those of us professionally committed to increasing participation should remain mindful of those wider structural factors that will continue to influence any impact

that may be achieved by the work we attempt to do, however valid. Wider efforts at participation in the regeneration agenda will lead nowhere very different from other attempts in the past unless we are mindful that we really do have to do things differently to get somewhere better.

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Jordi Segarra, Xavier Úcar

## Participative Research to Create a Youth Local Plan and a Sustainable Structure of Young People's Participation in a Local Community

We usually talk about the dynamism and vitality of young people as a source of change, creation and innovation, but often it has also been considered as a problem that must be solved. This ambiguity motivated that politics and other instances have been willing to work for young people without young people. But such an approach is unsustainable nowadays. In this sense, Lansdown maintains that “young people are part of the solution to the difficulties they face, not merely a problem to be resolved by others” (2003: 2) because they are social actors with skills and capacities to bring constructive resolutions to their own situation (2003: 5).

Since in 2000 the United Nations identified youth participation in a country's social and economic life, this item has become a part of the political agenda of developed countries. The 2005 WYR maintains, in recommendation number 51, that “efforts should be undertaken to foster intergenerational relationships and support the capacity of young people to participate meaningfully in programmes and activities that affect them.”

The work we are now presenting follows this approach. Mollet's City Council, a medium-sized town near Barcelona, aims to develop a youth plan with and for young people. Doble Via, a social and educational services cooperative actually in charge of youth equipments in Mollet, is commissioned by the City Hall to design and develop a Youth Local Plan. This process is undertaken with an agreement with the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB).

The methodological proposals work out through the definition of a participative process, wide and open enough to cover the highest number of the city's young people. The intention was to break away from existing models to work local youth plans, which are basically focused on the participation of politi-

### SPAIN

There are a number of reasons to explain the high level of immigration, including Spain's cultural ties with Latin America, its geographical position, the porosity of its borders, the large size of its underground economy and the strength of the agricultural and construction sectors, which demand more low-cost labour than can be offered by the national workforce. In fact, Spain has been Europe's largest absorber of migrants for the past six years, with its immigrant population increasing four-fold as 2.8 million people have arrived. According to the *Financial Times*, Spain is the most favoured destination for West Europeans considering a move from their own country and seeking jobs elsewhere in the EU.  
→ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spain>

cians, technicians and legally established associations, therefore making young people invisible (Reutlinger, 2001) or denying, in many cases, the participation of informal groups and non-associated youngsters. The objective of our participative research is to build up a reflexive process shared by the city's young people. This process looks for a common knowledge among the youth about specific characteristics of their daily reality and also about the way they want that reality to be in the next years to come.

This report is divided in three parts. In part one we present the participating research and the aimed objectives. In part two we describe the methodological development, the techniques and tools we have worked with. Finally, in part three we offer some results and conclusions of the study.

### Part I. Participative Research

This report has been developed in Mollet del Vallès, a middle-sized town located 30 km away from Barcelona, with a 51,275 population in the year 2006, 10,755 being young people between 15 and 29 years old. As in many cities of the suburban area of Barcelona, more than half of the population moves daily due to work or study; this brings to consider Mollet as a dormitory suburb. This town has a high number of services and activities addressed to young people, many of them defined in the First Youth Local Plan, redacted in 1999.

The new Youth Local Plan had to be:

- Participative: Taking into account the different agents on the territory, especially young people.
- Feasible: It had to fit the youngster's needs and the competences and possibilities of the City Council.
- Inter-departmental: Working with all municipal departments related with the design and management of youth politics.
- Quadrennial: Lasting a four-year period.

The proposal was structured around two general objectives, the first being divided into three more specific objectives:

1. To design and develop a participating process to work out the Mollet Local Youth Plan for the 2008–2012 period.
- To produce a map containing youth groups and activities in Mollet

- To find out the lacks and main needs regarding young people in town, in order to structure them in action fields for their later development in the plan
  - To bring Mollet's young people to the participating process to work on the Youth Plan
2. To create a youth participating net in the city in order to develop the plan and to allow its future sustainability.

An essential proposal was to give a voice to young people and to provide scenarios in which their voice could be listened to, both in the design and developing phase of the plan.

### Part II. Methodological Process

Usually, all participative process has two stages: an opening and a closing phase (Pindado, 2002: 35). The first one consists of detecting, mobilizing and involving all possible agents. It is an expansive stage that intends to detect, obtain and include as much information as possible, as well as the higher quantity of perspectives and points of view. It could be said that it is a phase where we search to start processes involving social creativity. The second phase, on the contrary, intends to close, concrete and remove everything which is not relevant or feasible, as well as to assume compromises in the developing actions. Following this approach, we designed a first phase where the drawing of an open and shared diagnosis would be the base and, at the same time, the excuse to involve young people in the creation and later development of the plan.

Figure 1 shows the general structure of the research, which was developed in three stages. The two first ones are related to the opening phase, and the last one is related to the closing:

- a) Evaluation and diagnosis of the young people's current situation
- b) Socialization and redefining of the information of the initial diagnosis obtained as a result of the wide young participating process
- c) Writing the Youth Plan

As it can be seen in the graphics, all of the process was monitorized by a support committee composed of the research team, the youngsters' representatives and municipal representatives.

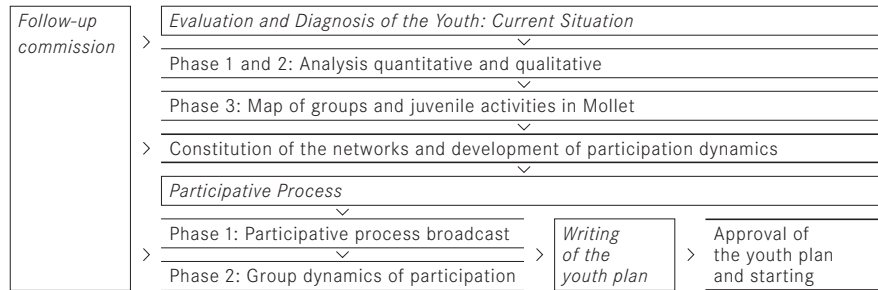


Fig. 1: Mollet del Vallès' local plan of youth

The basis for the diagnosis are 10 variables (leisure and associationism, working, housing, services...) which are specified on 50 quantitative and qualitative indicators intended to obtain information on tangible and intangible realities. These indicators are the guidelines to research and build up the information that, in this first stage, is obtained – as it may be seen in Figure 2 – analyzing different documentary sources and through interviews with municipal responsible (26 interviews), youth associations responsible (25 interviews, 8 to youth associations), and, finally, with key city agents (17 interviews). The goal is to obtain initial contents about the city's youth reality and a map of all youngsters – associated or not – which may draw up participating nets.

With the information obtained from this diagnosis, the research team designs three different strategic methodologies in order to obtain the final information that will resume the Local Youth Plan. All three strategies come up from four different items, which are the ones that allow us to organize the information gathered by the young people:

- Facts:** They are the objective reality, that is, all about the young people in town. These are the concurrent data or the data resumed in the diagnosis. They are the basic contents provided by the research team to begin with discussions, debates or the rewriting of the information in the four methodological strategies.
- Opinions:** This is the subjective reality, what is thought to be in town for the youth.
- Proposals:** What young people think should be done that is, whatever there is or should be in town.
- Contributions:** Referring to what each young person or groups of young people can do, specially to make things change and to succeed in obtaining in town whatever they need or want.

These are the three methodological strategies developed:

- Youth participating nets:** They are shaped thanks to relationships established in the previous stages with young people and with key agents in town. The first one is called “Civic Young Net” and the second one “Young School Net.” The methodology is based on the idea that it is more effective to work with natural groups than with groups created ad-hoc for the research (Úcar; Ponce, 2001). Besides, this fact assures more chances that the nets will be sustainable in time. The research team develops a training session with young leaders – called group leaders – in which they are taught the goal of the participative process; besides, they learn to analyze and rebuild the diagnosis information gathered up in the previous stage. They are asked to repeat the working methodology developed in the training session with the youngsters' groups with which they usually have relationships. Because of the way we represented it, we have called this multiplication strategy of participative actions “the flower technique.” At the end of the process, 233 young people have participated in the Civic Young Net and 207 in the Young School Net.

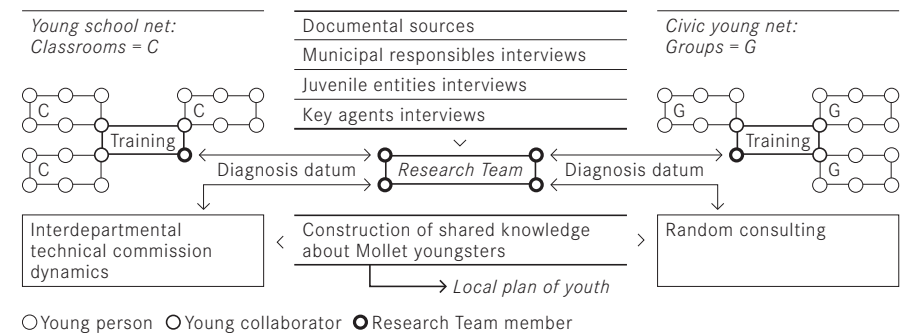


Fig. 2: Evaluation and Diagnosis of the youth: current situation

- Random sample:** From the diagnosis data and the items about which we wanted to gather information (opinions, proposals and contributions), we designed a questionnaire to give to a representative selection of the city's young people. The stratified, proportional and random sample was shaped by 320 youngsters. The questionnaire was sent (post mail and email) to 640 people, but only 63 youngsters sent it back in full.
- Institutional groups dynamics:** This one is a group dynamics developed with the so called “Inter-departmental Technical Commission,” which

is a municipal commission integrated by technicians of municipal departments who develop programs, actions and services related to the city's young people. We tried to gather up the point of view of the municipal technicians more involved in the political dynamics of the town. Finally, 20 technicians participated in both dynamics.

The Local Youth Plan is being built up with the information gathered through these strategic methodologies. A first paper which picks up the philosophy, strategic and specific lines of the plan has been handed over and right now is being discussed within the City Council and the youngsters' groups that participated in the process. Once a consensus is reached, it will be presented to the city.

### Part III. Some Results of the Del Participative Process

The participation in the group dynamics developed due to the writing of the Youth Plan has been 498 people, a 4.71% of the city's young population. The distribution of this participation can be seen in Figure 3, depending on the category to which the participants belong.

With respect to the global numbers of participants in the citizens net, we have to make a difference – as may be seen in Figure 4 – between the young people who belong to a legally constituted association and the ones who are not associated and the ones who are gathered in informal groups. We can observe a great participation in the participative dynamics – as it may be seen in Figure 5 – of the informal and not associated groups, which implies a significant difference with the majority of Youth Plans done until this moment, where the importance of participation depends basically on legally constituted associations.

From the results of the study we must emphasize:

- The creation of a youth participative net in the city of Mollet, which includes the Young School Net and the Civic Young Net. The participation has not been restricted only to the

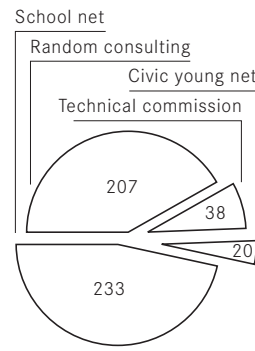


Fig. 3: Participation

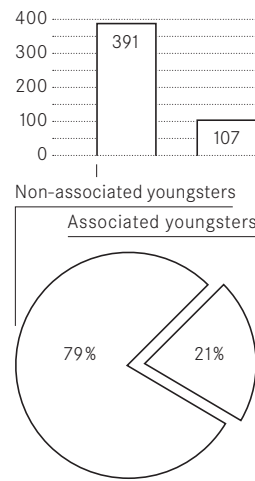


Fig. 4 and 5: Associated and non-associated

designing stage of the plan, but in the future it will have an active paper both in the developing of the plan and in its evaluation.

- The active communication of the young participation net has been guaranteed through the creation of an email list that has allowed a process of constant communication between participants and that will promote the debate and participation in the implementation stage of the Youth Plan.
- The idea that youth politics of a city depends exclusively of politicians and technical's decisions has been broken up. Young people can and must have an active and committed paper in municipal politics' issues that concerns them, opening a path for their participation, not only at youth stages but in the near future. It is a first step to enrich politics life in the city, based on active citizenship participation.

Finally, we must emphasize that this plan, thanks to its participative structure, fits in a very realistic way the necessities and expectations of young people in the city since all actions and objectives defined are the result of the job and proposals of the young people involved in the participative process.

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# AMERICA

## **BRAZIL**

On entering the 21st century, the Brazilian population stood at 180 million, with an increasing migratory movement from rural areas towards urban centers, which already hold over 80% of the population. The country has registered the smallest population growth rate for the last decade: 1.6% in 2000.

→ [http://www.brasil.gov.br/ingles/about\\_brazil/indicadores/cat\\_demo/categoria\\_view](http://www.brasil.gov.br/ingles/about_brazil/indicadores/cat_demo/categoria_view)

Maria Helena Santos

# Youngsters and the Building of New Images

*It's not the whole society that judges one of its members, but a social category in charge of the order that commands the other one which is meant to disorder. (Michel Foucault)*

**Summary** This article aims at reporting experiences with Brazilian youngsters who have been in trouble with the law as well as promoting a reflection about what is possible and can be done to change the life of this discriminated group. When meaningful cultural and educative spaces are offered, where the offenders are viewed as capable, new marks come up in these youngsters who used to be considered criminals.

*Key words: youth, culture, civil rights, education and insigias.*

Foucault (1987), in *Vigiar e Punir (Watch and Punish)*, while discussing the establishment of prison and its results, pointed out that delinquency is produced by the prison itself: “The proof that the prison fails in reducing the crime rate should be replaced by the hypothesis that the prison was able to produce delinquency (...) a way of producing criminals apparently marginalized, but centrally controlled; producing the criminal as a pathologic subject” (Foucault, 1987, p. 244).

The goal of this article is not to explore the theoretical aspects of delinquency but to show reflections that come from these subjects when they are treated like other young people. The focus will be on the non-formal education term used in Brazil. In European countries, it is called *socio-cultural animation*. The non-formal education is characterized by a different way of dealing with education, parallel to the school. It aims at a collaborative participation, using a free style, a more flexible and open way to what is unpredictable and new. It gathers the non-formal and informal learning systems, working in the building of more transgressive postures, actions,

## BRAZIL

The land area of Brazil extends over 8.5 million km<sup>2</sup>, occupying just under half (47%) of the area of Latin America. The country possesses 20% of all the world's biodiversity; an example of this natural wealth is the Amazon Rainforest, with 3.6 million km<sup>2</sup>. → [http://www.brasil.gov.br/ingles/about\\_brazil/overview/](http://www.brasil.gov.br/ingles/about_brazil/overview/)

thoughts and sensitivities (Ibidem, 2005, p. 9). It does not mean that the formal school has no creative actions. However, the non-formal education is not attached to the official grading regimen, which controls grades, attendance and methodologies in schools.

According to Waichman, “*the animation, as a way of fun, it is complementary to the school, specially as a voluntary activity or a choice where the participant generates life learning and not only learning related to the activity itself*” (Gillet, 2006, p. 30). Under this perspective, this study aims at contributing for the reflection about the possibilities of transformation in these young people’s lives, as well as about the results achieved through educational actions that have an artistic nature and that promote the developing of new paths and creative potentials.

Between 2004 and 2006, a project of Audiovisual Communication with youngsters was under my coordination. These young people belonged to an NGO (Non-Governmental Association) called *Associação Novolhar*.<sup>1</sup> This NGO had a deal with another institution called *Febem*<sup>2</sup> (Foundation for the Youngsters’ Well-Being) – a place where young people who have committed crimes stay under socio-educative measures through an internal regimen, that is, they lose their freedom. They can stay there for a period that goes from 3 months to 3 years.

The actions carried out by this NGO aimed at making these youngsters capable in the audiovisual communication area. A team of educators, formed by two art educators, a psychologist and myself – as the project coordinator and psychologist – carried out weekly workshops of audio and video with six groups of internal youngsters, each one formed by twenty of them. These activities took place during a period of four months.

### The Initial Contact with the Institution

The team used to meet at the NGO office to prepare the material: cameras, CDs, DVDs and books. After that, we would go to *Febem*. As it is a disciplinary institution, many difficulties arose to get inside the place. We were examined the way in and the way out, as well as the materials, which made us waste a long time. At *Febem*, there were difficulties to find room for our meetings with the

<sup>1</sup> The project Audiovisual Communication at *Febem* got a prize in 2006 from the Itaú Cultural/SP Institute at the program Routs: Education, Culture and Arts, as one of the five most meaningful projects in Brazil dealing with cultural interventions.

<sup>2</sup> Nowadays this institution is called Home Foundation (ex-*Febem*).

youngsters. The negotiation for a suitable place was constant. This way, some questions arose: Is it possible to build space for expressing oneself in a disciplinary institution? How to touch young people believed to be “dangerous” and “criminals” in an institution that contributes to the reproduction of violence?

### The Contact with the Youngsters and the Words Used

Our team considers that one of the first educational actions in an institution with these characteristics should be to view the youngster as a subject, looking at him and not at his crime. In the first moment, the youngsters were skeptical, helpless in relation to their life projects. One of them said, “*I’m in prison. I’ve lost everything, my family; I have nothing else to lose.*” Others greeted us without looking us in the eyes or shaking hands; they didn’t even say their names. They seemed lost in time and space, without an identity or a history. One said, “*Ma’am, which day is today?*” In the talks with the youngsters we noticed that they are smart, skillful, but they lack hope. Our listening should be attentive and sharp; they doubt that there are people who believe them and would invest in them. We heard one of them saying, “*You have a high level of education, ma’am, you can get a better job, why do you come here?*”

They call one another by their nicknames, which are based on the crimes they committed; for example, *Pedrinha* (Little Stone) – crack user –, *Latro* (Rob) – robbery; or they mention the place they live in, like “*The buddy from the South, North...*” It is not common for them to address one another by their names. Others who seemed more audacious approached us and, while they shook our hands, we could hear, “*What’s up, ma’am?*”

Another aspect that calls for attention is the fact that they use few words to communicate. In some cases, if nobody insists or provokes them, their speeches are monosyllabic. A speech when not listened to can mean nothing indeed. Sometimes, when we asked if they were all right, they said “*Yes and no, right, ma’am.*” For a while, a subject emerges to disappear right after. Another expression commonly used when they did not feel like participating in a workshop was “*I’m fed up.*”

It seems there is a kind of rigidity in the language they use. They diminish the possibilities of playing with words, of giving new meanings to them, of building new metaphors. We think it is important to insist in the use of words, of providing spaces to talk, getting out of the already established “yes and no.” The words need to move to get new meanings. Thus, it is necessary to believe in the importance of a space for words in order to give meaning to what seems meaningless. The word addressed to a subject leaves a mark on him, being able to open new possibilities once it recognizes him as willing and capable. There are moments in which it is necessary to get meanings even though the words seem meaningless. They can always be caught in the listening and, when covered by a silver lining, they can turn into a starting point, a hook for the narration of these young people’s life stories.

One of the team’s strategies was to make it clear to the youngsters that their participation in the activities was not compulsory and, in every meeting, the relation of trust between us grew. Some youngsters said important things like “you (in reference to the audiovisual team) *treat us like people, because here we are treated like animals.*” Therefore, at the same time that called these youngsters to invest in their creativity, it was also necessary to give them back their humanity and, mainly, to make them sensitive to their right to have rights. Being treated like animals cannot be naturalized or accepted as normal.

The youngsters told us about the constant physical violations they suffered at Febem. Vicentin (2005) points out that these contradictory processes of simultaneous expansion and lack of respect to the civil rights show the huge resistance against the growth of democracy in new dimensions of the Brazilian culture, among them the social relations, the everyday life and the body itself – highly tolerated object of interventions and violations. Moreover, the poor youngsters, especially those having trouble with the law, constantly suffer violations to their rights (tortures from the police and from the internship institutions) (Ibidem, p. 18).

For Arregui and Wanderley (2006), effective actions for defending and creating new rights are a good way of overcoming the growing violation of the human rights so as to advance in the juridical and political fights for the rights con-

cerning ecology and the environment, peace, gender relations and multiculturalism (Ibidem, p. 13).

### Physical Space Constitution

How to produce other images in groups marked with invisibility and carrying social humiliation feelings daily? How to establish social bonds with youngsters who suffer violence of their basic rights and lack of many things? How to build life projects for youngsters who are constantly exposed to violence?

If the non-formal education has the goal of producing changes, then it has the “obligation of providing different possibilities of open dialogues, in this perspective of building diverse, opposing, creative and bold thoughts” (Garcia, 2005, p. 40). The non-formal education brings many possibilities, such as the creation and sharing of knowledge brought by each individual, as well as the co-building and rebuilding of the discussions and happenings in the meetings. To make it possible, some articulate actions were necessary:

- We would begin by reading a poem, listening to a song (they were given the lyrics) or seeing a short film;
- The youngsters were invited to express their feelings about different issues: prejudice, social injustice, alcoholism, unemployment, musical styles, etc. and the topics were chosen by them<sup>3</sup>;

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The team of educators researched about the topics proposed by the youths in order to provide discussions about ethics. Otherwise, we ran the risk of always speaking from a moralist point of view. We believed that the dialogues should follow the path of the ethics and the human rights.

We would present them artistic languages different from those they were accustomed to. To get to rap, we would follow a musical path: blues, jazz and soul. We used pieces from art videos, animations and clips for them to notice different ways of communicating, broadening their cultural repertory and enriching the discussions about the proposed topics;

- We used books on arts, photography and literature;
- They wrote the plot, did the filming and recorded the fictional or documental stories and/or musical clips. We did not keep hierarchical relations;



- We also built with them a list of rules; our goal was to provide other relations mediated by the dialogue. At Febem, the violence and humiliation prevailed in the conflict solutions;
- We always encouraged their autonomy, decision-making and critical thinking since it is necessary to provide reflection by motivating them to ask questions.

### Methodology Unfolding and New Ways of Being

When the youngsters, as actors/authors involved in the audiovisual productions, saw themselves in their edited materials, they got surprised and said things like, “*Wow, I don’t believe I did this.*” They found themselves creative and capable, communicating to the camera what they thought, felt and wished for. In one of the videos, a youngster, acting as a reporter, interviewed other colleagues about their musical tastes. One of the boys said to the interviewer, “*What’s up, thief?*” The interviewer answered quickly, “*I’m not a thief, I’m a reporter.*” Thus, the camera marks the *other* with insignias, pointing to the possibility of other marks and constructions. When a youngster says, “*I’m a reporter,*” the marks “Febem” and “offender” give place to his *other*.

In the institutional and media discourses, the youngsters are defined as “offenders,” “boys from Febem.” As we carried out the experiences, we noticed that they wanted other marks and names that would make it possible to build new life projects and new ways of living. The youngsters showed critical thinking in their reading process about the means of communication. The spaces for self-expression can be used for questioning the inequalities instead of naturalizing them. At the lyrics of the song that was made into a clip, entitled *Television*, the youngsters sang: “You think you control it, but it controls you. Don’t be a fool! Turn off your TV” (Jovens de São Paulo, 2006).

Their production showed possibilities of a non-formal education. We observed physical changes: some stopped to look down and their gaze became more expressive. It breaks with social paradigms. Those who used to be considered criminals were able to question things about their youth. Thus, this

space is very relevant once it deals with language and thought. This is the place where they can name their wishes, feelings and sufferings. The audiovisual resource is an innovative tool through which the youngsters can communicate and show what they think, feel and wish for. It is a trespass space that guides them to the rebuilding of their history through transforming the words in images.

Therefore, it was possible to notice that those who lived this process wish to build social bonds, that is, wish to belong to the social nets, having access to culture, being unique. This paper aimed at showing these youngsters “as a social challenge and not as a social damage” (Vicentin, 2005, p. 40). The cultural actions can make it possible to provide changes in the individual and his environment. Nevertheless, these actions need to be associated to a fight for social justice, for a better distribution of the money, for equal rights and for the implementation of public policies for the youth. The cultural animation – the non-formal education – “is useful to the democratic system when it aims at transforming society” (Gillet, 2006 p. 35). The educators who participated in this process believe that.

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Edina Schimanski

# Gender, Environment and Development: Women's Social Inclusion through Community Participation

*This study reviews some important elements regarding gender, environment and patriarchal authority and the social construction of masculine and feminine conceptions in rural communities in Brazil. The main idea of this article is to emphasise the importance of constructing gender relations framed on democratic principles of critical participation through community development.*

In the last decades discussions regarding gender and environmental issues linked with the idea of sustainable development emerged in the international arena as part of globalization themes. Hence, ideas such as ecological and global citizenship, social justice and inclusion processes come out as innovative concepts in opposition to intolerance, discrimination and marginalization. From these ideas, some concerns related to the environment and globalization processes grounded on the notion of sustainable development aim at bringing about gender identity as an unconditional agenda to social policies. International requests assert women's role to promote environmental management endorsed by the notion of an environmental ethic. For instance, Agenda 21 is particularly clear in this regard when it supports the notion that women's participation is a precondition to sustainable development framed on principles of equity. Notwithstanding the magnificence of these views, it would be reasonable to ask: where do women stand on these processes? Is there any rhetorical sense in these proposals? Is it possible to increase women participation at local and global levels? What is the role of community development processes regarding gender inequalities?

## BRAZIL

On entering the 21st century, the Brazilian population stood at 180 million, with an increasing migratory movement from rural areas towards urban centers, which already hold over 80% of the population. The country has registered the smallest population growth rate for the last decade: 1.6% in 2000.

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Despite positive international efforts to reduce inequalities and the setting out of guidelines for social and ecological welfare, many women around the world are still living in precarious conditions. Recent history has shown that the promise of a democratic and fair world seems to have been overwhelmed by dominant structures of modern economies. In fact, most people around the world live in an “unsustainable world” (Huckle, 2001) and suffer from extreme privation. Not surprisingly, Huckle argues that the

*... root causes of unsustainable development lie in the way the world's economic, political and cultural systems are governed. People are not free and equal in determining the conditions of their own existence and therefore cannot realise their common interest in sustainable forms of development. (Huckle, 2001: 145)*

The consequences of living in an “unsustainable world” derive from lack of social justice and the widespread existence of inequity. Indeed, the concept of sustainability does not only have a connection with ideological factors or environmental issues but particularly with the difficulties people face in getting the material conditions needed for life. As Huckle rightly points out, people around the world

*... are living in ways that are ecologically, economically, socially, culturally and personally unsustainable. They urgently need an accountable, equitable and environmentally sustainable system of global governance and citizenship... (Huckle, 2001: 144)*

Citizenship and democracy are essential requirements for the improvement of people's quality of life. It is particularly necessary to see citizenship as being connected with social justice and thereby forming an essential pillar to uphold a real and concrete democracy. Thus, sustainability and sustainable development must be based on an intellectual and ideological project which seeks an equitable world. It must focus on concrete and real action towards citizenship through people's critical participation processes. On the one hand, the world has never before witnessed such a range of technological ad-

vances within “the global society.” On the other hand, many people have been suffering the consequences of centralised politics of exclusion from “the global world” in which large sectors of the population have not been allowed access to basic social and environmental resources in society. In this context, women's situation is especially fragile as pointed out at the Fourth World Conference on Women (UN, 1995):

*Women remain largely absent at all levels of policy formulation and decision-making in natural resource and environmental management, conservation, protection and rehabilitation and their experience and skills in advocacy for and monitoring of proper natural resource management too often remain marginalized in policy-making and decision-making bodies, as well as in educational institutions and environment-related agencies at the managerial level.*

In this context, gender relationships emerge as a serious matter in which women usually play a marginal position. In many countries, the condition of exclusion and poverty of many women deprives them from concrete participation in their communities. From this, it is important to state that women's full participation in their communities is crucial so that they can gain access to social resources that allow them to improve their living standards. Women's weak participation in decision making-processes occurs because they usually have little influence upon the forces which affect their lives in the community. From this, it could be argued that efforts to transform women's current conditions into concrete and more participative actions are far from achieving the objectives of promoting a sustainable world if they are not taking into consideration genuine policies of social inclusion and new forms of participation able to empower women at local and global levels towards a more equitable world.

In fact, gender inequality destabilizes the effectiveness of development policies framed on citizenship and human rights. Above all, in rural communities the contribution of women is not equal to men when it comes to planning and deciding strategies to change significantly social, economic and environmental quality. It is necessary to take into consideration

that in many cases women are responsible for the maintenance of their families. From this, it is indispensable to promote a participatory and emancipatory perspective of actions towards a more democratic and fair society in opposition to long-established ideologies imposed by traditional paradigms which are intrinsically imposed to women by families and communities.

### **The Subordination of Women in Rural Communities: a Brazilian Case**

For poor women, as is the case of many communities in Brazil, the idea of equality seems to be more a rhetorical approach than a tangible situation. Although it is important to mention that in the last years we have observed an increase of approaches from social programmes to deconstruct gender bias and active strategies to strengthen women's social inclusion in their communities. Nonetheless, in view of the fact that in general the Brazilian society is grounded on a male-oriented culture, the construction of gender concepts is framed on traditions that privilege men in relation to women. Particularly in rural communities the predominance of a masculine-oriented culture in opposition to a feminine identity seems to be reinforced by a powerful patriarchal authority that is constructed and legitimated within family relations. In addition, the poverty situation experienced by many groups of women can weaken significant voices and participation. In connection with the poverty situation and the deprived living conditions, many women face hostility and segregation in society in general and in their homes in particular.

In connection with poverty and deprivation, violence (e.g. physical, social and cultural) against women can be considered not only as an infringement of human rights but also as a social and environmental problem. The patriarchal structures and its consequences to rural families come out as a concrete issue despite the transformations regarding social life and family relations in the processes of globalization in modern society. Indeed, the traditionalist patriarchal power validates gender segregation from relationships supported by the authority of the father, brother or husband. In the case of rural zones, the strength of traditionalist relationships is legitimat-

ed by the power of men over women. As a consequence, in rural communities the subordination of women to men comes into view in a different way when compared to urban domestic life. In this context, violence against women comes from conflicts regarding gender and power relationships that emerge as a concrete social matter which, many times, is kept out of sight.

If we consider the spatial conditions in which rural zones are organized – the next-door neighbour is distant many miles – many peasant women are away from assistance and aid in cases of domestic violence. Frequently, social workers and other professionals who develop projects involving social and environmental development of community in rural areas identify problems related to power and marginalization concerning the subordination of women inside the structures of rural families.

### **Addressing Women's Participation in the Community**

Projects based on the development of community that support environmental and social perspectives cannot be recognized without recognizing women's participation as a way to face gender segregation. The conceptualisation of participation is broad and it varies according to the different paradigms used to interpret women's participation and community development strategies and goals. This study endorses the idea of developing in the community a critical approach to participation, which must take into consideration women's involvement in all spheres of their lives.

This means that it is necessary to create effective strategies to face poverty and subordination grounded on development and environment processes simultaneously, as an essential condition to create a sustainable world. Therefore, an important task is to encourage actions in the communities framed on deconstructing gender bias, which is an intrinsic matter in the structures of the identity of male and female roles in the community. The emancipation is generated as a product of democratic participation. The fact which must be faced is that the emancipation is the result of a critical and emancipatory process. More precisely, women can become emancipated when they are involved in public discussions and when they are able to

discuss problematic issues in an autonomous way. In particular, such circumstances are important bases for social justice and democratic emancipation. Social justice and emancipation are central characteristics for the promotion of women's rights and freedom.

In this context, it is important to reinforce the establishment of female groups to deal with problems regarding domestic and social affairs related to power conflicts and women's empowerment. The organization of women in groups (social movements) can be considered as an essential approach to female empowerment addressed to face inequalities regarding gender and power and the reconstruction of sexual identity in rural communities. Emancipatory female groups play a particular role in responding to problematic situations from social discrimination and exclusion.

As a result, women can acquire a richer understanding of global citizenship, social justice and equity. The idea of involving women in participation groups reinforces the notion that together they can overcome individual problems. As they are part of a group that shares common interests, they work in a collective process towards a more egalitarian and democratic society. In this sense, emancipatory female groups are able to produce:

- social strategies developed by women to denounce marginalization
- ability to deal with political struggles to overcome social injustice
- sustainable actions and ecological citizenship
- participatory and collaborative values to transform women's lives.

Recognizing the relevance of gender issues to environmental policies can produce a more sustainable society. Indeed, democratic principles through participatory actions can become concrete through community development since there would be more than enough participation of female groups in the community. The empowerment of female groups can be acknowledged as an essential approach to social inclusion.

Citizenship and democracy are essential requirements to improve people's quality of life. It is particularly necessary to see citizenship as being connected with social justice and thereby forming an essential pillar to uphold a real and concrete democracy. Reflecting on how women's participation in the community, and particularly women's groups, can contribute to bring changes is an urgent task if we want a different society with more social justice and more egalitarian conditions. Critical actions framed on participatory actions can be valuable strategies to empower women to examine and to change their lives in the local community. Consequently, it is of vital importance to enhance empowerment orientation and emancipatory actions. Emancipatory actions based on a critical perspective best exemplify the way to deconstruct the dominant ideology through women's empowerment so as to produce a counter-hegemonic discourse capable of bringing about social changes.

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Evelyne Baillergeau

**CANADA**

Canada and the United States share the world's longest undefended border, co-operate on military campaigns and exercises, and are each other's largest trading partners. Canada has nevertheless maintained an independent foreign policy, most notably maintaining full relations with Cuba and declining to participate in the Iraq War. Canada also maintains historic ties to the United Kingdom and France and to other former British and French colonies through Canada's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations and La Francophonie.  
→ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canada>

## Proximité et intégration sociale. Les enjeux de l'intervention sociale de quartier

Depuis les années 1990, dans de nombreux pays riches, une attention particulière est portée à la concentration de la pauvreté et de l'exclusion sociale dans certains quartiers dits « défavorisés », « en crise », « sensibles », etc. Dans ces quartiers, toutes sortes de programmes émanant des pouvoirs publics ont été lancés en vue de « revaloriser », de « redynamiser » ces quartiers : amélioration des conditions d'habitation, prévention de l'échec scolaire, accompagnement au retour à l'emploi des chômeurs de longue durée, développement de la vie sociale dans un contexte de fragilisation du lien social, etc. Ce texte porte plus particulièrement sur ce dernier aspect. Dans de nombreux quartiers « en crise », divers intervenants ont désormais pour mission de promouvoir le lien social à l'échelle du quartier, de rompre l'isolement des habitants, de favoriser les contacts entre voisins, de développer une vie sociale dans les espaces collectifs de quartier, etc. Pour tenter d'enrayer le processus d'exclusion sociale dans lequel vivent une bonne part des habitants des quartiers dits en crise, certains intervenants conçoivent et mettent en œuvre des activités d'animation à caractère social, de médiation ou de mobilisation afin d'aider les personnes à reprendre des prises sur leur propre inscription dans le tissu social.

Ces missions, rassemblées ici sous le terme d'intervention sociale de quartier, ne sont pas sans évoquer les principes qui irriguent, dans de nombreux pays, des pratiques d'intervention sociale de type « communautaire ». Les principes de l'organisation communautaire et de l'éducation populaire se sont diffusés au

cours du XIXe et du XXe siècle en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. A partir des années 1920, certains auteurs américains ont cherché à montrer l'importance de la vie sociale pour l'épanouissement de l'être humain (Dewey, 1916) et l'intérêt de mettre au point des méthodes d'intervention pour favoriser le développement d'activités collectives (Lindeman, 1921). Ces idées se sont particulièrement développées en Amérique du Nord mais aussi en Amérique Latine où elles ont donné corps à la « pédagogie des opprimés » (Freire, 1974). Aux Pays-Bas et au Québec en particulier, l'organisation communautaire constitue le socle d'un savoir-faire professionnel spécifique qui s'est développé à partir des années 1960. Depuis les années 1970, les organisateurs communautaires néerlandais et québécois ont été intégrés au monde de l'intervention sociale mandatée par les pouvoirs publics et ils sont, le plus souvent, chargés de favoriser la participation des citoyens à la vie de la cité et à favoriser le développement associatif en vue d'apporter des réponses aux problèmes vécus par les citoyens avec le soutien des pouvoirs publics. Pour ce faire, les organisateurs communautaires peuvent se poser en catalyseurs de dynamiques collectives dans des milieux où elles ont peine à s'épanouir spontanément mais il leur arrive aussi d'agir en tant que médiateurs lors de situations conflictuelles, entre citoyens et pouvoirs publics par exemple. Dans l'organisation communautaire néerlandaise, la notion de « communauté » est principalement entendue au sens territorial: au sens du quartier, de la communauté de vie en situation de proximité spatiale, le plus souvent dans des quartiers dits défavorisés sur le plan économique et sur le plan social. Au Québec, cette dimension territoriale est également présente mais non exclusive. Cette présentation de l'organisation communautaire permet de mettre en évidence quelques liens de parenté avec l'intervention sociale de quartier. En effet, les mandats qui encadrent l'intervention sociale de quartier sont généralement liés à une approche collective – ou communautaire – de l'intervention sociale, au-delà de

la relation d'individu à individu, ou d'individu à famille, voire même au-delà de la relation de groupe. De plus, ce type d'intervention repose sur l'implication directe des personnes concernées dans la résolution des problèmes sociaux qu'ils rencontrent.

Basée sur l'idée de proximité, l'intervention sociale de quartier vise à faire de la revalorisation des quartiers un outil d'intégration sociale pour des personnes en marge de la société: chômeurs de longue durée, jeunes en situation d'échec scolaire, migrants, etc. En cela, les pratiques liées à l'intervention sociale de quartier réveillent d'intenses débats: est-ce que le quartier est une échelle pertinente pour l'intégration sociale des populations en marge de la société? Est-ce parce que l'on vit au même endroit, dans le même immeuble, ou parce que l'on fréquente les mêmes parcs publics, que l'on a quelque chose en commun? A la suite des travaux menés au cours des années d'essor de la planification urbaine (Van Doorn, 1955; Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970), certains auteurs ont montré que les programmes de revalorisation de quartier supposent souvent que les habitants des quartiers concernés ont quelque chose en commun du simple fait qu'ils vivent les uns à côté des autres et qu'ils sont attachés à leur quartier, ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas (Blokland, 2003; Duyvendak, 1999; Veldboer & Keinhans, 2000). Certains auteurs montrent aussi que la notion de quartier ou de communauté au sens territorial est ambiguë: il peut y avoir des divergences notables entre la façon dont les quartiers sont définis dans les programmes (pouvoirs publics, promoteurs, développeurs) et le vécu des habitants (Authier et al., 2007). Il s'agit donc, dans ces programmes, de promouvoir la participation mais selon un cadre prédéterminé et inadéquat, ce qui pose problème au niveau des valeurs des intervenants (en opposition avec l'objectif d'émancipation) mais aussi un problème d'efficacité pour ceux qui entendent répondre aux besoins des populations vulnérables. On peut alors se demander: que faire de ces critiques? Comment promouvoir une participation

qui corresponde aux attentes des habitants des quartiers en cours de revalorisation ? Quelles sont les pratiques qui s'inscrivent dans le champ de l'intervention sociale de quartier qui évitent ces écueils tout en se basant sur des rapports de proximité à travers une approche territoriale ? Voici quelques résultats de recherches visant à identifier de telles pratiques dans quelques pays d'Europe et d'Amérique du Nord (Baillergeau, 2007a et 2007b).

D'une manière générale, ce sont des pratiques qui partent des aspirations des habitants. Pour ce faire, les praticiens commencent par un travail d'enquête sur le terrain ou répondent à des sollicitations des habitants, que ce soit des initiatives d'animation en faveur de la vie sociale du quartier ou que ce soit des plaintes liées à des conflits de voisinage qu'ils ne parviennent pas à résoudre par eux-mêmes. Les pratiques visent donc à résoudre des problèmes vécus par les habitants. Dans certains cas, il s'agit de problèmes de cohabitation, par exemple entre des personnes âgées et des jeunes, ou entre des personnes qui ont des problèmes de santé mentale et d'autres qui n'en ont pas. Il peut aussi s'agir d'opposition d'habitants à des projets qui leur posent problème, par exemple lors de l'implantation de ressources pour venir en aide à des toxicomanes (réactions de type NIMBY), mais aussi parfois lors de la conversion de logements sociaux en logements privés de haute gamme. Pour traiter ces questions, il s'agit d'organiser la participation des habitants en leur apportant les ressources nécessaires, comme par exemple la formation de médiateurs bénévoles dans le cas de règlements de conflits de voisinage, ou des méthodes d'organisation collective pour permettre aux habitants d'aller porter leurs revendications auprès des pouvoirs publics. Dans ces pratiques, le voisinage apparaît donc comme un levier d'intervention.

Quelle est la portée de ces pratiques en termes de développement social ? Au niveau individuel, il s'agit de développer des compétences de médiation ou plus gé-

néralement de développer ses capacités à créer et à entretenir des liens sociaux de natures diverses. Au niveau collectif, il s'agit d'apprendre à surmonter les images préconçues que l'on peut avoir d'autrui. Ce sont des compétences qui sont développées à l'appui de problématiques liées à un quartier mais qui ne sont pas intrinsèquement liées au quartier et qui peuvent donc être utilisables en dehors de la sphère du quartier, dans d'autres pans de la vie sociale des habitants concernés. Cela dit, ces pratiques apparaissent souvent comme un préalable nécessaire, pour régler des problèmes qui entravent la cohésion nécessaire à l'émergence d'une vie sociale. Une fois ces entraves levées, que se passe-t-il ? C'est souvent là que le bât blesse. Ces pratiques innovantes reposent sur le savoir-faire et sur l'ingéniosité d'intervenants qui sont suffisamment ancrés dans les territoires pour appréhender avec précision les dynamiques sociales à l'œuvre et s'appuyer sur des relations de confiance avec les habitants dans leur grande diversité. Or l'ancrage des intervenants est souvent remis en question aujourd'hui.

Sous la poussée des exigences de la « rationalisation » des pratiques sociales, les intervenants en poste dans des associations de quartier subventionnées par les pouvoirs publics sont, aux Pays-Bas comme au Québec, de plus en plus incités à travailler sur des territoires plus vastes où il est difficile de maintenir une connaissance très fine des dynamiques sociales dans un contexte de fragilisation des liens sociaux. Par ailleurs, aux Pays-Bas, les organisateurs communautaires sont de plus en plus remplacés par de nouveaux intervenants dont les pratiques s'inscrivent dans la perspective de l'organisation communautaire mais dont le profil est souvent bien différent de celui des premières cohortes d'organiseurs communautaires, recrutés dans les années 1970 et 1980 : ils sont généralement recrutés à un niveau de qualification moindre, les missions qui leur sont confiées sont plus parcellaires et leur statut professionnel est plus précaire. Il y a donc, de fait, une réduction des leviers d'action dis-



ponibles pour les praticiens qui se sont spécialisés dans ce type d'intervention sociale et qui, désormais, se trouvent souvent cantonnés dans la mise en œuvre de projets définis en d'autres sphères. Dans ce contexte, il apparaît souvent que seuls les intervenants forts d'une longue expérience sont en mesure de maintenir le cap vers des pratiques ambitieuses en termes d'émancipation des publics (ou du moins offrant de réelles opportunités de développement social aux habitants des quartiers populaires en fonction des attentes exprimées par ces derniers). Au Québec, la réduction des leviers d'action est également perceptible mais les pratiques des intervenants communautaires demeurent ambitieuses en termes de développement social. D'autre part, le contexte québécois offre une plus grande ouverture aux nouvelles pratiques en termes de développement professionnel. Pour surmonter ce contexte difficile, il appartient aux praticiens qui s'inscrivent dans le champ de l'intervention sociale de quartier de mettre au débat collectif les difficultés qu'ils rencontrent et les stratégies qu'ils mettent en œuvre pour y répondre.

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Augustin Ependa, Patrice LeBlanc, Ina Motoi, Micheline Potvin

## CANADA

Le Canada est aujourd'hui une monarchie constitutionnelle à régime parlementaire, se définissant comme une nation bilingue et multiculturelle; l'anglais et le français sont, à statut égal, les langues officielles. Nation industrialisée et technologiquement avancée, son économie diversifiée repose principalement sur l'abondance de ses ressources naturelles et sur le commerce effectué en grande partie avec les États-Unis, pays avec lequel perdure une relation complexe depuis les temps coloniaux et les débuts de la Confédération. → <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canada>

# Processus collectifs et leadership territorial

Dans les régions de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue et du nord du Québec, au Canada, l'Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue (l'UQAT) offre depuis plusieurs années des formations en intervention auprès des groupes et en développement local et régional. Mais au cours des dernières années, il est devenu difficile de recruter des candidats et des candidates pour ces programmes. Témoins de cette situation et des changements qui ont lieu dans ces régions, quatre professeur-e-s ont décidé d'implanter un nouveau programme de deuxième cycle intitulé *Processus collectifs et leadership territorial*. C'est la réflexion qui a conduit à la conception de ce programme qui sera présentée dans ce texte.

## 1. L'Abitibi-Témiscamingue : un territoire nordique en profonde mutation

L'UQAT se retrouve sur un grand territoire de 57 340 km<sup>2</sup> dans le nord-est du Québec qui abrite en 2005 1,9 % de la population du Québec (145 097 habitants).

Depuis une dizaine d'années, de nouveaux phénomènes démographiques apparaissent: vieillissement de la population, mouvements migratoires, perte de personnes au profit d'autres régions et baisse du taux de natalité. Comme dans bien des régions périphériques des villes canadiennes, l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue connaît ainsi une certaine décroissance de sa population.

Il y a aussi l'avènement de nouveaux phénomènes enclenchés par la mondialisation et sa logique économique: surexploitation et rareté de plus en plus ressentie de certaines ressources dont la forêt, dégradation des lacs, étouffement de l'environnement et de l'agriculture régionale, désertification du territoire, compétition féroce et fuite des emplois par la fermeture d'usines et de fermes, isolement politique, concentration spatiale des services, mise en application de pratiques mur-à-mur, structuration en grands ensembles par des fusions municipales et des fusions d'établissements, ainsi que création de mégacompagnies, etc.

Dans ce contexte, plusieurs nouveaux besoins se font ressentir: établissement d'une distinction essentielle entre profit à n'importe quel

prix et besoins humains, décentralisation de la gouvernance et des décisions, exigence d'un contrôle local des ressources naturelles, développement d'une gestion intégrée du territoire.

De plus, de «vieux» besoins sont plus d'actualité que jamais : faire entendre une voix régionale forte, ne plus mendier des subventions, affirmer son rapport collectif au territoire sous forme d'identité, s'enraciner dans un héritage historique spécifique et créer des emplois.

## 2. Le local se positionne par rapport au global

Tous ces éléments exercent une influence déterminante sur le niveau de vie de la population et sur l'organisation du territoire. Ils rendent incontournable le positionnement du local par rapport au global. D'où l'importance de former des intervenantes et des intervenants qui tiennent compte de toutes les personnes et mouvances du milieu. En effet, la région a besoin de leaders territoriaux visionnaires et bâtisseurs, capables d'animer des processus de réflexion et d'action, d'analyser des processus collectifs et des dilemmes récurrents, de créer des réseaux d'entraide et de proximité axés sur la densité affective et l'intentionnalité, de réinventer sur les bases existantes des outils de survie et de prise en charge capables de regrouper les citoyens actifs et les citoyennes actives en vue de poursuivre un développement soutenable.

Pour ceci, nous avons besoin de comprendre collectivement (Croat, 2006) ce qu'on fait pour améliorer les conditions de vie des citoyens et citoyennes de cette région du Québec. Deux questions importantes se posent :

1. Comment s'exerce le pouvoir territorial en Abitibi-Témiscamingue ?
2. Quelle est la relation entre les différentes approches d'intervention mises en mouvement sur ce territoire ?

Répondre à la première question ne peut se faire sans identifier les différentes sortes de pouvoir (politique, économique, social, citoyen) qui s'exercent en Abitibi-Témiscamingue et qui forment une dynamique de pouvoir territorial avec un axe décisionnel hiérarchisé de haut en bas et un axe horizontal de concertation-collaboration. Il est nécessaire de se situer à l'intérieur de cette dynamique pour agir de façon éclairée.

En ce qui concerne la deuxième question, tous n'ont pas la même conception de l'intervention, ce qui influe sur leurs valeurs et leurs stra-

tégies d'action. Souvent des tensions (Croat, 2006, p. 40) existent entre différentes approches, notamment entre :

- Une *approche traditionnelle* (s'exerçant du haut vers le bas de façon hiérarchisée selon une vision mur-à-mur et ne s'articulant pas par rapport à la spécificité locale) et une *approche communautaire* (s'exerçant du bas vers le haut et qui vise un processus de prise en charge locale à partir de besoins spécifiques identifiés localement) ;
- Une *approche à court terme* ne mettant pas l'accent sur une prévision de l'après-intervention et une *approche durable* visant le long terme, le suivi du processus déclenché et une finalité souvent d'ordre qualitatif ;
- Une *approche étroite* visant un seul problème ou une unique dimension et une *approche globale* qui fait le lien entre différents problèmes ou différentes dimensions, ou bien entre les causes et les effets ;
- Une *approche transversale* (prenant en compte surtout la concertation-collaboration entre services dans un même secteur d'activité et proposant des solutions pour des clientèles spécifiques) et une *approche processus* qui part de la base citoyenne et chemine vers le haut, travaillant avec les gens, considérés comme des citoyens et des citoyennes, et non pas pour eux.

Etre un leader territorial est un acte complexe. Répondre aux deux questions, permet de savoir comment se positionner dans cette dynamique de pouvoir et de tensions. Appréhender les relations qui forgent cette dynamique dans le temps est essentiel pour construire sa propre vision individuelle et participer à la construction d'une vision collective et dépasser le sentiment collectif d'impuissance.

## 3. Un programme universitaire visant la construction d'un espace de réflexion

En réponse à cette nouvelle conjoncture, le Module de travail social de l'UQAT a conçu un nouveau programme de deuxième cycle, Processus collectifs et leadership territorial, rassemblant les perspectives, les domaines d'expertise et les outils d'intervention de trois disciplines différentes : de l'Inter-

vention auprès des groupes (animation), du Développement local et régional et du Travail social en ce qui concerne l'Intervention sociale auprès des collectivités (prise en charge des besoins par une pratique réflexive).

L'objectif principal de ce nouveau programme vise l'appropriation par les étudiants et les étudiantes d'une logique commune territorialisée qui facilitera l'action pour un avenir collectif viable. Pour ceci, plusieurs objectifs spécifiques sont mis de l'avant :

- Identifier et actualiser les liens entre l'apprentissage collectif, les méthodes d'animation socioéconomiques, les approches communautaires et les trajectoires d'engagement face aux problématiques locales.
- Analyser et évaluer les dynamiques territoriales pour mieux saisir les stratégies nécessaires au partage des différents pouvoirs.
- Apprendre à intervenir comme citoyens et citoyennes responsables du développement durable de leur territoire et de leurs communautés.

Nous voulons nous donner ainsi un *espace local de réflexion critique et pratique* afin d'apprendre ensemble à animer, à construire et à prendre en charge les processus collectifs et les dilemmes qui persistent dans le groupe, la communauté, le territoire, l'entreprise, etc. Donc, nous outiller pour comprendre ce qui se passe et faciliter le développement d'une pensée stratégique qui visera la dynamisation dans le long terme des petites communautés.

#### 4. Une pratique réflexive

Dans ce contexte socioéconomique mouvant que nous vivons en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, nous rencontrons des situations et des enjeux de plus en plus complexes qui ne se prêtent plus à une logique binaire qui fait qu'une seule façon de saisir la réalité puisse prédominer, celle qui exclut les autres, au nom de sa légitimité ou de sa force. C'est pourquoi une rupture avec cette vision statique est nécessaire. Pour cela, notre pratique se doit d'être réflexive et ainsi être remise continuellement en question.

Cette « nouvelle » façon d'intervenir socialement reconnaît les contradictions, les tensions et les dilemmes. Elle permet de faire des choix

éclairés et d'agir par rapport à ce qui est en mouvement. Il faut ainsi apprendre à apprendre à assumer notre responsabilité citoyenne comme implication critique, à construire notre pratique par rapport à notre territoire et à édifier notre rapport au territoire par notre pratique.

Il faut en conséquence transformer l'expérience en savoir, en savoir expérientiel (Racine, 1997) et forger des outils théoriques et conceptuels ainsi que des modèles d'action qui nous facilitent une mainmise du territoire. Il faut faciliter un aller-retour individuel et collectif entre la pratique et la réflexion, voire la théorisation et la modélisation

<sup>1</sup> Bateson, 1972, p.449 parle de l'importance de faire la distinction entre la carte et le territoire (the map is not the territory), comme Alfred Korzybsky l'avait souligné précédemment.

de la réalité, et se donner ainsi des cartes<sup>1</sup> théoriques qui indiquent des chemins nouveaux sur le terrain de l'animation et de l'intervention. En définitive, on doit prendre le pouvoir théorique et le faire devenir pouvoir citoyen.

Exercer ainsi le leadership territorial comme construction d'un processus d'apprentissage collectif à plusieurs temps (dialogue, réflexion, action, concertation, médiation) permet de prendre individuellement et collectivement le pouvoir de donner du sens aux actions posées et les planifier. Il faut prendre conscience de l'importance du savoir-être pour vivre le territoire comme *espace commun* habité par des relations de proximité et donc, en faciliter l'occupation (Bouchard 2006).

Pour amorcer la méthode de la pratique réflexive, nous posons deux concepts-clés au cœur de cette démarche : le concept de *dilemme* et celui de *processus collectif*.

Il est essentiel de passer d'une méthode d'intervention sociale axée sur l'identification de problèmes et de leur résolution à une méthode qui prend en considération la complexité socio-politico-économique qui se manifeste par des processus à long terme, là où des prémisses contradictoires<sup>2</sup> demeurent sous forme de tensions devenant des *dilemmes*<sup>3</sup> difficiles à résoudre ou à trancher.

<sup>2</sup> Inspiré du Larousse (1993).

<sup>3</sup> La théorie des jeux met en évidence les dilemmes, comme le dilemme du prisonnier, devenu célèbre.

Comment construire du sens à partir d'un dilemme ? Sa complexité a besoin de temps, du long terme et une décision n'allégera pas nécessairement la situation, ni les difficultés et impasses rencontrées dans la pratique. Notre façon de réfléchir s'accommode à vivre avec des tensions

Comment construire du sens à partir d'un dilemme ? Sa complexité a besoin de temps, du long terme et une décision n'allégera pas nécessairement la situation, ni les difficultés et impasses rencontrées dans la pratique. Notre façon de réfléchir s'accommode à vivre avec des tensions

et des contradictions qui ne se laissent pas simplifier et qui persistent. La diversité des options disponibles et la pluralité des façons de voir une même situation font que l'analyse doit être stratégiquement axée sur l'apprentissage du fait de vivre ensemble et non sur les positions<sup>4</sup> qui pourraient être diamétralement opposées.

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C'est l'approche de la médiation communautaire transformative préconisée par Ury, W. & Roger Fisher.

Un *processus collectif* est une suite de situations ou d'étapes qui ne forment pas nécessairement une trajectoire rectiligne. Ce concept permet de prendre en compte une dynamique spatiale ou systémique qui chemine dans le temps, sa dimension fondamentale. Le processus se caractérise par son ambivalence (Maheu, Louis dans Guay, 2005) inhérente, puisque les éléments contradictoires le composant sont à la recherche d'un équilibre homéostatique.

Les processus collectifs existent depuis longtemps, qu'ils soient manifestes ou virtuels, de construction de savoirs locaux, de prise de décision collective, d'attachement collectif, de réflexion ou d'action collective, etc. Ils se développent dans des contextes favorables ou défavorables, menaçants ou menacés, etc.

### Conclusion

Pour que le local se positionne par rapport au global en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, qui est un territoire nordique en profonde mutation, il faudrait former des leaders territoriaux dotés d'une vision du territoire qui leur permet de mettre en action une pratique réflexive agissante pour rendre le territoire viable.

Le nouveau programme universitaire de deuxième cycle *Processus collectifs et leadership territoriaux* se propose de donner aux étudiants-citoyens et aux étudiantes-citoyennes les outils pour intervenir dans les modèles collectifs de construction et de conciliation de l'identité, de la pluralité, de l'altérité et du bien commun. L'implantation de ce programme se trouve actuellement à l'étape de la consultation des leaders territoriaux pour y intégrer leur réflexion sur le sujet.

Dès cette étape du programme, nous développerons des moyens et des stratégies pour favoriser l'appropriation et la valorisation des apprentissages collectifs et développer des compétences « méta » propres au travail collectif: animation, coordination, planification, évaluation, négociation, argumentation, confrontation, médiation, etc. Donc, nous

apprenons à accorder les intérêts divergents ou convergents, confrontationnels ou participatifs et à regarder autrement, globalement, en faisant des liens intégratifs entre différents domaines: l'économie, l'emploi, la gouvernance, la gestion des ressources naturelles, la culture humaine, les relations, les services sociaux, etc.

Cette construction collective sous forme de programme universitaire, nous l'espérons, mettra des nouveaux éléments en interaction: un sens commun partagé, une appartenance collective, des valeurs collectives, une mémoire collective, des comportements de communication pertinents aux nouveaux besoins, un sentiment d'être créatrices/créateurs de soi-même et de son devenir, etc. N'est-ce pas cela le rôle de l'université?

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Raymond Laprée

**CANADA**

La Constitution canadienne reconnaît trois peuples autochtones distincts : les Premières nations (Indiens), les Métis (d'origine autochtone et européenne à la fois) et les Inuit (les gens de l'Arctique). De nos jours, la population autochtone du Canada, dont la croissance est de près du double de celle de la population en général, intervient pour environ 3% de tous les Canadiens, soit approximativement 790 000 personnes. De ce nombre, quelque 69% font partie des Premières nations, 26%, des Métis et 5%, des Inuit. → <http://www.international.gc.ca/canada-europa/germany/aboutcanada09-fr.asp>

## L'engagement communautaire développé chez les élèves du Québec

Un service scolaire, peut-être inédit dans le monde, a fait son apparition en 2001 au Québec : le service d'animation spirituelle et d'engagement communautaire (SASEC). Nous allons exposer les raisons de sa venue, les objectifs éducatifs auxquels il correspond et la méthode de travail de ceux qui y œuvrent. Nous terminerons par un bref état de la recherche dans ce domaine.

Depuis la « Révolution tranquille », moment historique au Québec (les années 1960), la société se déconfessionnalise dans ses institutions publiques, jadis largement détenues et administrées par des religieux, religieuses et clercs, majoritairement catholiques. Le système scolaire, dernier de peloton, est récemment entré dans cette transformation et l'année 2008 marquera la fin de sa laïcisation par l'implantation d'un nouveau programme déconfessionnalisé d'éthique et de

culture religieuse pour tout élève du primaire et du secondaire. La disparition de l'animation pastorale (dans les écoles catholiques) ou de l'animation religieuse (dans les écoles protestantes) a donné lieu, en 2001, à la création d'une profession devant servir avec une égale disponibilité les étudiants de toute identité religieuse, dans le but de les aider à « approfondir leur vie intérieure » et à « changer le monde<sup>1</sup> ». Les élèves participent tout à fait volontairement aux activités offertes par ces nouveaux éducateurs. Regroupés depuis 2002 au sein de l'Association professionnelle des animateurs et animatrices de vie spirituelle et d'engagement communautaire du Québec (APAVECQ : <http://www.apavecq.qc.ca>), on les nomme familièrement les AVSEC. Leur nombre est d'environ 650 et ils desservent près de 2 000 000 d'élèves fréquentant 3 000 écoles primaires et secondaires.

1

Le cadre ministériel Pour approfondir sa vie intérieure et changer le monde (2005) définit ainsi les deux termes majeurs du service : vie spirituelle, « démarche individuelle située dans une collectivité, qui s'enracine dans les questions fondamentales du sens de la vie et qui tend vers la construction d'une vision de l'existence cohérente et mobilisatrice, en constante évolution » (p. 32); engagement communautaire, « contribution de l'individu à la vie collective fondée sur la reconnaissance de la valeur et de la dignité des personnes et orientée vers la construction d'une société plus harmonieuse et plus solidaire » (p. 34).

Les AVSEC aident à concrétiser dans la vie scolaire la mission des éco-lyants ayant, entre autres mandats, à veiller à l'épanouissement des élèves par leur socialisation et à leur «faciliter le cheminement spirituel»<sup>2</sup>.

Développer une conscience sociale et une conscience spirituelle chez les élèves est donc devenu le double champ d'activités de ces animateurs et animatrices. Avec eux, les élèves volontaires s'engagent dans des actions qui, par exemple, édifient une société harmonieuse et solidaire, aussi bien localement qu'internationalement (donc qui développent leur conscience sociale); puis, par un retour réflexif sur ces mêmes actions, les élèves s'éveillent aux motifs et aux justifications qui découlent de leur vision personnelle et individuelle de l'existence (développant une vie spirituelle autonome et responsable). En bref, ils apprennent à nourrir leur vie spirituelle de leurs engagements communautaires, et inversement.

<sup>2</sup> Cette incise a fait son apparition en 2000, lors de retouches à la Loi sur l'Instruction publique, article 36.

Le SASEC fait partie d'un ensemble de quatre services complémentaires offerts aux écoles<sup>3</sup>. Une première catégorie, les services de soutien, doit aider les élèves à réussir en classe; une seconde, les services d'aide à l'élève, doit aider principalement à long terme à planifier leur formation professionnelle; une troisième, les services de promotion et de prévention, doit développer de saines habitudes de vie; et une quatrième, les services de vie scolaire où loge le SASEC, est axée sur le développement de l'autonomie de l'élève. Le travail des AVSEC s'y taille une place originale en devenant une sorte de «laboratoire de vie» où les élèves expérimentent sens de l'existence et solidarité humaine. Parfois l'AVSEC proposera aux écoles des projets généraux, que celles-ci adapteront localement, avec son aide ; en d'autres cas, les écoles lui formuleront des demandes spécifiques et l'AVSEC élaborera un projet qui colle à ces demandes. Par exemple, il s'agira de réduire la violence dans une école ou de vivre le deuil collectif d'un élève décédé.

<sup>3</sup> Direction de l'adaptation scolaire et des services complémentaires, 2002, Les services éducatifs complémentaires : essentiels à la réussite.

Dans l'exécution de son travail, l'AVSEC peut s'inspirer de l'«approche centrée sur l'action» (voir le schéma du cadre ministériel, 2005) présentée dans son programme. Ce processus distingue méthodologiquement le SASEC de l'enseignement fait en classe.

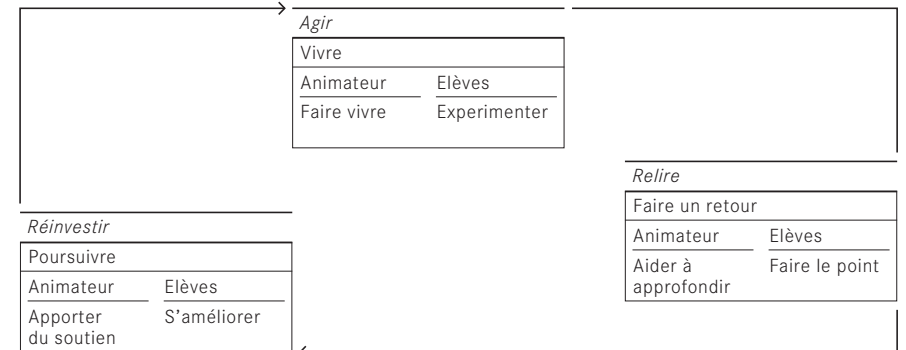


Fig. 1: Approche centrée sur l'action

Dans cette approche, l'AGIR vient en premier. On attend de l'AVSEC qu'il crée un environnement qui suscite l'intérêt, éveille et sensibilise les élèves à une expérience de vie spirituelle ou d'engagement communautaire adaptée à leur âge et au contexte de l'école. L'élève, pour sa part, observe, prend conscience, explore, découvre, expérimente en compagnie de l'animateur grâce à l'activité mise en marche.

Mais le travail de l'AVSEC va plus loin que l'unique organisation des activités. Il doit veiller à lancer la phase du RELIRE qui comprend deux étapes: celle du constat et celle de l'approfondissement des significations. Dans la première étape, qui consiste à rassembler les faits vécus, il peut soulever des questions comme «Qu'avons-nous fait pour atteindre le but de notre activité?», «Comment vous êtes-vous sentis?», «Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé quand nous avons fait cela?». Puis vient la seconde étape, celle de l'approfondissement qui consiste à rendre signifiants les faits et les ressentis en élargissant les constats: «Qu'est-ce que tout cela signifie?», «Quel sens prend cette expérience dans TA propre vision de la vie?», «Crois-tu avoir été honnête avec toi-même? Avec les autres? As-tu éprouvé des difficultés à faire ce retour?»

Cette réflexion étant faite, l'«approche centrée sur l'action» franchit sa dernière phase, le RÉINVESTIR dans une nouvelle expérience de vie. Aucun processus spécifique n'est encore proposé aux AVSEC pour articuler cette étape. Du moins s'agit-il d'une opération de planification concrète des prochaines occasions où l'élève se trouvera dans une situation semblable à l'expérience qu'il vient de vivre: prévoir faire encore ce qu'il estime avoir réussi, et changer certains comportements, attitudes ou valeurs dont il aimerait dorénavant baigner son action.

Un groupe de travail du ministère de l'Éducation a recensé les méthodes de travail des AVSEC et leurs pratiques et activités et les a classées en une quinzaine de catégories<sup>4</sup>; d'abord,

- les allégories, contes et histoires
- la discussion et le débat
- l'enquête collective
- les contacts avec la nature ou avec une œuvre artistique
- la participation à des comités ou à des groupes
- les jeux, simulations, jeux de rôles
- les manifestations
- l'usage de symboles, analogies, rites
- les témoignages aux autres
- les visites en des lieux signifiants;

4

On trouve l'énumération complète de ces méthodes de travail à l'adresse <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/DGFJ/csc/asec/sessions.html>

et d'autres catégories plus adaptées au RELIRE:

- la stimulation par le questionnement, par l'usage de grilles d'analyse
- le journal de bord et le portfolio
- le cercle de partage
- le rêve éveillé
- la danse et le mime, la musique et la chanson
- quelques autres processus plus élaborés, dont la Psychagogie des valeurs (Laprée, 2000), l'Insight (Lonergan, 1996), la métacognition<sup>5</sup>.

5

Consulter la revue *Virage*, vol. 7 no 5, juin 2005, intitulée «Comprendre la métacognition», ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.

Illustrons deux de ces modes d'intervention, pour mieux concevoir l'étendue du travail. Dans la catégorie «Faire des enquêtes», une application possible serait d'enquêter dans son milieu (école, famille, municipalité) sur la présence des arbres dans le quartier. Un autre exemple concernant «le contact avec la nature» pourrait consister à se rendre dans un boisé à l'écart de la circulation et à expérimenter en silence tout ce qui y est à écouter, sentir et à ressentir comme une symbiose entre soi et cet environnement. Le premier cas vise la conscience sociale et le second, la conscience spirituelle.

6

Toute l'approche centrée sur l'action se résume donc aux deux fonctions majeures suivantes<sup>6</sup>:

Adaptation de la fiche 4 d'information sur le SASEC, <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/dgfj/csc/asec/fiches.html>

- A) Par l'engagement communautaire, faire naître et se développer une conscience sociale des élèves imprégnée des valeurs de convivialité, de dialogue, d'honnêteté, de tolérance, de respect, d'entraide, de responsabilité, de service, d'amitié, d'altruisme, de paix, de participation, de justice, de compassion, de solidarité, pour construire une société plus harmonieuse et plus solidaire;
- B) Par le vécu spirituel, faire naître et se développer une conscience existentielle des élèves portant les valeurs d'amour, d'espérance, de confiance, de dignité, de persévérance, de courage de vivre, de dépassement, d'intériorité, de bonheur, de sagesse, de vérité, de quête, de créativité, afin qu'ils construisent une vision cohérente et mobilisatrice de leur existence.

Sans mandat aucun venant des Églises, les *Animatrices et animateurs de vie spirituelle et d'engagement communautaire* interviennent dans une perspective de laïcité ouverte, dite «à la québécoise». Leur service non confessionnel existe uniquement pour aider les milieux scolaires à réaliser la partie de leur mission qui favorise l'épanouissement des élèves dans le respect de leur conscience religieuse et sociale.

Encore nouveau dans le système scolaire, le SASEC n'a pas fait l'objet de beaucoup de recherche. Il serait difficile de comparer son efficacité à celle des services précédents d'animation pastorale ou religieuse dans les écoles, car de telles données sur l'ancien régime sont

très probablement inexistantes. Nous savons toutefois que le niveau de formation des nouveaux professionnels a été uniformisé, exigeant désormais, dès l'entrée en fonction, une formation universitaire minimale de premier cycle<sup>7</sup>. De plus, une thèse de doctorat, soutenue par Jacques Cherblanc (2005), a porté directement sur le SASEC, nommé sur la «construction sociale du religieux socialement acceptable au Québec», dont les AVSEC se feraient les porteurs pour réaliser leur mandat éducatif. Retenons ici aux fins de notre propos que, naviguant sur la mouvance d'un tel concept du «spirituel», les AVSEC privilégieraient, selon l'auteur de la thèse, «l'engagement communautaire dans leurs tâches quotidiennes»<sup>8</sup>. Il faut souligner la limite géographique de l'enquête terrain menée par Cherblanc: elle n'a concerné que les écoles

7

Plan de classification suivi par le ministère de l'Éducation du Québec et la Fédération des commissions scolaires du Québec pour le personnel professionnel: animateur ou animatrice de vie spirituelle et d'engagement communautaire. Voir <http://www.cpn.gouv.qc.ca/cpnf/Files/212/Clasf-PNE19870515.pdf> et la fiche 14 <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/dgfj/csc/asec/pdf/fiche14embauche.pdf>.

8

Extraits du résumé de la thèse Cherblanc, 2005.



secondaires du seul territoire montréalais. Une autre étude à géographie plus étendue (Montréal homogène, Montréal multiethnique, région de Québec et région de Chicoutimi), touchant en partie le SASEC, a été menée plus récemment auprès d'écoles tant primaires que secondaires, sous la direction de Solange Lefebvre (2007). Même si la chercheuse nuance les interprétations de Cherblanc quant au concept «mou» du spirituel et de sa relation aux valeurs forcément «chrétiennes» de l'engagement socioculturel en contexte québécois, elle souligne la grande parenté de ses résultats avec le chercheur de l'UQAM. Pour elle, un cadre déontologique aiderait les AVSEC à mieux s'affirmer dans leur profession en milieu scolaire. Le malaise dont elle a cueilli des témoignages ne porte pas sur l'utilité générale du service mais sur des facteurs comme son caractère spécifique au milieu des autres services scolaires complémentaires. Ce constat est assez proche du type de satisfaction dont témoigne aussi un autre rapport gouvernemental, qui s'est probablement davantage penché sur les aspects administratifs du service. «L'existence du SASEC, y écrit-on, est généralement bien vue et bien acceptée. (...) On dit que le service répond à des besoins essentiels des élèves. (...) Il permet d'explorer d'autres dimensions de la vie que d'autres services ne peuvent aborder véritablement. (...) Les animatrices et animateurs sont crédibles et font preuve de professionnalisme.»<sup>9</sup>

En ce qui concerne le professionnalisme, l'APAVECQ vient d'approuver son *Guide éthique*<sup>10</sup> à son congrès annuel 2007, ce qui constitue une excellente réponse aux difficultés soulignées précédemment. Jamais toutefois n'envisage-t-on, dans les évaluations de cette nouvelle profession, l'animation en tant qu'acte professionnel. Il faudra maintenant que les AVSEC perçoivent leur travail sous l'éclairage d'autres discussions que celles presque exclusives sur les notions du religieux et du spirituel. Le temps semble venu pour eux d'examiner leurs actes professionnels par exemple sous l'angle des trois pôles de la typologie professionnelle de l'animateur, selon Gillet (1995), ou encore selon la grille de St-Arnaud (2002) sur l'animation des groupes restreints ou son autre grille sur le changement assisté (St-Arnaud, 1999). Il nous semble que ce soit désormais la suite logique à mettre en œuvre dans cette nouvelle profession de l'animation.

<sup>9</sup>  
Comité directeur conjoint MEQ-CS (2004; p. 13, 2.2.1), cité dans Le Cheminement spirituel des élèves (février 2007, p. 38). Nous manquons de détails pour être plus précis sur ces considérations.

<sup>10</sup>  
On le trouve à [http://www.apavecq.qc.ca/IMG/pdf/Guide\\_ethique\\_APAVECQ.pdf](http://www.apavecq.qc.ca/IMG/pdf/Guide_ethique_APAVECQ.pdf).

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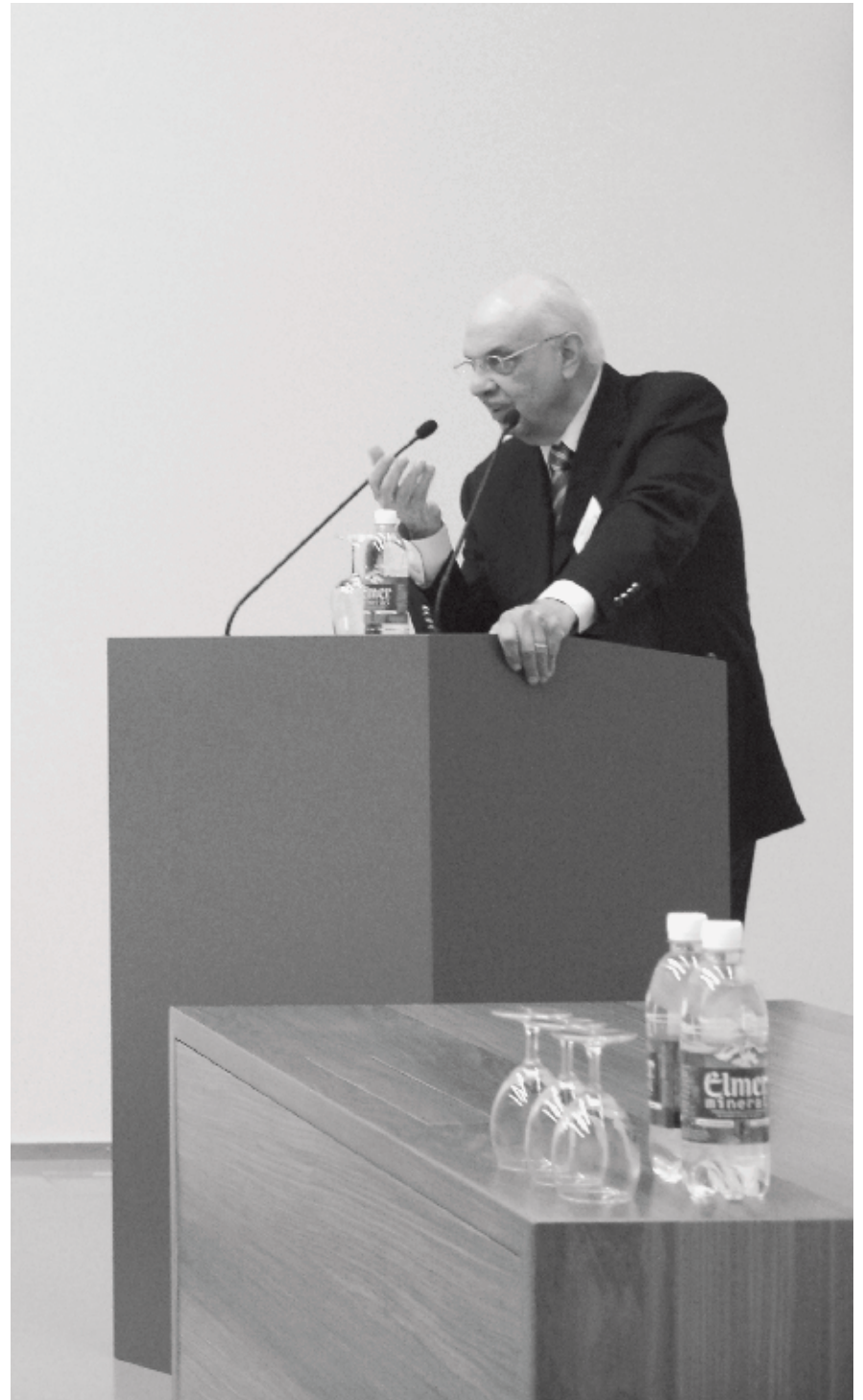




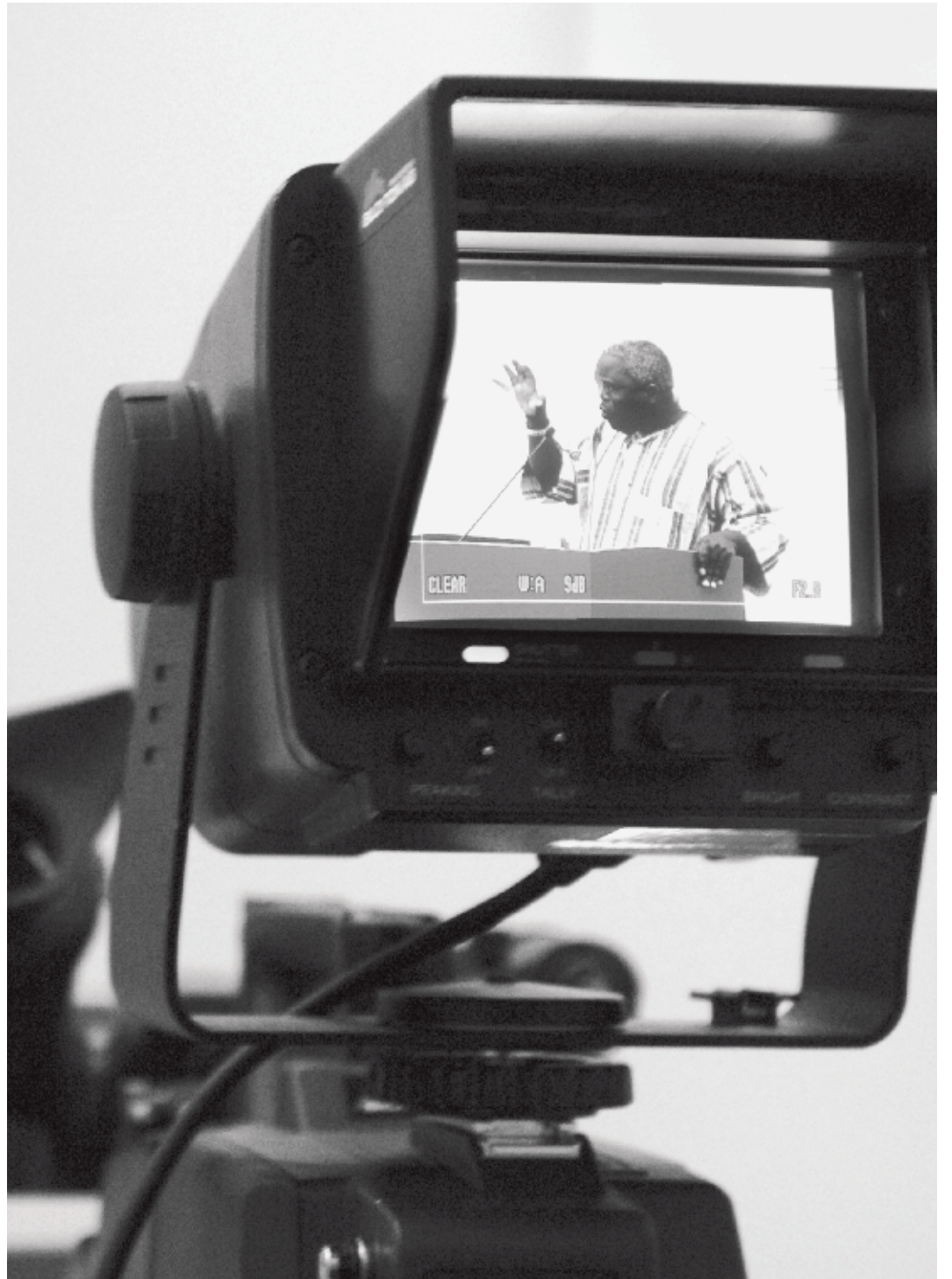




















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Mariana Christen Jakob, Maja Graf,  
Antonios Kipouros, Patricia Wolf

## Virtual Communities of Practice around an International Congress

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### Introduction

Conferences can be defined as “the center of common channels of dialogue and discussion (...) around issues that bring together various field constitutes with disparate purposes” (Hofmann, 2001, p. 135) and framed by various meaning systems embedded within multiple and meaningful contexts (Zileber, 2007). Hence they represent selective stimuli towards pursuing a topic within a standardised framework featuring lectures, workshops, panel discussions and social events. Academic exchange, as well as establishing and maintaining relationships, are important goals of such events (Ruley, 2006, West, 2004, Anand and Watson, 2004).

The international *Community Development - Local and Global Challenges* Congress in September 2007 was the point of departure for expanding this interaction and communication concept using the novel Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and analysing the experiences it involves. In the run-up to the congress, in the so-called “Pre-Event Phase,” documents were put at the participants’ disposal on an Internet platform, which also provided the opportunity to exchange knowledge; in addition, at the actual congress, networking was an important topic. Following the event, a third phase offered yet another chance to consolidate the newly formed relationships regarding concrete topics via the Internet platform within a circle of like-minded scholars. The following explanations will focus on the question as to which framework may be conducive or detrimental to establishing Virtual Communities of Practice (VCoPs) in an academic environment. The experience and analysis of this fixed-term project is to form the foundation of an on-line platform for use within the context of the planned International Community Development Master’s programme.

### 1. Initial Situation

The announcement of the congress' theme, *Community Development – Local and Global Challenges*, met with great international response; this is exemplified by the fact that 402 interested parties from 68 countries signed up for the congress newsletter. Given this interest, it was assumed that there is a great need for academic exchange on the subject, as well as for establishing an international expert network. This exchange was to be made possible both through an Internet platform and the congress itself.

As early as five months before the actual event, its organisers started building the Knowledge Exchange Platform (KEP), creating a library by posting documents reflecting the congress' subject matter. Various fora offered the possibility to discuss current topics.

The KEP went on-line in June 2007, accessible to all interested parties. Between June and November 2007, the KEP offered the possibility to form "special interest groups" or Virtual Communities of Practice. In order to encourage interaction and communication, topics were, in a first stage, set in advance by the Lucerne School of Social Work's own team. The school's internal and external specialists were asked to act as "experts" for the individual topic-specific fora. Their roles involved providing stimuli in terms of content for the articles to be posted in each of their respective fora, as well as ensuring the quality of the posts. The experts were supported by an e-moderation team which, on their behalf, performed administrative tasks such as editing and uploading the articles. In addition to the organisers setting subjects in advance, it was possible for external members of the Internet platform to actively suggest further topics or to address additional issues in an open forum.

The second important stage was face-to-face contact and co-present communication at the actual congress in late September 2007. Two network lectures briefly outlined the challenges of international knowledge exchange, introduced the audience to the method employed by the VCoPs, including its central elements, and presented the KEP platform. In two networking sessions, participants were given the opportunity to define important topics and to discuss them directly with other congress participants. The defined topics were then registered as new fora on the KEP and opened immediately following the congress; and participants, to support such initiatives, were offered individual assistance becoming acquainted with and learning how to use the platform.

Congress documentation was compiled and uploaded to the KEP platform in November. This step concluded the investigative stage regarding virtual networking and on-line knowledge exchange.

The analysis of the collected data clearly indicates that, apart from passive reception, there was an undeniable interest in downloading documents from the KEP; active knowledge exchange in the fora, however, remained negligible. On the other hand, the fact that more than 300 people attended the conference shows that the experts were willing, after all, to invest time in international exchange. This supports the assumption that, for various reasons, the entry barriers to on-line communication were obviously too high, the regulatory framework too complex. It is these issues that this essay will look into more deeply on the basis of the following data: Statistical figures show access to the KEP platform. A process journal reveals substantial interventions made and planning steps taken by the organisers. At the actual congress, short interviews with 104 participants were performed and recorded. Five expert interviews refer to experiences made in other CoPs and VCoPs.

### 2. Course of the Project – Statistical Analysis

A look at the member registration data and the process journal featuring the interventions provides a first overview of the course of the KEP project. In early June 2007, the 402 e-mail addresses of the interested parties who had signed up for the congress newsletter were filed in the system. Two weeks later, in a first mail message, addressees were sent login information and instructions which were followed, another month later, by a reminder message. Similar

mail messages were also sent to lecturers and students of the Lucerne School. Registrations peaked at 23 new entries on 18 June 2007, after students had been informed of the project. Otherwise, progress was very unsteady, the number of registered users climbing to a mere 517 by late November 2007.

The activities on KEP show a somewhat more detailed picture. Because the platform's content is managed using a database solution<sup>1</sup>, it was possible to record the statistics of the site's page views. Therefore, the underlying data are more meaningful than those acquired using conventional site access statistics applications (e.g. Awstats, Webalizer, etc., which all analyse a Web server's access log files), as in the database only the relevant data have been analysed, which is more difficult with log file parsing<sup>2</sup>. Access statistics show that the platform had a total of 1,731 visits and

<sup>1</sup> Data supplied by Ditoy form the basis of the platform's access statistic.

<sup>2</sup> For technical and organisational reasons, e-moderator access could not be filtered from the data. Consequently, access data include all visits/page views, i.e. by community members, experts, guests, etc., as well as by e-moderators and project managers and associates. It must be pointed out, however, that the impact of e-moderators and project managers/associates on the statistic is minimal (except during the first few weeks).

a total of 8,879 page views in the period from April to late November 2007 (cf. Table 1).

	Page Views	Visits
June 2007	2036	353
July 2007	1580	311
August 2007	1004	209
September 2007	1310	289
October 2007	510	87
November 2007	1120	177
Total (incl. run-up)	8879	1731

Table 1: Access statistic of the entire Web site – monthly results (period from 01.04.07 to 30.11.07)

Figure 1 graphically represents the access statistic. A striking aspect of it is that almost all of the platform's or the congress' communications activity had a direct and positive influence on the visits and page views. The effect of the activity, however, mostly did not last long. It becomes clear, therefore, that there evidently is interest in knowledge retrieval but no need for active knowledge exchange.

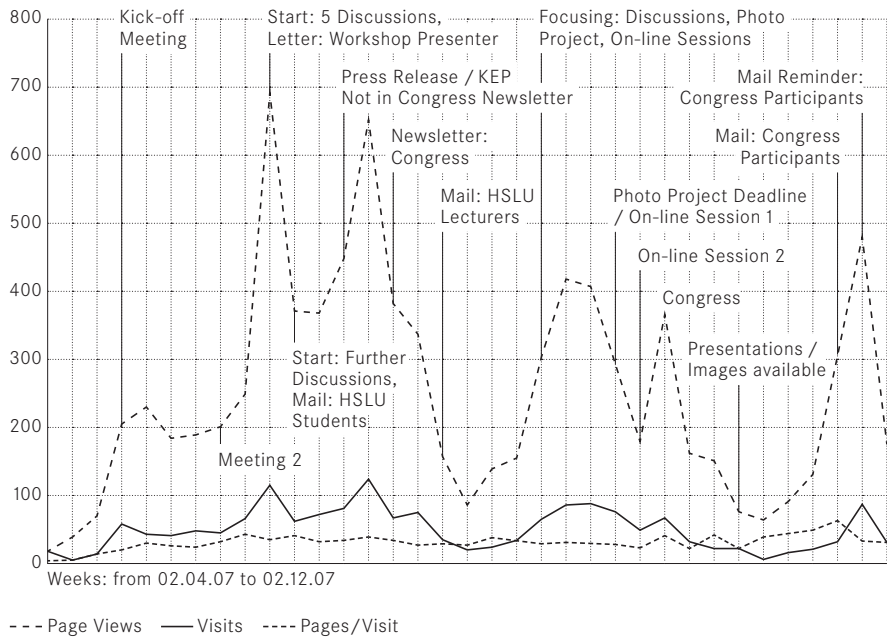


Fig. 1: Overall Web site access statistic

Interestingly, there were cases where the activities led to no or merely a minor increase in visits. During the summer holidays, for instance, the platform visits dropped significantly despite specific activities. This suggests the conclusion that the majority of visitors visited the platform during or within the context of their work or studies.

Figure 2 shows visits to all of the platform's fora:

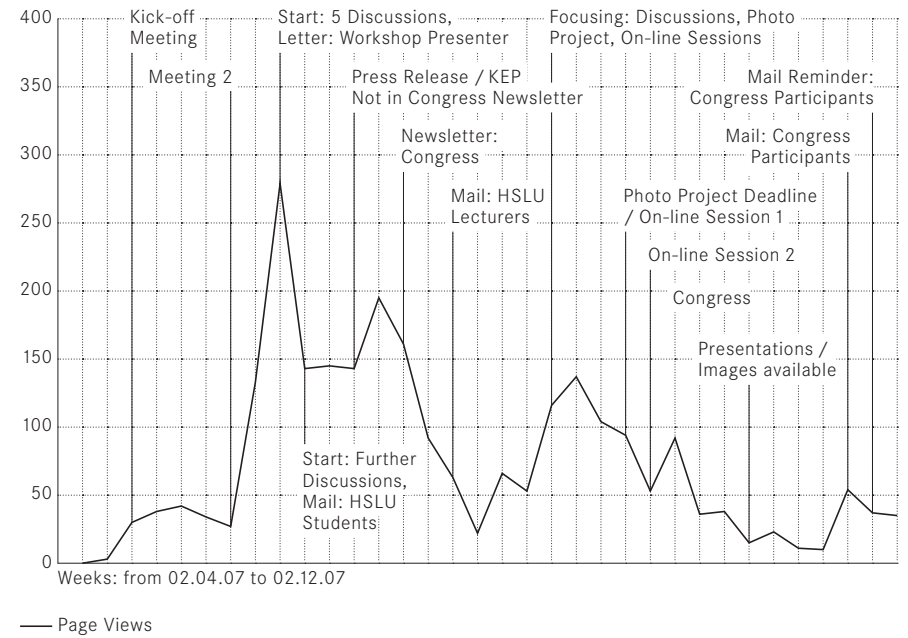


Fig. 2: Discussion fora overall access statistic (including those currently inactive)

The graphic representation of the visits to the fora more or less corresponds to the development of all page views (cf. Figure 1). Yet there are deviations: While the two post-congress mail messages (in November 2007), for instance, had a great influence on the visits to the platform overall, fora page view did not increase to the same degree. Since the mail messages informed users that congress documentation was made accessible at that time, visitors increasingly accessed the documentation rather than visiting the fora (cf. Figure 3):



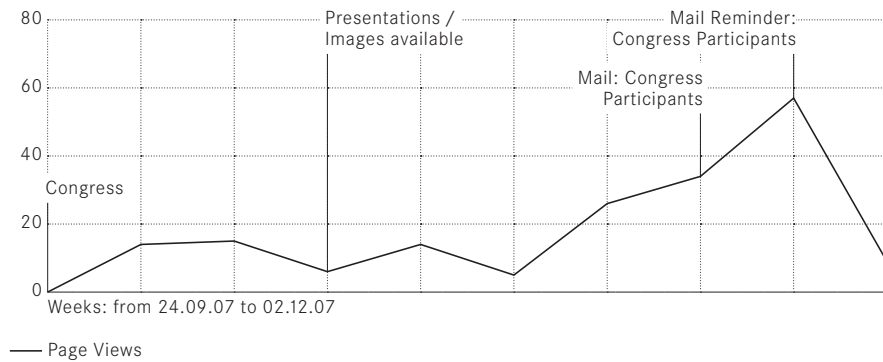


Fig. 3: Congress documentation access statistic

The statement made above that the two November mail messages led mainly to visits to the congress documentation pages allows further conclusions to be drawn. While the mail messages had a minor impact on the page views of the fora already established *before* the Congress (see Figure 4, “old” fora), they led to a major increase in visits to the fora established during or within the context of the congress (see Figure 5, “new”) and featuring issues determined by the participants themselves. What is illuminating and simultaneously surprising here is in particular the fact that these visits, nevertheless, did not lead to any further activities in and contributions to the fora.

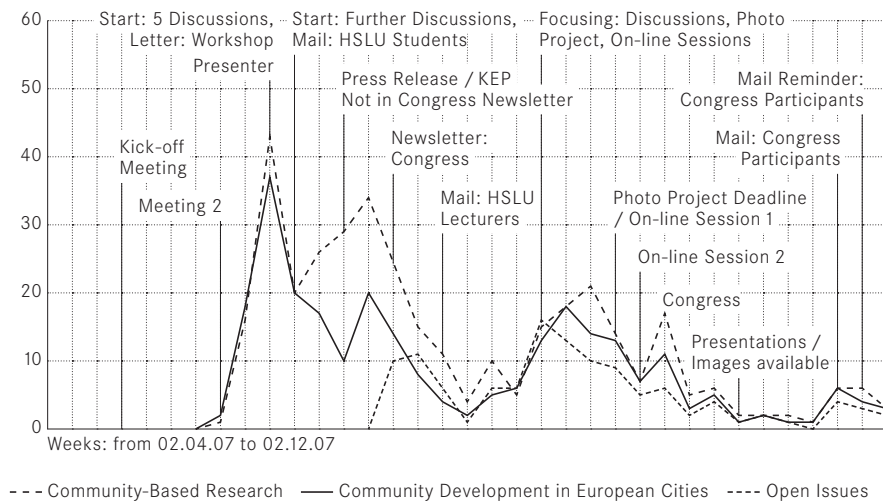


Fig. 4: “Old” discussion fora access statistic (relating to fora established before the congress and still operational)

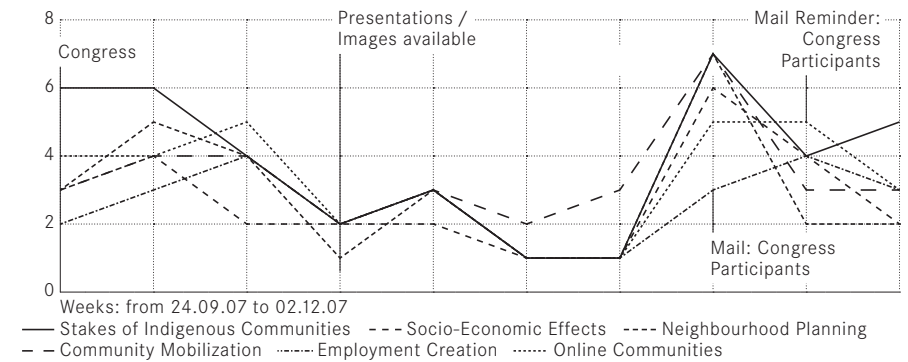


Fig. 5: “New” discussion fora access statistic (relating to fora established during/for the congress)

The summary conclusion of the statistical results is clear: There evidently is, within the scientific community and in the field of CoP Development, an interest in information retrieval. However, there is no need for active on-line knowledge exchange via the freely accessible KEP platform, even after the congress. In all of the 16 fora established within the 5-month period, only one saw a discussion with an interesting exchange counting 15 entries and 1 attachment. In the majority of the other discussions, initial questions remained mostly un-commented or response was patchy at best. On the other hand, there obviously is a massive need for personal direct exchange, as the large number of conference participants has clearly shown. For a better understanding of this seeming contradiction and the general development of interaction, the following section will present a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the community around the congress with a special emphasis on the virtual part.

### 3. Analysis: Interviewing the Congress Participants

Over the course of the three days of the congress, short interviews were conducted with 104 participants. Interview questions included:

1. Why do you attend? What do you find especially interesting about the conference? What personal benefit do you derive from the conference?
2. At the conference, have you established new/consolidated existing contacts that you would like to pursue further?
3. To exchange knowledge/information on a given topic with an international expert:

- How do you go about it? What media do you use?
- What other forms of exchange could you imagine?

The interest shown by most participants, as referred to in question 1, concerned the issues to be discussed at the conference (named 48 times), the exchange of experiences (35) and the stimuli and new ideas for one's own work to be gained (42). Networking was explicitly mentioned as an objective in almost half of the interviews. On the whole, what is striking is that the international atmosphere and the many different backgrounds excited and inspired the participants, even though some of the interviews revealed a language barrier between individual participants speaking English, French, or Spanish, respectively.

The 2nd question focused on establishing and maintaining relationships. Thirty three among those interviewed were able to consolidate their already existing relations. Eighty seven participants claimed having established new contacts. As to how they intended to maintain those contacts even beyond the congress, many participants gave only vague answers. For many, establishing contact at the congress was the first step in which addresses were noted down and information on a person was gathered. The interviewees considered maintaining contact imaginable especially if, following the congress, there would be further academic exchange. In those rare cases where binding contacts were in fact established at the conference, the intention to network, e.g. to establish contact with university representatives from a specific country, had already been there before the conference.

As to the media of choice in international exchange (question 3), e-mail was clearly favoured. Internet platforms or fora, at the time of the interviews, were used actively by 16 persons only. Another 34 persons answered, however, that they could imagine using these new possibilities and that they found the use of ICT tools worth considering in international academic exchange. What the interviews made clear was that most participants had had no knowledge of this medium prior to the KEP presentation at the congress. The majority among them lacked personal experience of VCoPs and were not sure as to how knowledge exchange using an electronic platform could actually work. Therefore, it must be assumed that after the congress, contacts were followed up using e-mail, while no further exchange took place on the KEP.

**VCoP Typology** Wenger (2002) defines a Community of Practice as “a group of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis” (p.4). Knowledge exchange and cooperation in the virtual world, in contrast to direct personal contact, have an added dimension. The experiences made by members of CoPs and VCoPs greatly differ from one another; medial interaction must therefore be examined separately (Dubé, Bourhis and Jacob 2006). Nevertheless, management literature provides many “one size fits all” solutions for forming, developing und sustaining CoPs and VCoPs. It is at this often one-dimensional view that the criticism voiced by Dubé et al. starts, insisting on a more discriminating typology “that includes the key structuring characteristics required to differentiate among different VCoPs (...)” This typology should

1. allow an accumulation of knowledge on various types of VCoPs evolving in an organisational context,
2. improve sense-making of empirical findings by considering the intrinsic characteristics of the VCoPs under study, and
3. provide practitioners with a useful framework to effectively describe, understand and manage VCoPs.

The following considerations analyse, on the basis of this typology, the VCoP on “CoP Development” supported in its formation process by the KEP pilot project, aiming to show the specific features of this VCoP within the context of international academic development. The following overview presents the main characteristics:

<i>Subcategory</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
<i>Demographics</i>	
Orientation	Operational: Access to documents and exchange of experiences.
Life Span	Temporary: The platform is a pilot project designed specifically for the time preceding and following the congress.
Age	Young: Six months.
Level of Maturity	Potential: The network comprises an open joint approach to issues.
<i>Context</i>	
Creation Process	Intentional: The VCoPs have been started by project management.
Boundary Crossing	Very high: Different organisations and types of organisations.

Environment	Obstructive: Organising the congress absorbs resources and manpower.
Organisational Slack	Low: Resources are very scarce; voluntary participation is a fundamental principle.
Degree of Institutionalised Formalism	Unrecognised: The VCoP is not formally institutionalised.
Leadership	Assigned: The role of leadership has been clearly defined; additional roles will be negotiated during the process.
<i>Membership Characteristics</i>	
Size	Large
Geographic Dispersion	Very high: Geographic dispersion is very high, distributed across all continents.
Members' Selection Process	Open: Accessible to all interested parties.
Members' Enrolment	Mixed – Compulsory and voluntary: Selected from list of interested parties; additional volunteers have been contacted by e-mail.
Members' Prior Community Experience	Medium: Some of the members have known each other from previous contacts.
Membership Stability	Fluid: People sign up but remain inactive. New people join regularly.
Members' ICT Literacy	Low: Even though most members use computers in their work, handling the platform has turned out to be a major obstacle.
Cultural Diversity	Very high: Congress participants hail from 68 different countries and all five continents.
Topic's Relevance to Members	Medium: The fundamental interest in the topic can be considered a given; the issues to be discussed on-line before the congress have been set and were determined by the members after the congress.
<i>Technological Environment</i>	
Degree of Reliance on ICT	Low: Congress facilitates initial contact; exchange over ICT is also possible outside of the KEP.
ICT Availability	Middle variety: Downloads and interactive elements.

Table 2: Characteristics of the VCoP on "CoP Development" supported by the KEP

The overview above alone makes it clear that the complexity of the VCoP examined was extraordinarily high within a short time span. Specific aspects will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

### Membership Characteristics

One of the important characteristics of a virtual community is the selection and admission process: How are the boundaries defined, how closed or open are they? Various surveys show that a closed membership is easier to manage, allows more control with regard to the specific characteristics of the community and facilitates the definition of common interests (Plant, 2004; Wenger and Sydner, 2000). Membership in the VCoP supported by the KEP project was very free-floating and open from the start. In addition to the core group of those interested in the congress, further circles within the Lucerne School of Social Work and in specific target groups were deliberately contacted. This openness corresponded with the VCoP's objective, namely to address a large group of people, as a community large in numbers is better capable of covering highly heterogeneous interests and issues. However, there are potential consequences on the activities, as the marginal contribution of each member is lessened and the rational, self-interested individual may choose to freeride (Von Krogh, 2002).

High geographic dispersion increases a VCoP's complexity and represents an additional challenge to a successful community-building process (Dubé et al., 2006). It is here that the KEP project faced an extraordinary challenge. The VCoP members were distributed across 68 countries on all five continents. While it was pointed out that the international background of the Congress participants proved an enormous boon with regard to knowledge exchange, it was more likely a hindrance as far as virtual exchange was concerned. While cultural heterogeneity is an asset that brings a rich variety of perspectives and experiences and provides a mechanism against stereotypical thinking, it can also make participating and sharing difficult. Cultural diversity entails linguistic diversity and different cultural contextual knowledge, circumstances that increase the likelihood of non-participation in on-line communication (Pan and Leidner, 2003).

Open access to the KEP, however, should not be construed as an invitation to total arbitrariness or, worse yet, the improper use of discussions on a given subject. In order to, nevertheless, allow a certain basis of trust to form here, users were asked to establish a user profile and choose a password on initial registration. The ICT competence of the potential members was a crucial factor in establishing a VCoP; this was clear in project development right from the start. Usability, therefore, was very deliberately chosen as an important criterion when selecting and developing the platform. Still, the technical hurdles remained too high for many potential users. They often confused

(once-only) registration with the login procedure (and vice versa) and quickly gave up when not immediately gaining access to the platform. This aspect was underestimated by project management. The question remains to be answered whether opening the platform completely without login and with access to the discussion fora granted to anonymous users would have positively influenced activities and exchange.

Generally speaking, a VCoP can build on an already existing community with face-to-face experience, or it can form for the first time. There is evidence pointing to the fact that in the community-building process, an already experienced group, despite potential drawbacks, will generally show several advantages. "Moving an existing community from exclusively face-to-face meetings to the virtual world can meet two opposing forces: (1) members may resist the new technological arrangement and may want to go back to their previous successful way, and/or (2) previous community experience may remove the uncertainty that members of a new community must cope with" (Dubé et al. 2006, p. 79). In the case of the KEP, the existing community relationships in the francophone and Iboamerican networks rather proved an obstacle for the pilot project with an extended community. While communication via e-mail was maintained on the existing networks, the opportunity of networking openly in an intercultural and interlingual context was mostly overlooked.

The topics and issues tackled in the initial discussion fora were prepared by the internal project team. As to how well this satisfied the interest of potential users, there could only be hypothetical assumptions. It is evidently much easier to push ahead with a given commitment and to promote the corresponding motivation if members can discuss issues and questions that are directly associated with their work and that will have a direct beneficial impact on their jobs (Wenger and Sydner, 2000). It is very illuminating to see that forum activity did not change after the congress both in the "old" and the "new" fora. Following the face-to-face meetings in the networking sessions in which the congress participants defined common topics and assigned clear (future group) member and moderator roles, one would have expected an increase in interactive activity at least in certain sections, which was definitely not the case. This result supports the conclusion that various factors conspired to make knowledge exchange more difficult.

### Context

Tasks and roles may already be defined in the basic concept of a VCoP, or they may gradually form over the course of the development process and through continuous negotiations; in this process, some individuals can assume key roles (Lesser and Storck, 2001). Clearly assigned roles grow increasingly important, along with the size and importance of a VCoP (Fontaine, 2001). Since in the KEP pilot project the dynamics of process development were difficult to predict, planning had to be carried out in a rolling fashion. A clear role concept helped to structure the initial situation. The following roles and tasks were defined by the project team (see Table 3):

<i>Roles</i>	<i>Tasks</i>
<i>Project Management</i>	Technically, financially and organisationally responsible for the project.
<i>Head of e-Moderation</i>	In charge of e-moderator training and coaching, as well as analysis and project accompaniment.
<i>Experts</i>	Specialists responsible for the individual forum topics: Launching (new) topics, preparing a minimum of three important articles and links per topic, formulating a kick-off question, reviewing the quality of the materials to be uploaded.
<i>E-Moderators</i>	Each forum discussion was moderated. The e-moderators' tasks included: compiling materials on the topics; uploading initial questions, as well as documents, as agreed with the experts; structuring the discussions; regularly summarising the main arguments of the discussions; establishing links to interesting materials on the platform; maintaining the exchange with the experts; uploading incoming articles.

Table 3: Roles and tasks

For most experts, their task was a volunteer effort on top of their regular professional tasks. The attempt to tie in external specialists as experts was not very successful. Those asked either declined due to lack of time or contributed little to livening up the platform.

Dividing the roles into experts and e-moderators proved somewhat problematic and involved conflict potential. The e-moderators were, by definition, no specialists in a given field and hence could contribute little to the discussions. It was their job to motivate and support the experts, to suggest to them well-known authorities on discussion topics, to comment on and, where necessary, sort out incoming posts, and to upload incoming materials to the KEP. This project concept was criticised as being complicated. After all, personal contact between the e-moderators and the experts was crucial for good cooperation.

As regards such less-than-optimal conditions, mention must also be made at this point of the economic dimension. Planning and organising the international congress tied up a great deal of Lucerne University's resources. Additional funds for indispensable work related to establishing the KEP platform were extremely scarce. Both internal experts and external specialists were resigned to work on a voluntary basis. That this willingness, despite a great deal of goodwill, was very limited comes as no surprise considering the heavy workload in the academic environment. It was particularly the experts – the actual key players through the contribution of their knowledge and networks – who could not be expected to play their parts without at least some form of financial incentive.

#### 4. Lessons Learned

“VCoPs are often created to break organisational silos and promote collaboration, learning, and information sharing. (...) A high level of boundary crossing may make it more difficult to develop an adequate level of trust and to buy into the idea of sharing knowledge” (Dubé et al., 2006, p. 76). As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the barriers in the KEP project were high in every respect, demanding a great deal of boundary crossing of potential members. Perhaps this was asking too much for an interactive exchange that had only just begun: The complexity of the virtual interaction between the staff members of several universities and professional organisations in an international context proved too high despite the unifying interest in the topic of international community development.

Do these experiences, made during the KEP project and trying to build up an international VCoP, represent an isolated case? In order to look into this question, in a further stage of data collection, expert interviews with the initiators of four VCoPs will be conducted and analysed. Table 4 compares these experts' experiences with those made during the KEP project with regard to the main problem areas described above, encountered when establishing the Community Development VCoP:

<i>KEP (on-line): Most urgent identified Problems</i>	<i>Swiss Re: Intra-organisa- tional Global CoPs</i>	<i>Phonak AG: Intra-organisa- tional Global CoPs</i>	<i>Fernfachhoch- schule Brig: Intra-organisa- tional CoP</i>	<i>KnowledgeBoard: Global On-line CoP</i>
<i>Membership Characteristics</i>				
<i>Freeriding</i>	–	There needs to be a balance between giving and taking.	–	Lurkers are normal in on-line CoPs; nothing to worry about.
<i>High complexity through intercultural diversity and languages</i>	Intercultural trainings as standard in the company.	On-line, global practices are applied, while at the local level, local practices are applied.	In heterogeneous groups it is difficult to find and agree on common topics.	CoPs have to be diverse – if they were not, there would be nothing to discuss.
<i>Reliability of members through user profile, usability</i>	Platform is easy to use (self-explanatory) and accessible through the intranet. Sub-CoP members decide whether the platform should be accessible to everybody or closed.	As CoP members, only people who have proven that they do a good job and whose commitment is above average are invited.	Competences for working together in a virtual room are low.	At the beginning, people aiming at posting in the forum did not even have to register. However, only moderators of special interest groups (SIGs) and project teams were allowed to upload documents. In the meantime, registration has become a requirement for posting in the forums.
<i>Existing relationships</i>	–	People come from the same professional area; the CoP builds on an existing network.	Problem: weak ties, low trust and engagement	Relationships are developed through on-line conversations and f2f meetings.
<i>No on-line participation despite definition of own topics</i>	Topics the management considers as being of strategic importance are considered.	Topics are of strategic relevance; CoP members contribute to strategy development. For the CoP members, there needs to be a common project objective to motivate them.	Topics on strategy issues resulted in better commitment than on general topics (but still low). Now, project-based CoPs are envisaged.	Moderators of SIGs were driven by passion for a topic and took over responsibility for their SIGs. As KM was an actual important topic, members aimed at joining networks.

<i>Context</i>				
<i>Initial roles defined by the project team and evolving further</i>	Standardised assignment process.	Roles evolve during the CoP life cycle. The initiator of the CoP stays in a major role.	Initial roles defined by the project team. Moderators act as role models.	Roles were defined by the project team although everybody was able to apply for leadership of a SIG.
<i>Role conflicts between experts and supporting team</i>	-	-	-	Some people who did not respect the netiquette were banned.
<i>Volunteer effort; no financial rewards possible</i>	Effort is part of the job, supported top-down and partly "ordered." Effort is paid for as working hours.	Effort is paid for as working hours. Furthermore, interesting projects evolve from the CoP work.	Effort is voluntary and rather low.	Effort is voluntary and has been very high as KM was a hype and taking over roles on KB was good for one's reputation. Most KB members did have the task to engage in the discussions for their employers and were paid by them. Activities were supported by a project team.
<i>Tight budget</i>	Support through financial resources, manpower, tools and methods. Problem: Participants' workload too high.	-	Organisation does not see the need for collaboration.	Work of the SIG moderators has not been paid for, but they have received travel budget and specific training.

Table 4: Comparison KEP – other on-line CoPs

Analysing the materials and comparing our own experiences with those made by the experts, we can derive the following insights and lessons learned:

It becomes generally clear that each VCoP is different and hence, what constitutes a barrier in one CoP may be an effective supporting element in another CoP. The freeriding issue, for instance, was not perceived as a problem; rather, the freeriders, by viewing the documents, underlined their importance (a large number of page views), even when no comments on the documents were posted.

What the answers regarding interculturality, language and heterogeneity make clear is that a VCoP needs to find a "global" language in which each member can communicate without denying his/her cultural roots. Only like this can heterogeneity be beneficial. In this respect, the KEP's VCoPs had to operate under especially difficult conditions, as became obvious at the conference, where information at times had to be translated into three languages at once. Even face-to-face exchange between the language groups proved difficult and clearly showed to everyone not only the linguistic, but the cultural barriers as well. The participants maintained contact mostly with the members of their own linguistic and cultural groups, with whom they had partly maintained relations and exchanges even before the congress. This pattern doubtlessly had an impact on the VCoPs.

The possibility to define one's own topics is evidently not enough to stimulate virtual communication. In the three organisations in which we have conducted expert interviews, strategic and project-based topics seem to be the solution while on the KnowledgeBoard the topic's topicality is the dominating motivator. In all cases, members are motivated by the fact that they have a say in determining the discourses and that they are among the leading players in the field of CoP. A question that ought to be looked into at this point is whether the field of International Community Development, with its intercultural and inter-disciplinary approach, is open to such a degree that leading a discourse would involve too much uncertainty and risk.

Another important role is played by the financial aspect: In all cases in which cooperation in the CoP took place during regular work hours, participation was much higher. It is here that the KEP project's resources reached their limits and appealing to the volunteer spirit became pointless. It is in all probability this factor which, in addition to the high ICD hurdles for potential participants, has decisively contributed to the low rate of interactive exchange. Login difficulties were an issue even at our own university; in countries where there is a lower ICT standard, this aspect is likely to have had a much stronger impact.

The analysis of the KEP project and its questions regarding information retrieval, knowledge sharing and networking in an international context provide many illuminating results. The project had a limited duration and was structured around the congress with the face-to-face interviews. There are plans for a longer-term and continuing project based on the experiences made here. The Lucerne School of Social Work is currently developing a Master's programme

in International Community Development in cooperation with the University of Westminster in London. The lessons learned will benefit the establishment of this on-line platform, which will be at the center of exchange in the international programme. The collected documents and recorded video materials stored here will form the heart of the information database, as it were – initial experiences that the development and accompaniment of VCoPs and CoPs can build on.

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Acikalin, Oya, PHD  
Yuzuncu Yil University, Sociology Department,  
Turkey, [oacikalin@yyu.edu.tr](mailto:oacikalin@yyu.edu.tr)

---

Akkaya, Gülcan  
Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Social  
Work, Switzerland, [guelcan.akkaya@hslu.ch](mailto:guelcan.akkaya@hslu.ch)

---

Allen, Judith  
University of Westminster, Great Britain  
[j.a.allen@wmin.ac.uk](mailto:j.a.allen@wmin.ac.uk)

---

Baillergeau, Evelyne, Dr.  
CREMIS-CSSS Jeanne-Mance/Université de  
Montréal, Canada, [Evelyne.baillergeau@ssss.gouv.qc.ca](mailto:Evelyne.baillergeau@ssss.gouv.qc.ca)

---

Beveridge, Kath  
Aberdeen City Council, Scotland  
[kbeveridge@aberdeencity.gov.uk](mailto:kbeveridge@aberdeencity.gov.uk)

---

Bryant, Patricia  
University of Westminster, Great Britain  
[pprinces191@aol.com](mailto:pprinces191@aol.com)

---

Canares, Michael P.  
Centre for Research and Local Governance, Holy  
Name University, Philippines, [mikocanares@boholanalysis.com](mailto:mikocanares@boholanalysis.com)

---

Casparis, Christian P.  
Zurich Community Centres, Switzerland  
[christian.casparis@gz-zh.ch](mailto:christian.casparis@gz-zh.ch)

---

Chouala, Yves Alexandre  
Institut des Relations Internationales du  
Cameroun, Cameroun, [yhouala@yahoo.fr](mailto:yhouala@yahoo.fr)

---

Christen Jakob, Mariana, Prof.  
Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and  
Arts – Social Work, Switzerland, [mariana.christen@hslu.ch](mailto:mariana.christen@hslu.ch)

---

Crenn, Chantal  
IUT carrières sociales Université de Bordeaux III,  
France, [crenn.girerd@wanadoo.fr](mailto:crenn.girerd@wanadoo.fr)

---

della Croce, Claudia  
Haute école de Travail social et de la santé du  
canton de Vaud – éesp, Switzerland, [cdellacroce@eesp.ch](mailto:cdellacroce@eesp.ch)

---

Ependa, Augustin  
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue,  
Canada, [augustin.ependa@uqat.ca](mailto:augustin.ependa@uqat.ca)

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Eser Davolio, Miryam, Dr.  
University of Applied Science of Northwestern  
Switzerland, School for Social Work, Institute for Social Planning  
and City Development, Switzerland, [miryam.eser@fhnw.ch](mailto:miryam.eser@fhnw.ch)

---

Hauser, Christoph, Dr.  
Institute of Management and Regional Economics,  
Lucerne School of Business, Switzerland, [christoph.hauser@hslu.ch](mailto:christoph.hauser@hslu.ch)

---

Hug, Annette, MA  
Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts –  
Social Work, Switzerland, [annette.hug@hslu.ch](mailto:annette.hug@hslu.ch)

---

Kalra, Ripin  
University of Westminster, Great Britain  
[ripinkalra@gmail.com](mailto:ripinkalra@gmail.com)

---

Lac, Michel, maître de conférences  
Université Toulouse 2 le-Mirail, France,  
[lac@univ-tlse2.fr](mailto:lac@univ-tlse2.fr)

---

Laprée, Raymond, Ph.D.  
Faculté des sciences humaines, Université  
Saint-Paul, Ottawa, Canada, [rlapree@ustpaul.ca](mailto:rlapree@ustpaul.ca)

---

LeBlanc, Patrice  
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue,  
Canada, [patrice.leblanc@uqat.ca](mailto:patrice.leblanc@uqat.ca)

---

Libois, Joëlle, Prof. HES  
Haute école de travail social, Genève, Switzerland  
[joelle.libois@hesge.ch](mailto:joelle.libois@hesge.ch)

---

Lloyd-Jones, Tony  
University of Westminster, Great Britain  
[T.L.Jones@wmin.ac.uk](mailto:T.L.Jones@wmin.ac.uk)

---

Maiss, Maria, Mag. Dr.  
University of Applied Science St. Pölten, Austria  
[maria.maiss@fh-stpoelten.ac.at](mailto:maria.maiss@fh-stpoelten.ac.at)

---

Marty, Philippe, Dr.  
Centre de Recherche en Education, Formation et  
Insertion de Toulouse, France, [pmarty@univ-tlse2.fr](mailto:pmarty@univ-tlse2.fr)

---

Medar, Marju, PhD(SW)  
Tartu University, Pärnu College, Department of  
Social Work Administration, Estonia, [marju.medar@ut.ee](mailto:marju.medar@ut.ee)

---

Motoi, Ina  
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Canada  
[ina.motoi@uqat.ca](mailto:ina.motoi@uqat.ca)

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My Hanh Derungs, Isabelle, Prof. Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Social Work, Switzerland, [isabelle.derungs@hslu.ch](mailto:isabelle.derungs@hslu.ch)

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Ndiaye, Abdourahmane IUT Michel de Montaigne Université Bordeaux III, France, [ndiaye.a@ades.cnrs.fr](mailto:ndiaye.a@ades.cnrs.fr)

---

Nivala, Edina University of Kuopio, Department of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, Finland, [elina@nivala.net](mailto:elina@nivala.net)

---

Nwaka, Geoffrey Abia State University, Nigeria  
[geoffreynwaka@yahoo.com](mailto:geoffreynwaka@yahoo.com)

---

Pinho, Jorge Haute Ecole Valaisanne, Bereich Gesundheit und Soziale Arbeit, Switzerland, [jorge.pinho@hevs.ch](mailto:jorge.pinho@hevs.ch)

---

Potvin, Micheline Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Canada, [micheline.potvin@uqat.ca](mailto:micheline.potvin@uqat.ca)

---

Raibaud, Yves Université de Bordeaux, France  
[y.raibaud@ades.cnrs.fr](mailto:y.raibaud@ades.cnrs.fr)

---

Sanchez-Mazas, Margarita, Prof. Université libre de Bruxelles & Haute école de travail social, Genève, Switzerland

---

Santos, Maria Helena Brasil  
[mhele@terra.com.br](mailto:mhele@terra.com.br)

---

Schimanski, Edina, PhD State University of Ponta Grossa, Brasil  
[edinaschi@pop.com.br](mailto:edinaschi@pop.com.br)

---

Schweikert, Simone, Prof. Dr. Institute of Management and Regional Economics, Lucerne School of Business, Switzerland,  
[simone.schweikert@hslu.ch](mailto:simone.schweikert@hslu.ch)

---

Segarra, Jordi Cooperativa d'Iniciativa Social, Spain  
[jordis@doblevia.coop](mailto:jordis@doblevia.coop)

---

Stattler, Ursula, Mag. (FH) University of Applied Science St. Pölten, Austria  
[ursula.stattler@fh-stpoelten.ac.at](mailto:ursula.stattler@fh-stpoelten.ac.at)

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Guy Stevenson Great Britain  
[stevenson417@btinternet.com](mailto:stevenson417@btinternet.com)

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Tironi, Yuri, Prof. Haute école de travail social et de la santé, Lausanne, Switzerland, [ytironi@eesp.ch](mailto:ytironi@eesp.ch)

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Tiwari, Indra P., PhD Rural Self-reliance Development Centre, Kathmandu, Nepal, [tiwari.hsdc@gmail.com](mailto:tiwari.hsdc@gmail.com)

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Ucar, Xavier, Prof. Dr. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Departament de Pedagogia Sistemàtica I Social, Spain,  
[xavier.ucar@uab.es](mailto:xavier.ucar@uab.es)

---

Valentine, Dave Aberdeen City Council, Scotland  
[davev@aberdeencity.gov.uk](mailto:davev@aberdeencity.gov.uk)

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van den Hoven, Rudy, Dr. The Hague University for Professional Education, Netherlands, [r.f.m.vandenhoven@hhs.nl](mailto:r.f.m.vandenhoven@hhs.nl)

---

Willener, Alex, Prof. Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Social Work, Switzerland, [alex.willener@hslu.ch](mailto:alex.willener@hslu.ch)

---

Wolf, Patricia, Prof. Dr. Institute of Management and Regional Economics, Lucerne School of Business, Switzerland, [patricia.wolf@hslu.ch](mailto:patricia.wolf@hslu.ch)

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Zychlinski, Jan, Prof. Berne University of Applied Science, Switzerland  
[jan.zychlinski@bfh.ch](mailto:jan.zychlinski@bfh.ch)

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## Who's who on the congress photos:

- I Jim Ife, Australia
- II Thomas Straubhaar, Germany
- III Jean-Claude Gillet, France
- IV Walter Schmid, Moderator, Switzerland
- V Mariana Christen Jakob, Congress Chair, Switzerland
- VI Michael Canares, Philippines
- VII Gary Craig, Great Britain
- VIII Xavier Úcar, Spain
- IX Yvonne Schärli-Gerig, President of the government canton Lucerne
- X Luiz Eduardo Wanderley, Brazil
- XI Emanuel Seyni NDione, Senegal
- XII Surinder Jaswal, India
- XIII Maja Graf, eModeration, Switzerland
- XIV Gabriel Bender, Switzerland
- XV VU Nhi Cong, Vietnam
- XVI Kalyani Menon-Sen, India

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