Wolfgang G. Weber · Michael Thoma
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Democratic Competences and Social Practices in Organizations

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This image stems from the well-known 1960s British television series *The Prisoner,* which can be read as an outstanding representation of the problematics of democratic responsibility, the development of micro-practical competences and the commitment to oppose authoritarian forms of government. This cinematic masterpiece is also a lasting testimonial to the professional and personal values and qualities of Patrick McGoohan, who, as principal actor, (undercover) screenwriter and director of the series, embodies the kind of democratic engagement and social responsibility that might inspire all of us. The ITV television network has kindly allowed us to reproduce the human chessboard image for this volume. We thank ITV (www.itvstudios.com) for their readiness to grant permission to recall both the series and its creator in this way.

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Introduction: Whither Democracy in Everyday Social Life?

Lynne Chisholm & Annette Ostendorf & Michael Thoma & Wolfgang G. Weber

The Innsbruck Working Group *Democracy and Social Practice* brings together specialists from business studies, educational sciences, social psychology and political science. It is a working group within the university's research platform *Organizations and Society*[1], established in 2009 as a federation between seven existing university research centres and a media studies group from four university faculties, all of which include social science disciplines and specialist fields.

The research platform dedicates itself to the interdisciplinary study of social and economic change in contemporary societies. It pays particular reference to emergent (sub-)cultures and social movements; democracy, participation and communication; the generation and deployment of social and intellectual capital; sustainable development and governance in social, political and economic systems; and the quality of life and strategies for living and working in risk societies. Its members pursue these themes in civil society, political and economic contexts, at both the organisational and the individual level of personal and social life.

The early days of discussion amongst the members of the research platform quickly made it clear that many of us share an interest in the theory and practice of democracy, in both formal and informal settings. We pursue this interest via research studies in a variety of learning and action contexts in community, educational, personal, socio-political and working life. We are interested in the acquisition, the exercise and the consequences of democratic attitudes and behaviours for social practices in today's complex worlds – and we see these processes as both lifelong and life-wide in their scope and relevance. This first volume highlights some of the work in which our members and associates have been recently involved. An associated second volume appears in parallel, which specifically addresses workplace learning from the perspective of employees in

1 http://www.uibk.ac.at/orgsoc/

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selected Asian and European countries and appears within the framework of the ASEM-LLL Education and Research Hub.[2]

The image at the front of this volume shows a well-known scene from *The Prisoner*, a 1960s British television drama series that rapidly acquired cult status and to this day remains an insider's tip for aficionados of the genre. The series has frequently been described as a pioneering film representation of postmodernist existentialism with surrealist undertones – consequently, multiple interpretations of its overt and covert structures of meaning continue to co-exist. In the episode that shows the human chessboard, a village resident points out that in real life, one cannot judge a book by its cover – that is, unlike chess figures, social actors wear many colours. One has to look underneath the surface to discover where the person really stands: friend or foe.

Things are not always that which they seem – and this equally applies to the organization of social life, which may be replete with the accoutrements of democracy, but denuded of its effective practice. The 'all-in holiday resort' village in which the storyline unfolds is an illusion and a delusion: in reality it is a prison in which residents live a carefree and luxurious life, as long as they do not question, protest, resist or try to leave the locality. At the end of the *Checkmate* episode, a butler places a minor chess-piece carefully on a chessboard. The butler might represent a state official responsible for allocating – let us say – school places or social benefits; the chess-piece becomes an individual citizen with a defined social location, placed by institutionalised others in the form of individual actors. This reminds us that systems of 'command and control', whether in state bureaucracies, companies or political parties, are dependent upon the complicity of individual citizens.

The conceptualisation and realisation of *The Prisoner* took place in a divided Europe, with both sides immobilised in the frozen claws of the Cold War but with much of Western Europe also basking in levels of economic affluence that would have been unimaginable for most citizens before 1945. In those halcyon days of widening educational opportunities and full employment, it seemed only a matter of time until freedom, democracy and rivers of milk and honey would be an integral part of everyone's daily lives, at least in the West, if not for the Rest. The European social model, notwithstanding its national variations, would satisfy material needs and countercultures could accommodate the immaterial desires of those for whom the mainstream did not suffice. In the workplace,

2 http://www.dpu.dk/asem/aboutasem/; http://www.dpu.dk/asem/researchnetworks/workplacelearning/. The associated volume appears with the University of Innsbruck Press in 2012 (Lynne Chisholm, Katharina Lunardon, Annette Ostendorf and Pier Paolo Pasqualoni (eds.): *Decoding the meanings of learning at work in Asia and Europe*.

labour shortages would assure that employers would neglect employees' demands at their peril – including having a greater say in everyday working conditions and processes. The white-hot technological revolution on the horizons of political discourse of the day would see to the rest, releasing worker citizens from deadening boredom and debilitating physical exertion.

Surveillance and repression, at the workplace or in the polity, belonged to the bad old days of Manchester capitalism and its social corollaries – and to the other side of the Iron Curtain. One way to read *The Prisoner* is as a critical allegory of distorted mirages of democracy and freedom in modern western affluent societies, in which institutionalised mock-ups legitimate what are in fact closed and monolithic societies that discourage and punish authentic participation, difference and dissent. The residents of the village know that they are imprisoned, but they also know that there is no escape. Almost all decide to make the best of the good life handed to them on a plate. The storyline follows the road of the prisoner who refused to conform or cooperate, who repeatedly tried to beat the system at its own game, and who received his un/just punishment at each and every turn. At the end of the series, the rebellious and resisting prisoner tears away the mask of the faceless figure of authority – only to find his own face behind that of an ape.

Forty-five years after *The Prisoner* came to our screens, it behoves aficionados of social analysis to reflect on what is now different and what has stayed very much the same. Western societies – which now include central, eastern and south-eastern Europe – remain incredibly, absurdly affluent in comparison with everywhere else in the world, but they are losing relative ground to the Asia-Pacific region and to parts of South America. That might be seen as simply tough luck, but we can sum up the key underlying problem that is beginning to destabilise the classic European social model in terms of deepening economic and social polarisations within these societies. The trauma of the past returns with renewed force, and this time there are fewer financial resources to alleviate its consequences. How resilient are democratic structures and behaviours in times of declining standards of living, not least between today's and tomorrow's generations?

The organisation of social and economic life, both in formal settings and in the everyday, has undoubtedly relaxed its normative and practical grip on individuals and communities. In this sense, organizations have become more democratic: they accept a broader spectrum of diversity and seek a wider range of innovative potential. Many would reasonably argue that this is primarily a function of the gradual shift to knowledge-based economies and their associated divisions of labour and occupational structures. Today's competitive advantage increasingly lies in the capacity to respond rapidly, creatively to catch the mo-

ment, and to solve problems with finesse. There is no time for longwinded consultation with the hierarchy – and thus employers and managers have little choice but to place their trust in those on their payroll. The price they pay is the rise of the autonomous (working) subject, ever more of whom have tarried in our education and training systems long enough not only to learn to think and act for themselves but also to know they can press home their right to do so, and this not only at the workplace. Unfortunately, polarisations continue to ensure that such uncomfortable citizens are matched by significant numbers of discomforting citizens faced with few life-chances and all too many risks. What do mechanisms for democratic participation have to offer to those who are largely excluded from the body politic, not to mention the labour market?

Legitimation crises have come to take on pandemic format in societies whose institutional arrangements for the strategic and even practical management of not only unforeseeable but also foreseeable events no longer perform adequately. Today's citizens know from regularly recurring experience that neither professional politicians nor expert specialists can provide reliable answers when it counts, nor can they sufficiently safely predict the outcomes of their decisions and recommendations. Such expectations may well no longer be objectively reasonable, but the impossibility of their fulfilment serves only further to fuel citizens' demands for greater participation and more direct democracy. Combined with the simultaneously reasonable and unreasonable call for greater individual responsibility and solidarity – if only to relieve the pressure on the public purse, but ideally for much more than this – the contradictory implications are all too evident. Citizens must think and act for themselves – but they must still accord others the competence to decide what is to be done. What constitutes democratic principles and practices under such circumstances? What do people need to know and be able to do in order to break the deadlock?

It is this genre of question that interests the Working Group *Democracy and Social Practice*, and in this collection, we set a starting-point by pooling ideas, methods and evidence. The ten contributions cover an interesting range of formal and informal contexts that are not typically considered together: schools, companies and public institutions team up with everyday workplaces and consumer markets. The chapters explore the construction and reconstruction of social practices discursively (in school textbooks, through media reporting and via marketing strategies), by means of specially designed methods (in research and pedagogy), and in the light of communication gaps between instances and actors (policymakers : body public; researchers : practitioners). The studies and analyses no less address the question of how to develop and foster democratic competences. This may take place via school curricula, resource materials and teaching/learning methods; in workplaces by means of formalised arrangements that

encourage self-direction and through the informal processes engendered by expansive working environments; and in personal and community life, including in the course of incidental learning in social networks, including as consumers. We hope that our readers will enjoy perusing a collection that is somewhat nonconformist in its thematic spread and its boundary-crossing between disciplines and perspectives that conventionally live separate lives. We are not prisoners of fortune, but uncomfortable academic citizens inclined by simple curiosity to push out the boat.

Andrea Hemetsberger picks up the recently expanded debate on democratization of markets, economy and organizations. She particularly focuses on participative and collaborative practices in online market structures. She identifies democratic processes in new forms of hybrid (online) markets and referential business models such as crowdsourcing, -funding or -creation which are characterized by collaborative and participative practices. Her argumentation is primarily grounded in a specific conceptualisation of consumers as market actors, which encompasses the classification of telo-ludic and communo-ludic oriented collaborative projects. The analysis identifies openness, a culture of sharing, alignment of interests and transparency as key principles for democratic modalities of cooperation and participation.

Anja Opitz and *Doris Dialer* inquire into political participation in the EU and thus engage with a vivid theme in current heated debates about future pathways towards European integration. They describe and critically analyse the 'European Citizens' Initiative' (ECI) introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon, constructed as an innovative tool for direct participation on a supranational level. ECI European Citizens intends to enable active participation in European decision-making processes. The authors show that despite its ambitious aims, ECI remains a political 'elite project' which is unlikely to exert much impact on direct participation. In rethinking ECI as a tool for direct EU participation, its real democratic value in terms of consultative vs. deliberative models must be reconsidered.

Markus Ammann develops a concept for the classification of participatory practices in schools, with a view to expanding our understandings of organizational participation and of schools as organizations. He uncovers the underlying complex and deep semantic structure of the term 'participation', particularly with respect to schools as organizations. But the semantic structure is not isolated from practices, and hence the discussion also addresses interdependencies between different forms of participation and consequences for activities in schools. The analysis draws on political science perspectives, in particular those anchored in both institutionalised (legal provisions, formalised action) and non-institutionalised (autonomous and spontaneous stakeholder action). This implies

that participation is conceptualized micro-politically as a process of democratisation of co-determination and of pursuing one's own interests.

Georg Lind stresses the intertwined connections between moral competences and democratic ways of life. The contribution begins with an overview of the research literature on moral competences, focussing particularly on approaches dealing with the measurement of moral and discourse competences. The promotion of moral competence among pupils (and teachers) has been shown to bring direct benefits for school-based learning, for the social climate in classrooms and in the school community and ultimately for commitment to democracy and freedom. In this context, the author describes the potential contribution of the Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion (KMDD) to future research in this field. This is a practical method that has been developed and refined over the past two decades in the interests of fostering education for democracy.

Annette Ostendorf and Michael Thoma investigate school textbooks used in higher vocational schools in Austria, Switzerland and southern Germany (Bavaria), particularly with regard to the emerging pictures of employees' participation and democratic behaviour represented in the textual material. They do so against the background of poststructuralist theory and focus on 'how the text works': what is said and what is not said; what is embedded in the argumentation and what it leaves unaddressed; which arguments are connected with each other and which aspects are separated from another. The authors conceptualise textbooks as powerful educational media which are both discoursive products and modes of reproducing discourses. This comparative study employed content analysis to winkle out which kind of democratic subject emerges in the textbooks and whether country-specific differences emerge.

Manfred Auer and Heike Welte pay attention to the role of the works council, which is considered to be a central concept for exploring and developing democratic concerns in business companies. Giddens' structuration theory and specifically the concept of social positioning furnish the theoretical framework for discussing whether the post-2008 economic crisis has had an impact on the social positioning of works councils, particularly on their relationship to management. To this end, the authors present initial results of a study that investigates the perception of works councils as revealed in Austrian newspaper articles between September 2008 and September 2010. Works councillors', knowledgeability and learning emerge as to date underexposed, yet relevant concepts, particularly in difficult economic times; overall, further research on this topic would be apposite and useful.

Wolfgang G. Weber and *Christine Unterrainer* present an instrument developed in the ODEM project (Organizational Democracy – Resources of Organizations for Social Dispositions Fostering Democracy), which focuses on the (fur-

ther) development of democratic and democracy-related orientations in capitalistic economies (such as humanitarian-egalitarian ethics). The contribution opens with a critical discussion of existing research on the democratic socialisation potential of employees' participation in decision-making. The ODEM project initially constructed the research tool itself (POPD – Perceived Organizational Participation and Democracy) in order to analyse employees' perceived involvement in organizational decision-making, especially in small and medium-sized enterprises. Based on a description of concrete behaviours as workers perceive these, it enables the distinction between democratic vs. non-democratic participatory practices in which employees engage. Equally, it facilitates a detailed assessment of the specific strategic, tactical or operational decisions in which employees take part. The contribution also includes the outcomes of reliability, criterion and construct validity analyses that have been undertaken for the POPD instrument.

Brigitte Steinheider, Todd Wuestewald and Armin Pircher-Verdorfer address implementation problems associated with democratic initiatives in U.S. law enforcement organizations. Police workplace structures are currently largely dominated by modes of 'command-and-control'. The gap between researchers and practitioners in terms of perspectives, values and goals constitutes a decisive hindrance for the implementation of research-based knowledge – as, for example, with respect to the concept of participative management. In order to bridge this gap, the authors developed and evaluated a specific case-based approach (as a special workshop setting) in order to improve the dissemination effectiveness of employee participation strategies amongst their supervisors and managers in the police force.

Werner Fricke proposes the concept of 'innovatory qualifications' as an appropriate way to describe workers' ability to adapt their working conditions to meet their requirements. He argues that all workers – regardless of their formal qualification – have such innovatory qualifications, as he and his colleagues discovered in the course of a humanization project they conducted in a screw plant. The author makes use of the thorough documentation of this humanization project to pursue a discussion of opportunities for and thresholds of employee participation within the redesign of organizational processes, especially working processes and workplace design. Overall, this contribution provides a sensitive account of workers' potential for innovatory action and outlines how encouragement for and the initiation of participation processes has favourable effects on the development of workers' innovatory qualifications.

Pier Paolo Pasqualoni and Helga M. Treichl pay attention to the European Attac network as a learning platform through which engaged European citizenship is constituted in a context described as post-democratic: The discursive

success, which puts the critique of neoliberalism and some of Attac's claims in a mainstream position, is confronted with the fact that these critiques and claims have not found any expression in politics yet. The authors deal with the following questions: How can current dilemmas for engaged citizenship in Europe be understood against the background of the post-democratic thesis? What kind of light do further approaches, such as a governmentalist perspective, shed upon education processes?

The Democratization of Markets through Participative and Collaborative Practices

Andrea Hemetsberger

Recent theorizations on the social construction of markets (Benkler 2006; Penaloza & Venkatesh 2006), the democratization of economy (Arvidsson 2008; 2010), entrepreneurial consumer communities (Hemetsberger 2007), consumers as creative crowds and marketers (Kozinets, Hemetsberger & Schau 2008; Kozinets, deValck, Wojnicki & Wilner 2010), sharing (Belk 2010), and value creation through social practices of communities (Schau, Muñiz & Arnould 2009) mark an important shift towards a more democratic understanding of economy, markets, and organizations. The vast engagement of various actors – including business corporations, organizations, consumers, employees, and other stakeholders – in participative and collaborative structures demonstrates the rise of new democratized (online) markets and business models. New collaborative practices, such as crowdsourcing, –funding, and crowdcreation have developed into elaborate forms of democratic collaboration on all kinds of collective projects and work. While acknowledging that participants may have different degrees of influence and power (Castells 2009), participatory cultures have been celebrated as avenues for consumer empowerment (Jenkins 2006), leading to abundant, democratically organized, and cooperative projects among private and commercial market actors. Additionally, the economic and technological transformations of the past years foster cosmopolitan democratic potential by bringing a vast array of actors together in an 'open space', where democracy is understood as a radical notion of rulership or rule by people (Gagnon 2011).

This book chapter aims to outline the democratic processes and social practices of such hybrid forms of engagement – participation and collaboration – and describes the upcoming democratic forms of cooperation among market actors. To this end, the consumer as market actor is introduced, first. Alongside with Kozinets, Hemetsberger and Schau (2008), I distinguish primarily telo- from communo-ludic oriented collaborative projects, describe the different processes of participation and collaboration accordingly, and suggest appropriate participation and collaboration strategies of interaction among market actors. The discussion carves out important implications and key democratic principles, and details their differential expression for participation and collaboration strategies.

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1 Consumers as Market Actors

Consumers are creative human actors in various consumptionscapes (Ger and Belk 1996), including cooking, gardening, DIY construction, maintenance, and various other hobby-like activities people pursue within their private domains. In contemporary markets, consumer activity has gone far beyond. Users join to make things on their own, share it with their online friends, set up communal forms of exchange and businesses. Consumers thus, entered a new realm of consumer action which is actually innovative, creative, and productive, entering the sphere of production and entrepreneurship (Cova, Kozinets & Shankar 2007).

In literature, consumer agency has been dramaticized (Giesler 2005; Kozinets & Handelman 2004) for one thing, and framed as resistant counterforce and response to capitalist market domination. Researchers have argued that consumer groups' emancipation from market hegemony can be described as collective action or social drama of a constant struggle against attempts of appropriation, which eventually results in a renewed interpretation of the marketplace. Conversely, in the tradition of co-optation theory the success of consumer activism has been questioned, postulating that consumer activism finds its natural end in the appropriation of the market (Heath & Potter 2004; Rushkoff & Goodman 2001). A third argument has been brought forward by Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007) who have portrayed a consumer community that generated a countervailing market system in response to corporate co-optation, globalization and commoditization. Instead of pursuing an antagonistic view in which producers and consumers both vie for control, Kozinets et al. (2004) introduce the model of the ludic consumer-producer, who engages in productive performances that become part of a corporate offer. Lately, researchers have pointed out the marketing competencies and entrepreneurial potential of consumers, who join forces to create their own markets and engage in production and consumption of goods and services (Hemetsberger 2007; Cova et al. 2007).

For organizations, consumers as active market agents constitute a radical shift from a control-centered managerial approach towards a broader perspective of consumer relationships, including collaborative projects and practices of value creation (Kozinets et al. 2010; Merz et al. 2009). Whereas business-to-business organizations have long practiced collaborative, democratic forms of co-production and -distribution, collaboration with private consumers is still considered extraordinary and prototypical for enthusiast consumers. Recently, literature widely acknowledged the impact of consumer agency and co-creation as a logical consequence of the democratic potential of technological innovations, such as the Internet, and thematized open innovation, open brands, and open source as co-creative forms of consumer action (e.g., Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004; Pitt et

al. 2006; Vargo & Lusch 2006; Merz et al. 2009; von Hippel & von Krogh 2003; Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2009). Literature has also widely hailed these new possibilities of producer-consumer collaboration. However, this paradigmatic shift in managerial thinking is yet to be developed to its full potential. Various forms of crowdsourcing (Howe 2008), for instance, spread out throughout the Internet so as to exploit the willingness of enthusiast consumer-contributors to engage in microwork, provide market information, co-design, co-produce and co-innovate with corporate market partners. Critical voices (Cova & Dalli 2009; Zwick, Bonsu & Darmody 2008) have coined the term 'double exploitation' for the use of consumers as designers and innovators, who, later on, have to buy the end product of their own creative contributions. This outcry in the name of fairness mirrors the lack of institutionalized and legalized forms of collaboration among market partners with different hierarchies of control. Democratic governance of collaborative projects, in many cases, is still in its infancy and therefore worth investigating.

Online, we find a vast array and different forms of collaborative consumer-firm networks. In order to theorize on successful governance of collaboration among these market actors, we, first, need to carve out some basic characteristics of current collaborative efforts. We are dealing with a complex reality that comprises numerous collaborative activities, such as, for instance, providing online help, tagging, sharing information, blogging, uploading and sharing videos, pictures, writing reviews, rating, programming, and many more (Kozinets et al., 2008). In an attempt to systematize these collective activities, Kozinets, Hemetsberger and Schau (2008) developed a typology of creative consumer crowds that is based on the collective innovation orientation and concentration of those crowds. Collective innovation concentration assesses the concentration of innovative contribution among the community and takes into account that in some projects, contribution is concentrated on few contributors, who contribute a lot, whereas other crowds are composed of numerous contributors, who contribute just a little information, or tag. Collective innovation orientation describes how the community is oriented towards the task itself. Some consumer crowds are mostly playful and interested in fun projects to take part in; they are *communo-ludic* in their orientation. Others are quite serious about their contributions and take pride in contributing highly sophisticated work. Hence, their orientation is *telo-specific* (Kozinets, Hemetsberger & Schau 2008).

Whereas the innovative value created by individuals in communo-ludic forms of collectives is quite low, its aggregate value is oftentimes astounding (see for instance the aggregate outcomes of NASA clickworkers). Still, compared to more telo-specific orientations, communo-ludic forms of crowds need no specific governance, except for sophisticated coordinative systems that are

able to produce aggregate value out of small contributions. Telo-specific crowds, however, usually have specific, task-related goals, either as individuals, or as a group. Governance, here, is crucial in order to coordinate contributions and align individual and collective interests. As consumers' contributions to cooperative projects are voluntary, engagement is based on intrinsic motivation and mutuality, rather than organizational structures and incentive systems. Project governance, therefore, is dependent on a participatory spirit and practices of democratic decision making. Yet, how much participation in what kind of decisions is efficient and effective remains an open question. The fact that everyone can participate and have a word in online communities of interest regularly leads to fervent discussions, and tensions.

This chapter attempts to shed light on cooperative practices among different market actors – consumers, users, companies, and other interested stakeholders. In the following, I outline two prototypical ways of joining forces with consumers, based on different collective innovation orientations – participation and collaboration. I will outline best practice examples of participation and collaboration that work, and discuss their importance and underlying logic, based on extant empirical observation.

2 Participation and Collaboration

Depending on the innovation concentration and the primary communal orientation, projects are characterized by prototypical processes of engagement, however, with different qualities of collaborative practice. In purely ludic communal settings, contribution is merely a matter of activating and coordinating contributions that come automatically with community engagement and interest. This section concentrates on projects that are goal-oriented and telo-specific in nature, and carves out democratic strategies and practices of consumer-company cooperation. From extant literature, empirical research, and observation of open cooperative work, we may tentatively categorize two strategies of organizing – *participation*, and *collaboration*.

Participation has been widely used in organizational theory and research in order to denote the extent of democratic decision-making in organizations (Chisholm & Vansina 1993). Participation has taken on many interpretations, ranging from a pure management technique in order to increase productivity, to continuous involvement of employees in autonomous work groups. However, participation practices in the real world, with its face-to-face politics of difference and unequal power relations, are flawed. Today, technology allows for an entirely new generation of forms and practices of public participation that prom-

ise to elevate public participation in an unprecedented manner while providing an interactive, networked environment for contribution. Participation is a democratic strategy of cooperation with emancipated, empowered contributors, who pursue their own goals, and are in control of their work. Online advertising and design contests are prototypical examples of participation.

Collaboration, on the other hand, offers a broader perspective of complex activity systems and how they account for successful collaboration. Activity theory suggests three interrelated levels of interaction in collaboration – coordination, cooperation, and co-construction (Engeström 1997; Bardram 1998). Coordination ensures that *what* people are doing independent of each other results in the achievement of the common task (Engeström 1987). Cooperation concerns *how* coordination is achieved, and involves the social interaction of group members when doing things together. Co-construction corresponds to the re-elaboration or re-construction of work practices and demands reflective communication on a meta-level (Engeström 1987). Consumer-company collaboration is typically co-configurative work. Co-configuration is a participatory model that is not confined to collaboration between professionals, and integrates users as active subjects. Users are active in the shaping and reshaping of products and eventually become experts themselves. Free and Open-Source Software (F/OSS) projects are prototypical examples of co-configurative work, including professionals, experts, and users (Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2009). Collaboration among people with such varying expertise necessitates a dynamic, dialogic relationship between multiple actors; it is a relationship characterized by collaborative and discursive construction of tasks (Engeström 2004).

Organizations, who are interested in participation and collaboration and willing to engage in democratic forms of online cooperation with consumers and other stakeholders, need to think about strategies of how to involve and sustain contributions from a highly dispersed and heterogeneous group of contributors. Naïve trial and error strategies or strategies of exploitation may soon result in inactivity of contributors at best, or negative word-of-mouth, instead of a positive return on investment. The Web took the idea of participation to a new level, because it opened participation not just to networks of professionals but to all users of the system. The power shift from companies and organizations to the individual consumer/user, enabled by Internet technology and global networking, calls for architectures of participation (O'Reilly 2004) and democratic forms of organizing (Castells 2009). Architectures of participation describe the nature of systems that are designed for user contribution. The term organizational democracy refers to forms of structurally supported substantive participation, including direct or representative joint consultation, co-determination, and self-determination (Heller, Pusic, Strauss & Wilpert 1998; Vilmar & Weber 2004).

Empirical observation of design contests and F/OSS projects suggests specific practices and rules of conduct that help establish democratic practices, and thus ensure sustainable online participation and collaboration.

2.1 Architecture and practices of participation

Inviting to participate online means inviting a crowd. *Crowds* is a term Kozinets, Hemetsberger and Schau (2008) give to large, organized groups who gather or are gathered together specifically to plan, manage, and/or complete particular tractable and well defined projects. What characterizes Crowds is the generally lower concentration of collective innovation – it is dispersed among a number of contributors – and their intentional collaboration in a particular project. Crowds tend to emphasize a particular project, or bounded set of projects. They are organized, focused, and purposive. They are centered upon the achievement of a particular objective, after which they usually disband. Often, they manifest an emergent collaborativeness, for example creating a single video, entering a particular contest, petitioning or boycotting for a particular organizational outcome.

Participation primarily addresses the communo-ludic but also the telospecific orientation of creative consumers and takes on the quality of a fun and creative online project. One out of many possibilities is to address the collaborative as well as the competitive character of a project at the same time in order to attract both urges. This has been described as 'communitition' (Hutter, Hautz, Füller, Müller & Matzler 2011), or 'collaboratition' (Wikipedia.org). A good example of collaboratition is the 2009 DARPA experiment. DARPA placed 10 balloon markers across the United States and challenged teams to compete to be the first to report the location of all the balloons. Collaboration of efforts was required to complete the challenge quickly, and competition fueled people's motivation to be first to solve the task. Contests might comprise various forms but the most prominent examples are designed as idea (IdeaStorm), design (designContest, DesignCrowd, 99designs), or advertising contests (Mypitch, Alternative Genius). Winning is important here but not against all odds.

Consider the famous "Crash the Superbowl" computer-generated advertising campaign conducted in 2007 by Pepsico Frito-Lay. In this innovative campaign, teams of consumers were encouraged by the company to design their own thirty-second ads for Doritos to exhibit during the 31st SuperBowl. The aspiring advertisers' works were judged, and the best ones were exhibited online, and then voted upon by a consumer audience, again on the Web (again utilizing collective intelligence). Centered on a particular "project"– that of designing enticing advertising for the Doritos brand to exhibit to a mass audience – a range of

different teams gathered together, following some simple rules, and contributing their creative output. However, Pepsico may have underestimated the amount of consumer innovation applied to the project, because the consumer teams did not stop after they had filmed, edited, and submitted their projects. Indeed, many of the contenders set up blogs, Web-pages, and YouTube links, and began organizing voting campaigns to entice and persuade consumers to vote for their offering, becoming run almost like mini-political campaigns. Of course, once winners were decided, the teams dispersed. Other common variants of the contest format are design contests that are hosted either by companies themselves or on crowdsourcing platforms, looking for creative ideas from consumers and semi-professional designers. Establishing a climate for participative contribution necessitates a well designed flow of resources and communication for democratic participation. Empirical evidence suggests a sequence of five steps. Participation processes are characterized by: (1) the allocation of resources to the community, (2) idea launch and elicitation of responses, (3) the evaluation of the outcome of these processes, (4) providing meaningful responses to the creative contributors of the community, and (5) giving back to the community.

The first step to consumer participation includes careful planning of the architecture and objective of the contest. The communo-ludic spirit of a contest needs to be established, community interaction enabled through blogs, twitter, and other platforms for interaction which connect people but also provide means for promoting the contributions of the contest participants. The launch of such a contest is not just about making great calls and videos that help motivate people to participate, but it is primarily about sharing resources. Although many of these contests play with the participant's motivation to play and tinker, contributors also ask themselves, what can I learn and achieve (see Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2006; Kozinets et al. 2008 and Schau et al. 2010). Two principles of participatory architecture are important here: access to learning resources, and clear messages about the objectives and how to achieve them. Whether participants choose a more communo-ludic or a telo-specific approach is primarily based in their personal motivation but all of them need to know what counts in the end. What is therefore important here is that callers of a contest need to give away some resources before asking people to contribute. This could be learning resources, Internet platforms, and similar sources people can use and work with. Only by giving first, callers demonstrate their willingness to share. The idea launch itself refers to how companies could leverage the creative lust of contributors. Contests, usually, are directed to specific subcultures of consumption. A simple but insightful example of how to share resources, tap into the commune-ludic spirit, and ask for participation may be found in the brief, sub-

culturally oriented online tutorial found at http://video.mpora.com/watch/MwNDhTnFQ/.

The idea launch should give clear advice how to win the contest, and how to earn money or 'kudos', for instance. In their study on motivations to upload videos on YouTube, Huberman, Romero and Wu (2009) found that people primarily seek the attention of the community. Hence, visibility and openness of contributions for the community are crucial. Thus, evaluation of contributions is certainly one of the most important steps in participation, because participants' most important striving is to be among the best, among the most devoted, and to be respected in the community. Therefore, measuring is a very sensitive issue and participants expect to be treated seriously and honestly. They also expect the caller to moderate these processes and take a stance, if measuring procedures, such as voting, polls, or expert ratings seem inscrutable for participants. Hence, meaningful response to contributors' quest and worries is crucial.

> "The competition was amply and enthusiastically advertised in many blogs (my own included). ***I will equally and as passionately advertise that you cheated if you don't take these measures*.*** Also, [*the co-sponsor of the call*] and the other sponsors will hear about this. I'm sure they will be not very happy to know that they paid for an organisation that doesn't know what it's doing and covering up for real cheaters!"
> [*what the poster means with 'measures' is logging the IP addresses of voters and taking care of attempts of cheating with flexible IP addresses]
> "Wow, you guys on the [*company who issued the call*] team have really been on your shit! People bitch and bitch and so do I but, you are on top of things I am really not used to that, ***in most contests I have been in I am lucky to even get a response back that is not automated.*** I am super stoked to see what the deal is on New Years Day. Happy Holidays and Good Luck in the New Year."

These quotes from a design contest demonstrate the sensitivity and importance of responsiveness. Responding means to make transparent the decision processes that led to the selection of a winner, as well as giving feedback to every single contributor. Particularly when a winner is sought, this process of judging becomes a central one. In participatory contests, procedural justice is an issue as personal achievements depend on it. Our empirical examples show that a mixture of expert rating and a fair public voting system that adheres to democratic principles is mandatory to retain contributors' goodwill. Yet, systems may vary and in the end, procedural justice is evaluated by the amount of openness and transparency of processes.

Participatory online cultures have established a culture of giving and giving back (Hemetsberger & Pieters 2001; Giesler 2006). As a last and important step of online participation, giving back and sharing is a mandatory closure of a con-

test. It could range from sharing the joy of the winner, exhibiting designs, sharing feedback, giving kudos, to sharing what the community has produced. Sharing has nothing to do with winning a contest but rather with giving back to all those who participated and contributed.

2.2 Collaboration strategies

Strategies of collaboration are typically found in online communities – called hives – with highly telo-specific orientations of contributors. *Hives* refer to online communities whose members contribute a relatively greater amount to the community, but who also produce innovations specifically to respond to particular challenges or to meet particular project goals. These groups might include groups that produce episodic videos on YouTube or episodic podcasts shared on iTunes that gain mass audiences. The self-organizing, industrious, diligent qualities of these groups, and their intention to reach high and produce a "quality product" tends to be their hallmark.

As Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007) note, these groups pose a fascinating alternative to the current production models in effect in society. Some produce goods that are such high quality as to be indistinguishable from commercial offerings. However, the productions of the Hive are intermixed with complex intellectual property, distributive and collective power issues that come into play. These issues have important theoretical implications for the consumer communities that are growing in power. Some of these issues have already been explored, for example in Langenderfer and Kopp's (2004) comprehensive analysis of the unauthorized online file-sharing and its ramifications on intellectual property rights and protection, or in Hemetsberger's (2007) analysis of the open-source movement. The free and open-source communities, for instance, have devised specific licenses in order to protect the 'creations of the commons' from becoming appropriated by corporations. They applied a radical Web-specific logic, protecting openness and innovation, but also attempting to outmaneuver intellectual property rights that seem, in many cases, to favor large corporations with access to massive amounts of capital (Demil & Lecocq 2006). If they are successful and continue to gain in influence, such models of innovation outside of the stream of traditional R&D departments and intellectual property rights laws may have profound implications upon society as a whole.

Collaboration is an ultimately democratic form of a networked endeavor, and therefore also vulnerable to all kind of conflicts and incompatibility of goals. Consequently, collaboration projects are rarely free from frictions, which make

project governance extraordinarily important. Yet, frictions commonly initiate discourse and reflection, thus regularly change and enrich ideas (Czarniawska 2008) as well. How, then, can collaborative efforts secure congruence? Dispersal of power in online collaboration, and the attendant move towards greater organizational democratization needs some other form of channeling resources, and work outcomes. An investigation into the practices of free- and open source software projects provides insights into some best practice examples of channeled online collaboration.

Collaboration processes within those communities encompass: (1) both, internal and external knowledge sharing, (2) provision of appropriate resources and a type of "social contract" governing intellectual capital sharing, (3) systems and processes to coordinate the collaboration process, (4) a communally-directed, controlled, or hybrid-cooperative model of judging output, and (5) a meaningful "closure" to the process and the sharing of results or collective outcome.

Collaboration specifically addresses the telo-specific orientation which is more goal-oriented and task-focused, and is more likely to become a long-term engagement. As a field of collaboration, it is often concerned with concrete outcomes as for instance, software, car design, complex scientific problems in chemistry, physics, or astronomy. Collaboration leverages tacit knowledge or 'sticky' information (von Hippel & von Krogh 2003) from collaborators and callers alike so as to produce highly innovative, sometimes ground-breaking new solutions. These gigantic databases of knowledge on the Internet have motivated millions of interested contributors/users to contribute and increase their knowledge (von Krogh, Spaeth & Lakhani 2003; Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2006). Knowledge not only motivates contributors but also empowers them in that they feel a sense of control, mastery, and deep gratification.

Yet sharing knowledge is but one starting point for collaboration. The grounding principle of open collaboration is openness and open access to the most important resources of a company – its capabilities and Know How. A detailed and sophisticated legal agreement accompanies this practice of open access – not to secure property rights for anyone but instead, to keep the common works open. The GNU License is but one example of safeguarding access to valuable resources.

> GNU General Public License, version 2
> 1. You may copy and distribute verbatim copies of the Program's source code as you receive it, in any medium, provided that you conspicuously and appropriately publish on each copy an appropriate copyright notice and disclaimer of warranty; keep intact all the notices that refer to this License and to the absence of any warranty;

> and give any other recipients of the Program a copy of this License along with the Program.

Openness and free access are also part of the 'social contract' to keep Internet sources open and accessible.

In collaboration, participants are required to recognize and engage with different goals of action and different expertise distributed across group members. Work in those projects is voluntary; task assignment and decisions cannot be enforced (Demil & Lecoq 2006). Hence, conflicting interests and uneven distribution of tasks among different actors could impede the pursuit of the activity and the achievement of the common goal. Therefore, collaboration needs sophisticated systems and processes of coordination. Coordination of collaboration is a highly complex agenda and needs individual adjustment to the specificity of projects. As an overall principle, coordination in dispersed Hives demands systems of *coattailing* that weave individual work into the collective endeavor (Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2009). Coat-tailing systems tie everyday actions to the overall group project in that they channel individual activity so as to become part of a huge puzzle. Examples in software development are, for instance, current versioning systems that help everyone see what has been programmed, changed, and where to invest more effort. Commonly, work on missing important pieces of code is also rewarded so as to motivate contributions of high priority.

Judgment of contributions is not just a matter of voting or expert ratings, as commonly observed with participatory projects, but rather getting feedback from the crowd and kudos from the most well-known experts, getting write access to common documents, and similar. Evaluation is meant to increase knowledge, pride and reputation of collaborators. Evaluating, commenting, feedback and kudos as systems of judgment and evaluation tap right into the main motivation of contributors – to learn and take pride in their achievements.

The last step of implementation and sharing outcomes is not just a courtesy to the crowd. In the case of F/OSS projects, where many collaborators work for free, all have access to a huge pool of free software, which is an enormous economic gain. Second, all actors, who are involved in programming entertain warm communal relationships, social reputation, and improve their career opportunities (Hemetsberger & Pieters 2001; Lee & Cole 2003; Leimeister, Huber, Bretschneider & Krcmar 2009). Collaboration is characterized by deep involvement and immersion in passionate work, which is freed from corporate strangleholds, and which can develop freely in a democratic form of joint labor (Hemetsberger 2006). Principles of meritocracy and democratic decision-making are the drivers of collaborative practices (Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2009).

3 Discussion

Clarke and Butcher (2006) have recently proposed the concept of voluntarism as an alternative organizational binding mechanism that alters the role of hierarchy and power in organizations. Participation and collaboration constitute forms of hybrid, dispersed and pluralistic work that are hundred percent voluntary and successfully bring together different actors with varying degrees of expertise, power, and control in a joint effort to (mostly) innovate. The open space of the Internet and the according technological developments form the basis for these collaborative forms. Regularly, the outcomes are intriguing. Yet, this study shows that they must be solidly grounded in principles of voluntary collective work.

In summary, I found some democratic key principles that deserve attention in both forms of participation and collaboration: openness, sharing, alignment of interests and transparency. *Openness* is a specific characteristic of both forms and key to successful collaboration, because it provides access to resources, information, expertise, rules of conduct, people, and culture. Openness is not just a buzzword for access to all kinds of digital resources and social contacts but it also implies open-mindedness. Openness is challenging and might be overwhelming as all information, discussions, and project outcomes are openly accessible. But openness also results in an abundance of unexpected ideas, contributions, and rewards for all contributors, and also for society at large. Openness is also a prerequisite for a culture of *sharing* which we might circumscribe as a common sense of ownership. Sharing transcends the perspective of owning, buying, or selling something. Shared things are, basically, joint possessions, contradicting proprietary ownership (Belk 2010). Hybrid forms of collaboration often face problems simply, because they are not willing to share, nor decide on important future development in a democratic manner. Trust is violated if a company retains ultimate control over rights allocation and the project's future, providing only limited access to resources and outcomes, planning processes, or strategic decision-making (West & O'Mahony 2008). Consequently, as the company and community may have different visions, goals and priorities, the community members may lack intrinsic motivation and have trouble developing a sense of ownership (West & O'Mahony 2005).

Sharing is only possible when we are sensitive to the *alignment of interests*, which for contributors comprises passionate work, knowledge, recognition, peering, and some use value of what they have jointly been working for. Companies should consider that and legitimate their collaboration by taking responsibility and making *transparent* what their goals are, and what values they are sharing (Ågerfalk & Fitzgerald 2008). The bases for trust in collaboration are contribu-

tions, concern, honesty and collegiality (Adler, Kwon & Heckscher 2008). Companies can do that by showing the strength of their own engagement in collaborative projects.

Apart from these communalities and key principles, participation and collaboration demand different input and engagement on the side of the actors, depending on the communal orientation of the contributor(s). For example, although the notion of sharing is important in both types of communal interaction, the boundedness, directionality, and hierarchical control of what is shared can be markedly different in the pursuit of participation versus collaboration strategies. Typically, collaboration is highly dependent on the processes of sharing resources, knowledge, and the outcomes of the collaborative endeavor without exerting much hierarchical power. Participatory practices include sharing as well, however, without necessarily giving up company control and intellectual property rights of the end product. Limited sharing, here, often does not remain uncontested. Property of rights on the ideas and designs contributed increasingly cause conflicts of ownership and feelings of exploitation. Hence, companies have recently developed sophisticated legal models for compensation and use.

Second, whereas communo-ludic, competitive oriented contributors need a lot of communal space but relatively little resources and Know How, collaboration is characterized by knowledge sharing and access to valuable resources. Collaboration projects, therefore, commonly build huge platforms for knowledge sharing and creation for its contributors and for the interested public (Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2006). Furthermore, collaborators will usually take more pride and ownership in the project, which leads to accumulations of strong opinions regarding the achievements, workflow and future objectives. Project governance needs to take care of these processes, provide clear rules, codes of conduct, and transparent strategies and decision-making processes. However, these rules are not established to avoid conflict but to give everyone a voice, and include critical thoughts in the development of projects (Hemetsberger & Reinhardt 2009). Yet, whereas participation is merely a matter of giving everyone a voice, collaboration also includes open decision-making. This could actually result in long and never-ending open discussions without achieving a common agreement. F/OSS projects, therefore, have installed governance structures of decision-making and a meritocratic principle of ‘the power of the doer’.

The outlined cases suggest that collaborative projects are able to act within the dominant capitalist market logic without giving up their participatory character by installing their own democratic principles and practices. Collaborative projects contain a multitude and a myriad of stances which have to be continually (re-)negotiated. This multitude produces contradictions and provokes tensions that have to be addressed. However, these contradictions seem vital for a con-

stant and lively discourse and (re-)negotiation of democratic practices of participation and collaboration.

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The European Citizens' Initiative: Empowering Political Participation in the EU?

Anja Opitz & Doris Dialer

1 Introduction

On April 1st 2012 Europe will face a historical moment: the first European Citizens' Initiative (ECI)[1] is supposed to be registered. At first sight the ECI seems to be an innovative tool of direct democracy through participation and the first of its kind on a supranational level. Because civil society is strongly "linked to the idea of participation" which itself is deemed to "have higher democratic credentials than representation." (Kohler-Koch 2010: 100) However, the functioning of the European Union shall continue to be founded on "representative democracy". But why is that considered to be historical?

One of the central aims of the Treaty of Lisbon was to address a perceived democracy and legitimacy gap in the European Union, which was inter alia seen in the lack of direct participation in legislative processes. Nearly two years after its implementation and due to the extremely limited politicization of European policy-making the EU is still perceived as an entity of "policy without politics" (Garavoglia 2011). For all the progress achieved with "Lisbon", EU decision-making has appeared ever more obscure, with a confusion of leadership, a chaotic start of the foreign policy chief, and decisions increasingly taken by head of state and government, during Euro-crisis. The idealism associated with European construction is in the face of social and economic crisis more and more draining away.

However, with the ECI, the new Treaty is widening up the sphere of public debate, allowing citizens to participate more intensively in the democratic life of the Union: According to Article 11.4 of the Lisbon treaty, "not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of member states may

1 On 11th November 2009 the Commission published a Green Paper on the ECI with a consultation period running till 31st January 2010. In addition to this consultation was a public hearing in Brussels on 22nd February 2010. The Parliament and the Council agreed on the draft regulation on 16th December 2010.

W. G. Weber et al. (Eds.), *Democratic Competences and Social Practices in Organizations,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-19631-2_3,

take the initiative of inviting the [European] Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the treaties". Citizens will be able to provide their suggestions on a European subject that will then be ideally translated by the Commission into an initiative. Within the assigned 3 month examination period the Commission[2] will of course meet the organizers committee to discuss the issues raised in their initiative. The citizens' committee will also have the opportunity to present their ECI at a public hearing organized at the European Parliament in Brussels. The ECI is therefore seen as a chance to help reconcile citizens with the EU and to slightly reverse the trend of euro-estrangement. In this respect ECI might be a tool for citizens to actively participate in the European decision shaping process. It could help to promote pan-European debate and to reinforce citizens' sense of ownership of the European project.

The described normative procedure means that EU citizens basically will be placed on “equal footing with the EU Parliament and the Council of the European Union in respect of their right to propose a draft law to the EU Commission.”[3] Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the European Commission and Commissioner for Inter-institutional Relations and Administration, was delighted when Parliament and Council had managed to reach agreement on the European Citizens' Initiative already in December 2010. In the Commission's official Press Release (2010) he enthusiastically described the ECI as follows:

> "(...) it is a major step forward in the democratic life of the Union. It's a concrete example of bringing Europe closer to its citizens. And it will foster a cross border debate about what we are doing in Brussels and thus contribute (...) to the development of a real European public space."

Not only within an academic but also public debate this integrative and participative potential is considered to be an outstanding democratic element introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon. Yet, gathering signatures and submitting them to the Commission for consideration is nothing brand new: the breakthrough for citizen initiatives can already be seen in the so called “participatory revolution.”

2 Indeed, concerns were raised by experts as well as practitioners over the readiness of the institutions for the first ECI. At the moment there is no budget and no adequate manpower in the European Commission. Also Member States involved have to appoint officials or authorities for implementing the ECI. To put it in other words, if the European Union wants the first ECI to be a success they have to budget it and care for the necessary supportive infrastructure within the Commission.

3 Österreichisches Institut für Europäische Rechtspolitk, 2011: Summit 2011. Vienna Declaration on the Introduction of the European Citizens´ Initiative, 1.

(Oberreuter 2001; Kaase 1993: 17; Kießling 2001: 30) Not giving rise to a binding referendum, the Citizens' Initiative also seems to be an "agenda initiative" calling on the Commission to draw up legislation. Critics even point out that the ECI confirms little more than a simple invitation for freedom of expression (Bouza García 2010).

Against this background the aim of this contribution is to challenge the common assumption: Given the fact, that the European Commission is under no obligation to transfer the will of the European demos as expressed in a Citizens´ Initiative into European law, and remains the sole initiator of legislation, the authors will raise the question what, in the end, makes the ECI a participatory democratic element. Slightly exaggerated: Is the recognition of a right of citizens' initiative just another desperate attempt to finally legitimize European integration? Therefore, the article starts with a short reflection on a central issue within the discussion of a democratic deficit in the EU, the question of a *European* civil society; in particular, whether it will be a precondition for a successful ECI or not. This reflection is directly followed by an analysis of the concept of representation in relation to civil society and ECI. This shall lead to a critical discussion of the interdependency between representation and ECI as a tool of direct participation and finally an evaluation of its real democratic value.

2 European public sphere: precondition or consequence?

A core area within the prominent debate on the democratic deficit of the EU refers to the relation between civil society and EU institutions, in particular the involvement of the society in EU affairs. As Kohler-Koch enunciates it accurately, “the common denominator is that civil society is a remedy to the legitimacy crisis of the EU and, consequently, the involvement if civil society is a main concern. Participation and not representation is under debate.” (Kohler-Koch 2010: 101) But European citizens are neither a static nor a homogeneous group and their demands and means of expression have evolved constantly. Moreover, they do neither emerge with a common history nor with stories of civic life together. In the absence of a shared language and a European public sphere, the appeal to direct EU democracy might be rather ambitious. In times of constant crises the trust in the European Union is declining, with the attendant risk of a citizenship deficit: We increasingly have found EU worshipping at the altar of economic growth rather than promoting active citizens' participation.

Yet the ambitious concept of 'transnational democracy' has, however, been greeted with both optimism and criticism. A general claim held by many ECI

observers is that this direct democratic tool will contribute to the development of a European public sphere. It is supposed to encourage citizens to participate in the European political debate, contrasting top-down official European discourses. With ECI European citizens can raise issues directly at the European level for the first time. Optimists arguing in this direction have even suggested that the Lisbon Treaty has created a *new institutional body*: one million citizens from at least one quarter of member states! On the other hand, those putting forward the criticism that European citizens are not able to understand a complex direct democracy tool, one could argue that it is even more difficult to follow and understand representative EU politics.

In general, the principle of representation assumes that there is an original overall interest that neither can be derived from the individual will nor from the will of collectives. The tradition of the common welfare seems to be the guiding principle of political action at this point (Oberreuter 2009): It shall be deemed, that the will of the people focuses on the promotion of the common interest and therefore policy decisions should aim at the common welfare that is assumed to correspond to the will of the people.

In contrast, the rejection of the principle of representative government assumes that the overall interest and welfare are identical with the free choice of citizens. Oberreuter (2009) argues, on this account, the common good no longer represents a control size, rather it simply derives from the results of decision making processes. As a result, any interest could generate a general interest. Normative policy dimensions shall receive a precarious status hereby: At all times it is preserved, what is currently a consensus as long as actors are moving in a purely plebiscitary system with an extremely withdrawing of normative bonds. In the end, both argumentations trust the will of the people: The difference only lies in the fact that on the one hand it is assumed, that people generally *want* the right thing, on the other, that it basically *does* the right thing (Oberreuter 2009).

In that context, ECI should not to be understood as a classical plebiscitary element. It is also not to be understood as a pan-European vote on a factual question. Rather, it represents one million votes out of a quarter of the Member States inviting the Commission to submit a proposal on matters, where they consider that a legal act is required. It also differs from the democratic instrument of a petition: On 6th September 2011 the environmental NGO "Global 2000" handed over the petition *"Shutdown nukes"* with more than 700.000 signatures to the chairwomen of the European Parliament Petition Committee. In this context some national newspaper where talking about an ECI and by doing so mixing up to different tools of direct participation on the European level. EU citizens may submit a petition directly to the European Parliament's Petitions

Committee. Such petitions give the European Parliament the opportunity of calling attention to any infringement of a European citizen's rights by a Member State or local authorities or other institution. The European Parliament can then request the Commission to provide a remedy and, if necessary, it can push for an amendment to EU law.

The discourse (directly or via media) of actively participating citizenry transforms public communication into public opinion and provides the EU institutions with ideas, interests and demands that have to be taken into consideration in the political process. In that sense, ECI can indeed be seen as an institution of an indicated common welfare putting an issue on the EU agenda which is currently not the subject of a Brussels directive. Of course, this effect becomes important within the discussion of the existence of a *European* identity. At least, it becomes clear, that a successful ECI needs a European sphere.

This theoretically assumption is empirically proved by various new Internet-based formats of extended citizen participation emerging and which are expected to democratize the processes of agenda-setting and decision-making. Given the fact that public spheres are mostly generated on the national level, the frame of reference for a discursive democracy is primarily set by national parliaments, media and cultural institutions. The ECI is therefore relying on the communication channels which do already exist within the EU27. To reach the citizens the ECI tools have to be simple, user-friendly und accessible. Internet-based political participation including e-consultations, e-petitions and social networks is already establishing a kind of European e-public. These e-channels and e-formats are of major importance in getting a first ECI run.

3 Representation through participation? Unifying peoples rather than states

The European Union is an 'innovative polity' going through a constant adjustment process. Thus comparisons with state-type models of direct democratic participation may well prove misleading. Yet the pre-legislative consultative phase of the drafting of the regulation showed that most stakeholders base their comments on national or sub-national experiences (Kaufmann 2010). Of course the ECI is not a citizens' initiative such as those provided for in the majority of Member States (MS)[4], which give rise to a binding referendum, but rather a non-

4 CIs at national level: Austria, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and the Netherlands; CIs at regional level: Austria, Germany, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands; CIs at local leval: Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden.

binding *“agenda (setting) initiative”* requesting the Commission to formally acknowledge the submission and draw up legislation (Ventura 2010).

Yet, the ECI only applies to issues within the European Unions' fields of competence and legislative powers. This means that initiatives on issues such as the shutdown of nuclear power plants (doing so contravenes the Euratom Treaty) would be dismissed from the very beginning. Among the ECIs currently in the pipeline are a bid to recognize water as a human right and public good, a drive for EU legislation to protect media pluralism and an effort to ensure that roaming charges are fair. Others include a plan to establish a European Education Trust for more European schools and an initiative for more intra-EU exchange programs like Erasmus. But if the ECI is limited to integrated supranational policy fields, can it still be considered as a true democratic element of participation? And how is it related to representation?

According to the democratic concept of representation, the people constitute governing bodies who are then acting on their behalf. To this effect, it does not govern itself. Rather governing bodies are responsible and accountable to the people by whom they are directly or indirectly elected. Ernst Fraenkel defines representation as the “legally authorized exercise of governmental functions by constitutionally appointed, in the name of the people, but without the binding mandate acting organs of the state or other public authorities, who educe their authority directly or indirectly and legitimize it with the demand to serve the common interest of people and in this way to carry out their the true will.” (Fraenkel 1991:153) The greater complexity of representative democracy would be justified in the fact, that political leadership and participation are balanced. Comprehensive and coherent political action orientated on the public weal could easier be realized hereby (Oberreuter 2001).

As carved out earlier, ECI fulfills the condition of indicating a common welfare. Therefore, first and foremost the Commission and the European Parliament are the governing bodies, who, in terms of the concept of representation, should have to carry out the common interest and who should balance political leadership and participation. At this point and with a view to democratic participation, ECI proves its innovative potential but apparently shows its greatest weakness as well: On the one hand, the public weal is even more significant, because each ECI aims to bring out a political decision by indirect legitimized governing institutions being transferred into European law. Hereby, democratic participation turns into democratic representation. Even if the Commission concludes not to turn an ECI into European Law, the European Parliament could always take it up via its own rights of initiative (Art 225 TFEU) if the majority of Members of Parliament (MEPs) consider that it would be sensitive to get active in the field proposed by the initiative. The Parliament would then flex its

muscles towards the Commission and the Council gained through the Treaty of Lisbon.

Moreover, not only the European Parliament or the Council (in the case of acceptance) plays a key role. The Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU) is expected to be the ultimate adjudicator certainly on matters of competence. Even a role for the European Ombudsman[5] has been considered to prevent maladministration of the ECI. Although the Ombudsman has no legally binding instruments at his disposal, public censure by the Ombudsman is often enough to make the authority or institution concerned see reason.

On the other hand and also the name already indicates ECI is only an initiative and not a binding "mandate" for the Commission to turn it into European law. That weakens the participatory element right away. This assumption would as well be proven, if the European Parliament does not take action in case the Commission does not transform an ECI into a concrete legislative proposal. Governing bodies in that case do precisely not represent the common interest and therefore do not balance political leadership and participation. Arguing that way, ECI is missing original commitment to turn it into a "true" participatory tool.

4 Merely a matter of NGO´s?

At this point, another inherent barrier needs to be addressed: How can the required number of signatures from at least one million citizens and from at least a quarter of EU member states institutionally be organized? Doesn´t this procedure thwart democratic participation?

"Integrative representation" (BVerfGE 51, 222 (236, 238, 249); 71, 81 (97); 95, 408 (420)) does not only imply the equality of opportunity for example within the electoral contest. It just as much requires the chance of the voter to participate in the debate over policy-related matters (Oberreuter 2011). Given the difficulty to promote such an initiative and to mobilize European public opinion, it can be expected that the involvement of pan-European civil society organizations will be almost inevitable.

A successful ECI therefore calls for a mutually supportive relationship between national and above all supranational NGOs and their respective lobbying

5 The European Ombudsman, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, has issued a contribution to the public consultation on the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI). He called on the Commission to ensure that the ECI works in the most transparent and citizen-friendly way possible. The public consultation on the ECI ended on 31 January 2010.

efforts at regional, national and European level. In practice the mode of cooperation of NGOs and the Commission has increased most rapidly in recent years. Yet, formalization of the dialogue between the EU and non state actors and the definition of clear rules are thanks to ECI on the agenda again.

Irrespective of the support of European based NGOs, many proposed citizens' initiatives will not even take the hurdle of registration. Prior to initiating the collection of statements of support from signatories the citizens' committee is required to register online. Besides the title of the ECI, the subject matter and a description of the objectives the citizens' committee have to indicate the provisions of the Treaties considered relevant for the proposed action as well as all sources of support and funding for the proposed citizens' initiative at the time of registration (European Union 2011). This means that already at that early stage of an ECI their organizers have to very well know the Treaties because ECIs cannot push for treaty change. Therefore real innovative ideas will have huge problems passing this first check because the Commission will simply refuse[6] to register the proposed initiative.

Moreover, organizing a campaign across at least seven MS may be beyond individuals or even NGOs capacities. In addition, it might prove difficulties to find an issue of sufficiently broad consensus in such a large number of MS[7]. Of course national NGOs from different countries could fail to agree on a proposal of a certain form of campaigning for an ECI.

When NGOs participate in policy-making they are not providing a direct participation opportunity to its 'clients' but simply representing them. It comprises a form of symbolic citizens' representation rather than a formalistic one. Following this line of research, the concept of representation is used here as a means of top-down campaign mobilization. Thus, NGOs have to mobilize their members or followers by the quality of representation they offer. The interaction of campaign mobilization with democratic representation gives an answer to the theoretical setting of ECI. Up to this point, ECI can be defined as the ability of NGOs to mobilize via distinct policy positions.

Thus, ECI does not seem capable to foster citizens' participation beyond the civil society organizations already well established on the supra-national

6 The Commission will refuse to register a proposed ECI if the formation of the citizens' committee does not follow the rules, it falls manifestly outside the framework of the Commission's powers to submit a proposal for the requested legal act, it is manifestly abusive, frivolous or vexatious or it is manifestly contrary to the values of the Union as set out in Article 2 TEU (European Union 2011).

7 In each of these Member States, the minimum number of signatures required will be calculated by multiplying the number of Members of the European Parliament from that country by a factor of 750.

level and involved in European policy-making processes. This calls for further reflection on representativeness of NGOs as well as the direct democratic impact of ECI and its capacity to produce any kind of "democratic spillover" as expected from the democratic functionalist theory. If the aim of ECI should be to extend deliberation on the EU to the general public, a possible requirement for participation would be that "outsider" groups are attracted (also by financial means) to launch an ECI (Bouza Garzcía 2010: 13 - 15).

5 Enhancing participation in 2014 European elections

Last but not least, ECI is also increasingly important for the 2014 election of the European Parliament. The principle of the sovereignty of the citizens can be considered as the basis of liberal democracy: “all state power, political power, must be based on the legitimacy by the people” (Oberreuter 2011: 4). Therefore elections would be the essential method to realize this principle. That especially becomes relevant in the EU being considered as political system sui generis. Here an even closer relation of democracy, elections and legitimated governing bodies is gaining importance. Elections are “the distinctive feature of democracy and the one which allows us to distinguish the democracy from other political methods“(Verba 1978: 4).

As stated earlier, according to the concept of democratic representation governing institutions like the EU Parliament are responsible and accountable to the people of the different EU member states by whom they are directly elected. Since the European elections take place quinquennially, their mission is legally limited in time.

Now, with the ECI starting on 1st April, 2012, it will take more than one and half years until the date of the Commission's decision - which has another three month for examination - on how it will proceed. The first ECI will be on the table November 2013 the first at the earliest (Kaufmann 2011)[8]. In view of the European elections 2014 the ECI should be considered as a tool to get European citizens actively involved in European affairs. Among other factors, in the growing as well as in the declining voter participation a strong level of output legitimacy of democracy seems to be reflected. Apparently, gaps of output and frustrations following them shall lead into a withdrawal of trust and a increased distance of the citizens towards their political representatives: A large number of

8 The organizers of a citizens' initiative, a citizens' committee composed of at least 7 EU citizens who are resident in at least 7 different Member States, will have 1 year to collect the necessary statements of support and the number of signatures has to be certified by the competent authorities in the Member States.

citizens do not consider them being very important anymore and even meet them with growing cynicism (Oberreuter 2001). Against this theoretical background and empirically given the steady decline in EP's election turnout (43%[9] in 2009 compared to 61% in 1979) the first ECI has to be a success story not least to raise the electoral participation in 2014.

At the same time, parliamentary elections symbolize the unification of a political "community", or, in other words, they gain respected political action through the competitive pluralism of a society based on a consensus (Oberreuter 2011). Oberreuters analysis can easily be transferred to the EU as well: The supranational *European* "unit" becomes effective via parliamentary decision-making rights of a functioning parliament.

If not just the Commission but especially the European Parliament would refuse to take action on the grounds of a European Initiative, the mechanisms of a lack of output legitimization will take place. An increasing number of non voters will show a loss of confidence. As a consequence, the “new power” of the Parliament, gained through the Lisbon Treaty will be levered out. The elected representatives will then precisely not comply with the common interest. An existing legitimacy deficit of the EU will be aggravated in the end.

Commission and Parliament should therefore pay particular attention to the way the first ECI could enhance participation in 2014 European elections. The mobilization effect of an ECI creating the feeling that "my signature can make a difference" should not be underestimated. One strong predictor of levels of participation refers to citizens' perception of their ability to know what is going on and to make a difference politically.

Moreover, promotion Synergies could be generated in convincing the electorate to participate in the European project. Thus, the consensus seems to be that if we want active citizens then it needs to provide positive experiences of real decision making on issues that matter to them. ECI simply has to be a success in order to provide a good experience of participation. Given the fact that the 'founding fathers' of ECI do not know whether the current framework is the right one, ECI mechanism is supposed to be reviewed and improved by 1 April

9 EU 27 average percentage turn-out in detail (Van Den Broeke 2009): Significant turnout increase in 8 Member States (MS): Estonia (+17.07), Latvia (+12.36), Denmark (+11.65), Bulgaria (+9.77), Sweden (+7.68), Poland (+3.66), Austria (+3.54) and Slovakia (+2.67). Minor turnout variation in 8 MS: Finland (+0.87), Germany (+0.30) and Ireland (+0.06), Luxembourg (-0.59), Belgium (-0.42), Spain (-0.27), Czech Republic (-0.10), Slovenia (-0.02). Sharp fall in turnout in 4 MS: Lithuania (-27.40), Cyprus (-13.10), Greece (-10.61), Italy (-6.67). Slight fall in turnout in 7 MS: UK (-3.82), Malta (-3.60), The Netherlands (-2.51), Hungary (-2.19), France (-2.13), Portugal (-1.82), Romania (-1.80).

2015 and every 3 years after that, the Commission will present a report on the application of the Regulation.

6 Conclusive remarks

Irrespective of all the theoretical and methodological divergences, this paper joins a long line of research in the area of direct democracy. The results of the first ECI will be interpreted according to the logic of CIs in member states as national experiences with direct democracy are building the basis for interpretation. The conventional direct democracy theory proposes a bottom-up model in which European citizen's take an active part in the European decision-making process. In contrast, it can be shown that ECI being a political "elite project" won't break with the top-down approach. More specifically, Parliament and Commission fail both in communicating ECI and in persuading individual citizens to take part in it. This general mobilization deficit has far-reaching consequences not only on making ECI a success story in supranational direct participation but also on the turnout of the forthcoming 8th Elections to the European Parliament.

For reducing the legitimacy deficit at the supranational level the impact of ECI will be of minor importance. Without the orientation guide provided by competent national authorities citizens are lost with complex EU politics in general and complex tools of direct participation in particular. Furthermore, the virtues of mobilization effects can be found only in connection with traditional socioeconomic issues. In contrast, EU-specific affairs have been systematically kept out of political (national) competition so far. However, the European arena may benefit at least by a slight increase in pan-European public debate. Finally, the ECI should be seen as a political process and an opportunity for the Stakeholders within the European Institutions to prove that they are listening to the citizens.

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Participation in Schools – a Classification Concept

Markus Ammann

1 Introduction

Schools as organizations are of peculiar nature: their goals are very different from those of enterprises. Although enterprises may contribute to society in some ways e. g. in form of charity, one of their main interests is earning money. Questions like operating in markets or grappling with competitors are their main focus. Schools as socially desired organizations have different functions and goals for society and can be understood by their specific history. The separation of the church and the state brought about the first steps towards an autonomous understanding of teaching and the profession of being a teacher. As a result teachers became civil servants with a wide range of protection against different attempts of interference from external persons (Ritscher 1983). Schools' tasks seem to be very clear: enculturation, qualification, integration and allocation (Fend 2006). In trying to understand schools, one has to think about these functions and how they are put into practice. Therefore schools have institutionalised structures codified in laws trying to regulate teachers' daily worklife e. g. in form of rules. "'Structure' refers not only to rules implicated in the production and reproduction of social systems but also to resources (…)." (Giddens 1999: 23) As Giddens points out, production and reproduction of structures over time is an important aspect next to other resources e. g. money or power. The understanding of teaching and along with it the understanding of the teaching profession is the result of different historical influences producing and reproducing the work of teachers against the background of current structures and zeitgeist.

Different stakeholders have different interests in schools and therefore teachers have to deal with many influences. A school – e. g. a vocational school – has different stakeholders. For example people who work there like teachers or secretaries. The pupils and parents might have an interest in good education. Enterprises in the local area of a school could be interested in advertisement, sponsoring or selling products on the one hand and in good skilled graduates for the labour market on the other hand. Principals might want the school to have a good reputation and neighbours of schools could be interested in living without turbulences (Meyer 2001; Ammann 2009). These are just a few examples of different stakeholders and selected interests they might have. Overall a wide

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range of interests is conceivable and the principal as the leader of the school and the teachers as the persons responsible for the education have to deal with diverse expectations. On the one hand a teacher should contribute to the fulfilment of social functions. On the other hand there are parents who leave the child-rearing to the schools and hand it over to the teachers. Other parents just want the best education for their children with the best grades. In this context the possible individual interests of teachers like e. g. preparing and teaching in another way in form of open learning haven't been discussed yet.

On a macro level the state as representative of the tax-payer takes care of the social functions and regulates schools in form of different laws, acts, curricula or regulation of textbooks. This form of regulation – called input-regulation – has changed over the past 20 years. Nowadays the controlling of the output in form of e. g. national educational standards or PISA study are on the agenda. The new forms of regulations are served by flexible structures and more scope for school development. Schools were required to formulate mission statements, to work on quality or to develop individual majors like international marketing, audit or information technology. The aims are schools with a specific and unique profile. "Supported by innovative management theories, schools need to be autonomous and have their own personalized school culture and decision-making process." (Pashirdas 1994: 14) Regarding the actual circumstances the understanding, that a school doesn't have to engage in promotion or have competitors changed and might change the life and therefore the understanding of schools as organisations. The special school programs or major skills give parents and potential pupils a chance to compare schools and to choose the school, which suits their individual interests. In many cases principals and staff decided to go through the process by using the approach of organizational development. Getting the persons concerned involved is an important aspect from this point of view. As mentioned above history and laws had and have an impact on the actors and their understanding of work in school. If you want to change schools, you have to think about these facts. They have consequences for different change processes. Fullan (2007) puts it in a nutshell: "Schools change slower than churches." Considering this quote the chances of success do not seem to be good. In fact it shows once more that schools are organisations of a particular character.

Teaching in teams or discussing topics with colleagues is becoming more important these days. This forces a change upon the understanding of the teaching profession and the pedagogical ethos. Traditionally teachers had to do their work in classrooms by themselves. Each group of pupils has its specifics and thus requires special preparation. Therefore teaching is a highly individual process and cannot be regulated or standardised. The individual supporting and

challenging of pupils as one element of teaching needs flexibility and freedom (Anderson 1981). Participation of teachers has to be subordinated to the classical role of them. Teachers have to widen the understanding of their role in different topics e. g. curriculum development, teacher evaluation, school improvement, leadership or research (Pashiardis 1994). The idea that one person is responsible for a class on the micro level is going to change into a more team oriented understanding on a meso level where teachers work together in different school development projects. But changes are still difficult to implement, because structures in form of laws and regulations are protecting those teachers who are not interested in participating in different development projects. Therefore it is not very surprising that people find other ways of following their interests. Depending on their own experience, the teacher training they had, their socialization within a specific culture and their personal interest they try to reach different goals (Ball 1987). On the other hand teachers have to take care of their classes and the first thing on their minds might be work in class. Participation of the teachers in the change process is one form of involving persons in school related topics and will always depend on their understanding of the work they have to do.

These arguments lead to a specific understanding of schools as organisations. In this context Weick (1976) argues that schools are loosely coupled systems. “If it is argued that a sense of efficacy is crucial for human beings, then a sense of efficacy might be greater in a loosely coupled system where discretion is limited.” (Weick 1976: 8) Understanding schools in this way is one possible approach. Weick points out that there are different ways to achieve a goal. Therefore the end can be reached in different ways and so it is loosley coupled with the way a person chooses. In other words this would mean that teachers have different opinions on how good lessons have to be prepared and conducted. Some prefer talk and chalk teaching, others self-regulated learning. In the end pupils should have learned something, which does not mean, that they have learned the same things. The past years the understanding and the structures changed and different understandings of teaching came along the road. Loosely coupled systems are e.g. connected networks (teacher staff) in which a principal for example has difficulties in spreading his influence because of the autonomous teachers. Another issue is the difficulty of observing the different lessons. It is simply not possible for one person/principal to be in several classrooms at the same time and therefore observation can only be regarded as a snapshot of the teaching process in a class.

Participation is a concept which introduces democracy to organisation. “The theory of participation democracy argues that the experience of participation in some way leaves the individual better psychologically equipped to under-

take further participation in the future (…)." (Pateman 1999: 45) Anyhow stakeholders do not necessarily agree with the outcomes. The other side of the medal is also important. Democratic decisions might create disappointment amongst those whose interests have not been done justice. Therefore it seems to be difficult to control schools and to develop schools because the people can find different ways of following their own interests and participating in schools. This is the point where micro-political activities come into play. Micro-politics offers a view where strategies of individuals and groups in organisations can be analysed. In trying to widen their impact range and promote their own interests, stakeholders – teachers, pupils, principals and so on – use the power and resources offered by the structure of the school (Ball 1987).

In the next sections different forms of participation will be presented against the background of a specific theoretical framework form the field of political sciences. My intention with this paper is to argue for a conceptually wider understanding of the concept of participation, which should theorize participation as a process of democratisation, participation as a process of co-determination and participation as a process of following one's own interests from a micro-political view. Therefore first of all the concept of participation will be discussed from the perspective of political science. In a next step the different forms are going to be illustrated in form of some exemplary activities in school. The paper will end with conclusions, presenting some of the impacts the perspective developed in this paper might have for the daily life and routine in schools.

2 Forms of participation

Research on participation in general can be seen from different perspectives. Analyses on participation in schools usually focus on institutional participation in the form of laws and on participation as a (teaching-) method of democratisation (Bogler & Somech 2005). In this sense research on participation in schools and research on participation in companies have significant similarities. Research on participation in companies is based on codified participation, participation as a tool of management and participation as a chance to lead an organisation by implementing a democratic culture (see contributions by Fricke and by Weber & Unterainer in this book). On the one hand it can be regarded as co-determination of employees regulated by the law and on the other hand as a tool of human resource development.

An analysis on participation can be performed from different levels: On the one hand a possible level of analysis is the macro level, which refers to large

social units like the state or decisions made by governments (Milbrath & Goel 1977). Both – research in schools and companies – discuss different forms of participation that are codified in laws like co-determination. The other focus is participation on the meso level of an organisation. In this case participation can be seen as (management – or teaching) tools, which allows teachers or managers to participate in special and specific projects. On the other hand peoples' informal activities are of interest too (Milbrath & Goel 1977). Interestingly stakeholders' pursuance of their goals in the form of informal talks or public demonstrations, which can be seen as a form of organisational participation as well, are not discussed in participation literature. In this context we are talking about individual behaviour on the mirco level, which could be seen as micro-political activities (see Auer & Welte in This book). Micro-politics and politics on a macro level done by professionals have various similarities. When conducting micro-political research in organisations, one notices that people very often use political vocabulary to describe situations. Micro-politics names an arsenal of small (micro-)techniques. People in organisations use those techniques to follow their interests by developing relationships of power and controlling different scopes of actions (Neuberger 2002). In this context one has to e. g. negotiate with others, build coalitions, develop strategies or do barter transactions to get ones owns interests realized. Who follows that interests, where, with whose support? This is only one example for a question asked in organisational analysis and in analysis done in political science (Hill 1993). For this reason it might be helpful to take a look into participation research within political science, to understand and widen the concept of participation. For this purpose an understanding of participation as institutional in form of laws or requested actions on the one hand, and in the form of non-institutional and independent actions of different stakeholders on the other hand, will be put forward. The paper aims to offer a wider view on organisational participation and create a framework for the classification of different actions taken by stakeholders in schools.

Participation research has a strong tradition in political sciences, resulting in several sophisticated accounts on participation within this field of research (Schmitz 2005). There are different ways of political participation. Over all it can be defined as "… actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics." (Milbrath & Goel 1977: 2) Potential research questions in political science for example try to figure out how and why citizens demonstrate against power plants or to plead for democracy (Schmitz 2005). In the beginning questions dealing with electoral behaviour were the main focus. Nowadays the field of questions is broader e. g. signature collections, street blockades or street fighting. In the meantime more than 70 different actions can be identified (van Deth 2006). The idea of personal actions

and trying to follow one's own interest might have some interesting impacts for the understanding of participation in organisations. Different forms of participation can be differentiated in political science (Schultze 2004): legal vs. illegal, codified and not codified, conventional vs. unconventional and personal vs. representing. As visible sign schools are institutionalised by laws, regulating e. g. compulsory school attendance, duties and responsibilities of teachers and pupils, grading or co-determination of the different stakeholders. Next to this codified possibilities the different stakeholders have the chance to participate in not codified or illegal ways in trying to follow their interests. Therefore the understanding of participation in political science might be helpful. An overview of the different forms can be found in the following figure.

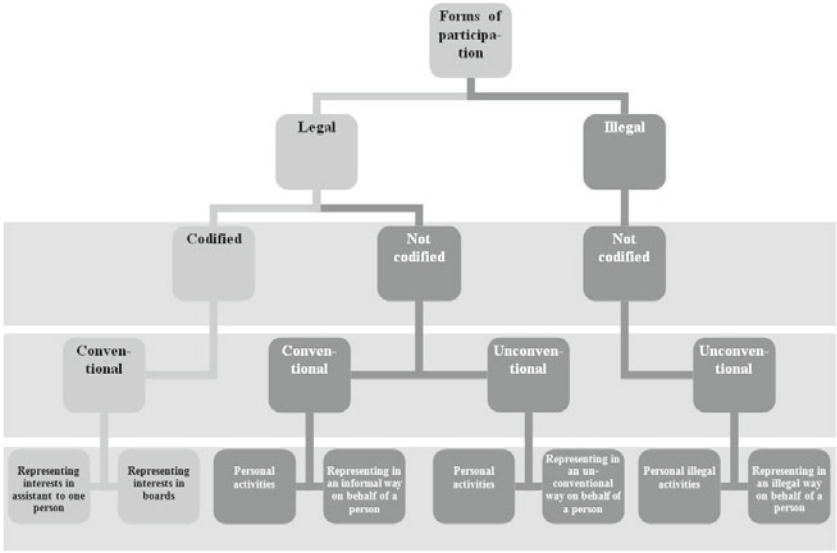

Figure 1: classification of participation

With regard to this figure three things have to be pointed out. Firstly it is assumed that illegal forms of participation in an organisation are not codified in law. Otherwise they would not be illegal. Secondly different activities shown in the figure are adapted in their denomination to possible stakeholder activities in schools. The third and last assumption relates to the understanding of conven-

tional participation. In this understanding codified participation is seen as a conventional form. Understanding codified participation as conventional means that these forms are legal and accepted by society. In the following chapter the different forms will be discussed, starting with the legal forms of participation. Codified forms and not codified forms will be summarised in one chapter and illegal forms of participation are going to be discussed in another.

2.1 Legal Forms of participation

Already at the beginning of the last century the first ideas of participating pupils in schools emerged. This effort can be traced back to educational reformers like e. g. Montessori (Mauthe & Pfeiffer 1996). Next to the participation of pupils, teachers and parents had the chance to contribute to school life too. Around 1920 in Austria, different ideas to implement something like a 'school corporation' arose. The form of corporation had the idea of training the understanding of democratic behaviour of the pupils (Engelbrecht 1988). It was not very practicable because teachers ignored the calls for this approach. On the one hand they argued that this kind of intervention disturbs the good bond of trust between pupils and teachers. On the other hand teachers argued that pupils where not adult enough for this kind of political spectacle. This form of participation failed (Engelbrecht 1988). For understandable reasons changes in school systems and different forms of participation did not have a chance in the daily life in the following years and during World War 2. In the last days of the Second World War teachers in Austria started to teach again and to rebuild the schools and a normal daily life. Followed by these first steps the government passed the so called 'school laws' in 1962 (Burgstaller & Leitner 1987). 'School laws' are important and brought the first forms of codified participation to schools. Therefore they will be discussed in the next step.

2.1.1 Codified forms of participation

The law regulates daily life in school, e. g. different types of schools or compulsory schooling. Laws are one form of institutionalisation of participation. They give schools the structure they have to work with. In daily life structures will be produced and reproduced by actors through their activities over time. Giddens (1999) calls this the duality of structure, where structural properties of social systems – like a school – are medium and outcome of the actions of the different persons in a system. Explicit co-determination and involvement in form of laws

was codified for the first time in 1974. The law makes an explicit distinction between involvement and co-determination. Since then pupils, teachers and parents have the possibility to be part of selected decision making process in form of an institutionalised school-board. In the year 1974 the school-board was implemented as a counselling board for the principal of the schools. In the course of time the board changed from a counselling board where teachers, pupils and parents had to be involved in different topics into a decision board. Nowadays the board regulates different school related questions concerning daily school life and teaching: e.g. house rules, school events like excursions, and autonomous school free days (SchUG 1986: § 64).

Apart from the board there are other possible ways of participation in schools. Pupils and parents have different forms of codified rights and duties, which can be seen as possible forms of participation. Basically both – parents and pupils – have the right to be heard and to contribute to different decisions (Juranek 2005). Normally those rights are fulfilled by elected spokespersons who represent the interest of single persons against teachers or principals. This is shown in the figure as 'representing interests in assistance to a person'. If a pupil has different problems with a teacher or with other pupils he or she has different ways of dealing with it. On the one hand he or she can solve it by her or himself or he or she can go to the elected student representative.

The other forms of codified participation are different ways of participation imposed on actors by management or in schools by principals. Management has the power to force persons, to get involved. Participation in development processes is one kind of involvement required by management. If the management does not want the employees or other stakeholder to participate, it does not have to involve them. In schools there are two ways of managerial participation. On the one hand the participation in development processes as mentioned above. On the other hand participation as a so called teaching method, where teachers allow the pupils to decide and discuss different questions related to teaching or the lessons. There are different questions raised in this context. The idea is to help to develop the democratic understanding of the pupils. This idea is not so new. As we can see above in the beginning of the 20th century the first steps in this direction have been taken.

2.1.2 Not codified forms of participation

Next to the different forms of codified participation one has to take a look at different actions, which are not codified. There are different ways of following

one's own interests. The first differentiation can be made in conventional and unconventional ways.

Persons – parents, teachers or pupils – have different ways of influencing other persons in school and therefore the organisation school. If a parent calls a teacher on the phone to discuss a problem, this would be a conventional understanding of participation. Talking to someone by phone is conventional and in the daily routine of teachers and parents. Regarding these actions it is very similar to some forms of political participation, where a person tries to takes some influence on a political important person by talking to him or her e. g. during the consultation hours of a major. Pupils use their chance to influence teachers in many situations. They have the possibility of talking to teachers in breaks or during their lessons. Depending on the problem or the interest they pursue they will use different strategies to reach their goals. Discussing a missing point for reaching a better grade in a test is an activity which can be done during a lesson. On the other hand it is very normal to talk to teachers during the break if the situation is a bit more serious e. g. mobbing through other pupils or problems with the family.

Another form of conventional participation in schools would be the representation of interests in form of an e. g. lawyer or – in less dramatic cases – through parents talking to teachers in the name of their children. Lawyers are consulted sometimes, if parents or pupils want to appeal against a grade. This would be a conventional form of representing ones interests. Some schools even have institutionalised teacher-parents talks. In many school systems parent-teacher-meetings have been implemented. During these meetings, where parents have the chance to talk to teachers different topics can be discussed. Therefore parents have the chance to influence teachers or to inform them about specific topics or problems pupils might have.

Next to conventional participation there are different forms of unconventional but legal form of participation. Defining conventional and unconventional forms of participation is not that easy because there are different understandings of this term depending on the cultural and/or social background. "Conventional forms of participation are those activities which are regarded as 'normal' and/or 'legitimate'." (Milbrath & Goel 1977: 20) The question in this context could be: 'Who defines conventional and unconventional?' By trying to reach a goal people might be willing to do things they would not accept from others. Some kind of actions seemed to be unconventional years ago. Nowadays to blockade a street or to demonstrate on the street is a normal and conventional form of political participation of people, just to name two exemplary actions. In former days the question, if these actions are conventional, perhaps would have got a different answer (Milbrath & Goel 1977). Actions and the understanding of their

status have changed over time and depend on culture and history. Squatting e. g. is a form of participation which might have an unconventional sense for most of the people but not for the squatters. A small tightrope walk is connected to this form of activity. Squatting seems not to be a legal form of participation although some people don't have a problem with it and think it is a conventional form. One can find unconventional forms of participation in schools as well.

These forms are legal, actually they are sometimes supported by laws. "Indeed, the *structure* of schools allows for and reproduces dissensus and goal diversity." (Ball 1987: 11) Different goals force people to go different ways. As pointed out schools are organisations with an own ethos and the work and understanding of the work is different. Therefore teachers might have different goals. Several change processes lead to different results which should have an impact on the daily life of the teachers and pupils. It might change the understanding of teaching or lead to new teaching methods, which should be implemented by the teachers. Those who do not agree with the results of different projects can find ways to boycott the results, even if they were involved formally or informally. To boycott results of change processes under the favour of the law might be a legal way to participate in school but it seems to have at least a touch of an unconventional activity too. Particularly when an actor was involved into a decision and committed him or herself to the result (Ammann 2009).

Other ways of participation in unconventional ways are possible too. It is not possible to name all activities in this context. Therefore just a few other ideas will be adumbrated. To follow interests in a school a demonstration could be seen as an unconventional way of participating in a school. This might be the last method pupils, parents or other stakeholders take to reach their goal. Next to demonstrations spraying graffiti on a wall could be another form of expressing a different opinion. This form of participation leads to the illegal forms of participation, because spraying is not allowed everywhere, although some people do not care about this.

2.1.3 Illegal forms of participation

Spraying graffiti might be an illegal form of participation or pursuing one's own interests. In fact there are other forms of following interests in schools or to put pressure on teachers or other pupils in schools. Illegal forms of participation are difficult to describe and to find because they are on the hidden side of different stakeholder activities. Therefore the discussion on this form just names two examples of possible and well-known forms in organisations. The first one is actually on the daily agenda in schools – Mobbing – and the second one – cor-

ruption – is a good known form of following interests in organisations as well. Especially the technical developments over the past ten years offer a broad variety of possibilities. The internet and in this case different web 2.0 applications – social networks, like facebook – give pupils the chance to blame others. Next to classical forms of mobbing, this form is the so called 'Cyber-Mobbing'. Willard (2007) classified eight different forms of Cyber Mobbing: Flaming, Harassment, Denigration, Impersonation, Outing and Trickery, Exclusion, Cyber Stalking and Cyber threats. It would go beyond the scope of this paper to explain the different forms, therefore only possible consequences will be discussed.

In reference to Giddens (1999) the internet could be seen as a new element of the structure of a social system and a good example for the production and reproduction of structures through the actors in form of an 'Interpretative Scheme'. "'Interpretative schemes' are the modes of typification incorporated within actors' stocks of knowledge, applied reflexively in the sustaining of communication." (Giddens 1999: 29) By using e. g. Facebook the actor has his or her rationality for using it in a special way, which will be communicated in the network and outside of the network. The idea of e. g. facebook was to connect people and to give them the chance to communicate and share their daily life. Cyber-Mobbing shows that people use such a platform for other interests and for other goals. "Youth from a particular geographic region or within a specific social institution, such as a school, can form their own online groups within the larger community, focusing on discussions that relate to their school or region." (Willard 2007: 18) Actions of the people reproduce the structures by using social media platforms as communication areas. By using different groups possible discussions might go in the wrong direction. Through communication the actors have the chance to interpret different postings in front of their own schemes and to comment on others in front of these schemes. Depending on the persons involved this might result in different forms of mobbing. In schools this might be a problem on the one hand for the pupils and on the other hand for the teachers as well. Pupils can blame their colleagues and teachers. The latest development – the smart phones – made it much easier to upload a video or a photo on to the internet. Taking a picture or a video during a lesson and posting it in a blog is quite easy with that kind of phone.

Next to the online activities other forms of illegal participation might be of relevance. One important possible form could be corruption. Paying e. g. backhander to follow interests is a – unfortunately – still important action in daily business relationships and in activities with public authorities in many countries and cultures. As illegal forms of participation one doesn't know whether this is a possible form in schools or not. But from my point of view it is at least con-

ceivable, that parent's e. g. try to influence a grade that might be important for the selection process in the next school the child wants to go in this form.

3 Conclusions

To sum up, different forms of participation in schools have different impacts and consequences for life in schools. Especially illegal forms in some cases might result in dramatic consequences for the persons responsible. Once more one has to point out, that different structures and functions form schools and give them a special ethos.

As was previously discussed, teachers and other related stakeholders have the chance to influence life in schools in different ways in conventional and unconventional forms. Particularly unconventional forms of participation lead to discussions about implementing different managerial structures offering different possibilities to influence the stakeholders. Differing salary for teachers, the possibility to dismiss teachers or the idea of career paths for teachers are discussed, just to name a few examples (e.g. Mitterlechner 2002). Those tools – if implemented – would give more power to principals and therefore power-relationships might change. The work in classroom still will be a process done by one or eventually two persons and can't be controlled all the time. Monitoring the lessons or teaching methods is not the aim of these managerial tools. Questions of fairness will arise, because the understanding of the teaching profession as people who have to deal with lots of different challenges during a lesson, which has deep impacts on the outcome of the teaching process, won't change fast. And the fear of outcome regulated and tariff classification based on the results of these tests will rise. These considerations may lead to reactions one does not expect, like a change in strategy. "Teaching or Training to the test" could be a possible solution and reaction, without regarding the consequences of these reactions in the initial view. Soft challenges like sparking an interest for a subject or supporting slow learners are difficult to measure through tests (Neuweg 2005) and could be lost as a result of a dogmatic outcome view.

In the end it is a question of the control mechanism in schools and the understanding of schools as organisations. Different functions of schools and institutionalised structures make them a special type of organisation. On the one hand the different institutionalised forms of participation follow the idea of building democratic competences in fulfilling the different functions and involving peoples concerned. On the other hand there are potential ways of participation which are new and have not found the way into schools until now. Media competences and handling different technical equipment is an important theme

in society nowadays and hence it also is a question of media education. From my point of view an exclusive change of structures will not bring the desired effects. Therefore schools cannot be managed in the way a profit-oriented organisation is controlled. Consequently a balance should be found. Tools have to be adapted to the special needs of schools, which does not mean that the different stakeholders should be able to do whatever they want, without reporting to e. g. a principal. One has to take a closer look to the different activities and there might be chances in including e. g. illegal forms of participation in the lessons or the daily life and in protecting the pedagogical freedom of the teachers against interference from outside. From this point of view what goes around comes around. Schools have different functions for society and are organisations with a specific ethos where questions like media education have to be discussed and can take place. Therefore they have to change with society and take the different developments into their structure. In fact this should not happen in an unreflexive way.

Just to end with one example: Mobile phones, internet or Web 2.0 found their way in daily life and are parts of our daily communication. So it is not very surprising that pupils use them too and in different ways. On the contrary, this could be a chance. The pupils do have competences in handling different technical equipment. These could be used for new forms of teaching and learning by bringing the daily life of pupils into the lessons (Bachmair 2009).

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Moral Competence and Democratic Ways of Life

Georg Lind

1 Introduction

Two moral abilities are particularly important for living together in a democracy: firstly the ability of all citizens to judge and to act in accordance with their own moral principles; secondly the ability to solve conflicts by means of fear-free discussions instead of the use of violence and the exercise of power. As research shows, both basic abilities, which are often summed up under the overall concept of *moral competence*, are essential for a democratic way of life and the functioning of democratic institutions. They are important for many things, e.g., for helping people in distress (not just readiness to help), for making quick decisions, learning effectively, for tolerating ambiguity, and for rejecting violence as a means of social change. Research also shows that the school promotes moral competence less effectively and less sustainably than is needed and seems possible today. In this article, I attempt to give a broad overview on the research on moral competence and its application in education and educational policy-making in the past thirty years, in which I have been involved myself. It is not a comprehensive handbook article, which needs to be written yet.

2 Why moral competence?

> Socrates: But if this be affirmed, then the desire of good is common to all, and one man is no better than another in that respect? Menon: True
> Socrates: And if one man is not better than another in desiring good, he must be better in the power of attaining it? Menon: Exactly.
> Socrates: Then according to your definition virtue would appear to be the power of attaining good.[1]

Surely, *moral ideals and orientations* are indispensible for moral-democratic behavior and for a democratic civil society. Without them we would have no idea how we wish to take right decisions, to live together or to be governed. Ideally they provide a basis for the solution of conflicts between needs and be-

1 Platon: Menon (Source: http://www.gutenberg.org/)

W. G. Weber et al. (Eds.), *Democratic Competences and Social Practices in Organizations,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-19631-2_5,

tween opinions by means of rational reflection and free discourse, instead of the use of violence or the exercise of power. The Indian-American economist and philosopher Armatya Sen (2009) speaks of *democracy through discussion*. Also for the American educator Dewey (1964), democracy is more than a form of government and more than the sum total of actually existing democratic institutions; it is a *life form*.

Yet, we need not to be concerned about ideals and orientations. As worldwide studies have repeatedly shown, there is an overall consensus in all classes of society, countries and cultures on basic moral values such as social justice, respect, cooperation, non-violence and democracy (Lind 1986; Sen 1999; Schwartz & Bardi 2001; McFaul 2004). Some scholars even believe that these moral ideals are, at least in their core, genetically determined (Bauer 2008; de Waal 2009; Moll et al. 2002). Accordingly a "transmission" of moral and democratic values is unnecessary (and, I assume, not agreeable with our democratic principles).

What is rather lacking and seems necessary is the fostering of "the power of attaining good", as Socrates, the great Greek philosopher, said more than two thousand years ago, that is, our ability to apply our moral ideals in everyday life. If this competence is missing, our moral ideals can turn into ethical absolutism, and, eventually, into morally motivated violence (Ishida 2006; Bandura 1991). In most of us, this ability is weakly developed. *This ability involves, above all, the ability to make judgments in accordance with our own moral principles and to solve conflicts non-violently through discussion, even when we deal with important issues, and when we face strong opposition and our fundamental moral principles are at stake* (Habermas 1983; Kohlberg 1984, 1987; Karl-Otto Apel 1990; Nussbaum 2006; Sen 2009). We need this ability in order "to participate in social, civic and working life. To be able to deal with people coming from different social and cultural backgrounds. To be able to cope in a constructive way with conflicts. To have a knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to be active as a citizen. To participate as much as possible in civic live at local, regional, national, European and global level." ('Youth in Action'-Programs of the European Union).[2]

Although research on moral competence is still relatively new, we already know a good deal about it and its significance for democratic life.[3] Certain relationships have been confirmed in numerous studies, as we show below. When this competence is less developed the citizens concerned are at a disadvantage in

2 http://www.youthpass.eu/en/youthpass/for/youth-initiatives/learn/information/kcsocial/ (19.8.11)

3 An annotated list of publications can be found in the internet: http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral.

regard to participation in democratic decision-taking or are even completely excluded. Democracy itself also suffers from a lack of this competence among its citizens; it also suffers under an unequal distribution of the competence, as this leads to some citizens winning more influence than others over the process of political decision-taking. In a democracy the constitution guarantees every citizen a say in the political process. And a civil society can only function properly if every citizen actually makes use of his voice in the proceedings and *is in a position* to hear the opinions of others (Piaget 1973; Nussbaum 2006; Sen 2009; Roth 2010; Lind et al. 2010; Nowak & Lind 2009; see also Weber & Unterrainer in this book).

3 What is moral *competence*?

Recently, the concept of "competence" has become very popular and debated, especially through international school tests like "PISA." The concept has been taken up in educational policy. "With the new educational plans (of 2004) a fundamental paradigm shift in the binding specifications for teaching at our schools will take place. Whereas the educational plans of earlier generations primarily determined what was to be taught, the new plans allege that school should stipulate the competencies that children and youths must acquire."[4]

However, in much of the literature the concept of competence is not clearly, if at all, defined. Often a variety of assumptions are made on the origin, development, promotion and relevance of "competencies" without saying what is actually meant by them.[5] As a result of this lack of clarity there is controversy among scientists on the concept of competence (Klein 2010) and many practitioners have strong reservations against it, doubting that the replacement of the concept of *subject knowledge* (*Fachwissen*) through the concept of *competence* will improve the quality of the school system. Experts like Hans-Peter Klein, the biology educationist and chairman of the society *Bildung und Wissen (Education and Knowledge)* fears even a decline in the level of education (Lind 2004b; Lind 2004c; Lind 2011c). This problem also applies to the concept of moral and democratic education. There is a great deal of cloudiness as to what it means and to how its effects can be measured.[6] Competencies are more than conscious

4 http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/schule_2004/bildungsplan_kurz (15.8.2011)

5 See, inter alia, the observations of the KMK (Conference of Education Ministers) (2005) on the educational standards of the Conference of Education Ministers (Becker 2008).

6 A few authors touch on the question of how moral-democratic competence can be defined and validly measured (Tiedemann 2011). But most authors do not even mention this problem (see e.g. Becker 2008; KMK 2009).

subject knowledge, which can be verbalized. They include also *tacit* knowledge, which we characterize in everyday life as emotional knowledge, gut feeling or emotional intelligence (Goleman 1996). In schools both competencies are mostly again reduced to conscious conceptual knowledge, which has to be acquired, just as practice often only means theory of practice and not practice itself.

When we make important decisions we ultimately decide in accordance with our feelings, particularly when taking the decision is an urgent matter and we have little time available for reflection and the collection of information. Even when we have time we still listen first to our inner voice before making our choice. Our feelings enable us to make quick and sometimes even better decisions on both technical and moral questions than if we took the time for careful reflection (Gigerenzer 2008).

However, conscious reasoning and subject knowledge are also important for democratic life. Reason is not just the wagging tail of emotions, as some psychologists seem to believe (Haidt 2001). We depend on them for at least two reasons. First, we need them when our feelings fail us, for example, when they suggest contradictory decisions (i.e. when we are in a dilemma), when they are ambiguous or when we are about to do something which brings our moral sense into play. In the shape of (self-)critical thinking it prevents us from doing or saying everything that occurs to us spontaneously or what we are ordered to do by others (Achtziger et al. 2010). Second, reason and conscious reflection have the important task to shape and educate our feelings so that our feelings allow us to make the right decisions when we need them, especially when we are under pressure to decide quickly (Lind 1989a). Even undesired emotional reactions such as prejudice can disappear when the feelings responsible for them are given the opportunity to develop further (Wasel 1997). A sportsman, for example a javelin thrower, can train his emotional reactions so perfectly that he intuitively makes the right decision when he throws the javelin. At this moment reflection would tend to disturb him. But he would have no chance to throw well, if he and his trainer had not continuously reflected on ways of improving his throwing technique by means of suitable exercises.

The situation is similar in the moral sphere. We also make moral decisions mostly in accordance with our feelings (Moll et al. 2002; Haidt 2003; Prehn et al. 2008). Moral feelings allow us to decide quickly and to act resolutely. But here too feelings can be deceptive or place us on the horns of a dilemma, so that conscious moral thinking is called for in order to correct moral gut feelings. Conscious, professionally schooled thinking is also necessary in order to train our moral feelings. Just as the javelin thrower needs an elaborate training program in order to be able to rely in the decisive moment on his feelings about his movements, so must we also develop and shape our moral feelings so that we

can rely on them when we have to make quick decisions. Just as the development of sporting skills requires a trainer and other professional helpers, so too the development of moral-democratic competencies (virtues in the Socratic sense) needs the help of competent helpers, that is, of parents, good friends and, above all, teachers. As research has shown, biological age alone has just as little effect as genetic disposition (Lind 2002; Rest & Thoma 1985). Opportunities must be provided for the assumption of responsibility and also guided reflection, in order to develop these competencies (Lind 2000; Lind 2002; Schillinger 2006; Lupu 2009; Saeidi 2011).

Moral-democratic competence is indispensible for mastering life in a democratic society and, to cope with the tasks and problems we encounter in our personal surroundings (family, friends, neighbors, etc.), professions and public life. We can never know precisely which tasks life in general and the private lives of each and every one of us will bring. Therefore, subject knowledge alone cannot achieve to do this, not only because it quickly becomes obsolete in our day and age, but, above all, because our decisions and our well-being in everyday life depend not only on concepts and theories, but also on our moral feelings.

Two moral-democratic *core competencies* are particularly important: firstly the moral capacity of all citizens to judge and act in accordance with their own moral principles[7] and, secondly, the moral capacity to solve conflicts by means of fear-free dialogues instead of by violence or the exercise of power (Habermas 1983; Apel 1990; Lind 1987; Lind 2006b; Lind 2011c; Sen 2009). "The moral solution of conflicts of action excludes the manifest employment of force as well as 'cheap' compromises; it can be understood as a continuation of communicative action – that is action oriented to reaching understanding – with discursive means." (Habermas 1983: 74) In order to overcome violence and war, the *Dalai Lama* states, *we need* "a century of dialogue".[8]

4 On the measurement of moral judgmental and discourse competence

If we want to test any assumption about the nature of moral competence or about the efficacy of certain teaching methods, we need to be able to measure it. Otherwise, all our assumptions are solely unproven beliefs and the effects of moral education are uncertain. This is easier said than done. A person's moral

7 "The capacity to make decisions and judgments which are moral (i.e., based on internal principles) and to act in accordance with such judgments" (Kohlberg 1964: 425)

8 Focus, 13.4.2011, http://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/seattle-dalai-lama-will-jahrhundert-des-dialogs_aid_294793.html. (12.9.11)

competence is obviously more difficult to measure than his or her knowledge of moral norms and duties. We can rather easily find out which moral rules schoolchildren know or don't know. But it is much more difficult (and sometimes even impossible) to grasp directly their ability to behave in a moral way. On the one hand, many competencies – such as for example the ability to take on responsibility – elude detection, as they only manifest themselves in real situations later in life. Only when one is really responsible for something is it possible to show how capable one is of bearing this responsibility. Or the competence can only be revealed in forms of behavior which can only be observed in serious situations, but these cannot, for ethical and practical reasons, be subjected to testing and control. It is true that in the past experiments have been carried out to test the ability of students to resist the temptation to violate a rule or to break a law (Hartshorne & May 1928). But such experiments are controversial for ethical reasons (they involved immoral tasks as deception themselves) as well as for scientific reasons, as in these experiments one not measure the participants' moral functioning but the conformity of isolated acts to external standards (Pittel & Mendelsohn 1966).[9]

An even greater problem, however, is perhaps that the measurement of competencies requires a precise knowledge of their nature, which we do not have in many areas, and experimental diagnostic techniques whose development calls for creativity, time and money.[10] Attempts to ignore these preconditions and, instead, to come to grips with the competencies by means of subjective personal assessments and indirect indicators can lead to serious misjudgments and wrong measures in educational policy even when the collection of such data is "backed up" by test statistics (Linn 2000; Amrein & Berliner 2002; Jahnke & Meyerhöfer 2006; Lind 2004c; Lind 2011c).

Because of these difficulties, the measurement of *moral and discourse competence* has only been thematized in science during the last few decades. Until a few years ago there were no instruments for the measurement of competencies in these areas. One had to be satisfied instead with the assessments of experts and teachers. But this was not a satisfactory solution as the criteria for these assessments remain obscure. Psychological research has provided numerous proofs that such assessments are strongly influenced by the "overall im-

9 See also the insightful reflection by some of the most prominent experimenters in this field, namely Hartshorne and May (1928): "It is not the quality of the isolated act which distinguishes the good man from the bad, but the quality of the man as an organized and socially functioning self" (p. 413 – the very last sentence of the book).

10 The development and validation of the *Moral Judgment Test* (MJT), which is dealt with below, took several years, as at the same time the nature and development of moral behavior was subject to further research and consequently a new experimental measurement method had to be developed. (Lind 1978; 1982; 2002; 2004b; 2008c).

pression" of the test subjects or the belief in certain theories. Another approach was to measure moral competence by the behavior of people in accordance with external standards. This however, only measured *norm conformity* and not the ability of people to judge and act in conformity with their own moral principles (Pittel & Mendelsohn 1966). The earliest scientific endeavors to find an adequate way of measuring moral competence, for example those undertaken by Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, were based on interviews which were assessed by researchers on the basis of carefully chosen coding instructions. These assessments are often very elaborate and time-consuming and still not free of distortion in favor of the theories of the scientists involved (Lind 1989b).

In order to provide a valid instrument for research and program evaluation, 35 years ago we, a group of researchers at the University of Konstanz, developed the first objective test for the measurement of moral-democratic *competence*, the *Moral Judgment Test* (MJT) (Lind 1978). The MJT can be objectively evaluated. Completion and evaluation require only little time, so that it is also well-suited for testing the effectiveness of teaching methods. We have also developed a comfortable online version which has been frequently used. It is time-saving and inexpensive and hence suitable for self-evaluation of lessons by teachers, especially as it only involves a small amount of additional work. In the meantime the MJT has been translated into almost 40 languages and is used world-wide in research and efficacy studies (Lind 1978; Lind 2008c).

The MJT is not a test in the customary sense. It is a multivariate behavior experiment in the form of a questionnaire. Whereas in the customary tests an attempt is made to minimize individual features (so-called structural characteristics) by treating them as "measurement errors" and thus failing to take them into account, in *experimental questionnaires* it is precisely the structural differences in individual behavior which are of central importance (Lind 1982; Lind 2008a). In the MJT the participants have to evaluate the decision of the protagonists in dilemma stories and the arguments for and against their decisions (on a nine-point scale ranging from "I reject this completely" to "I entirely agree"). But the evaluation of their moral judgmental competence does not depend on "right" or "wrong" answers, or on the evaluation of the individual arguments. What counts is the overall *answer pattern* of the participant. Because of the special construction of the MJT it is possible to judge how strongly the subject based his assessments on the *moral* quality of the arguments presented and how strongly he took other aspects of the arguments into account, for example, how far the arguments corresponded to his own opinion on the case. We know from numerous studies that most people are guided in the assessment of arguments by "opinion conformity" (i.e. agree to all arguments which coincide with their own opinion and reject those which contradict their own opinion) and in controver-

sial discussions are scarcely capable of judging arguments according to their *moral* quality. For democracy as discussion, i.e. for the solution of conflicts by means of peaceful, non-violent discourse, it is indispensable that people are in a position to weigh up the arguments of opponents from a *moral point of view* instead of rejecting them lock, stock and barrel.

The MJT stands in contrast to approaches which attempt to assess moral competence by enquiring about attitudes and values, i.e. indirectly, and with other approaches in which action alternatives are given in dilemma situations, between which the subject has to choose. In the first case no valid measurement is possible, as what is measured is not a *competence.* The second approach is problematic in terms of the ethical aspects of research, as the researcher applies his own subjective standards on morality in the assessment of the test answers but does not measure whether the subject has been guided by his own moral standards. In his comprehensive study of the literature on the efficacy of teaching in philosophy and ethics, the ethics educationalist Markus Tiedemann comes consequently to the conclusion "that it has hitherto not been possible to assess ethical powers of judgments in an empirically satisfactory way" (Tiedemann 2011: 232). However, he excludes the MJT explicitly from this verdict, as he had only learned about it after the completion of his study, and in fact regards it as an adequate approach.[11]

5 The significance of moral democratic competence for life in schools and civil society

As many studies have shown, moral democratic competence plays a key role in the building and maintenance of civil society: It seems that the development of this competence plays an important part in cooperative, pro-social behavior and in the ability to deal with conflict and to make decisions (Mansbart 2001; Prehn et al. 2008). It helps to prevent criminality (Hemmerling et al. 2009), drug consumption (Lenz 2006; Lind 2011c) and the use of violence (Seitz 1991; Lind 2002). According to the present state of research it can be expected that the promotion of *moral competence* among students (and teachers) is also directly beneficial for school learning (Heidbrink 2010) and for the social climate in class and in the school community (Lind 2002; Lind 2009a). It strengthens the ability to have one's voice heard and to listen to others (Lind 2008a). People with high levels of moral competence also show a stronger commitment to democracy and freedom (Haan et al. 1968; Gross 1997; Lind et al. 2010). These

11 Personal communication by Prof. Markus Tiedemann, Freie Universität Berlin, 28.5.2011.

relationships are not only proved by high correlations. There are also experimental indications of causal mechanisms.[12]

6 Strengthening moral competence as a task of the school

The co-author of the American constitution and later president of the USA Thomas Jefferson (1940) saw the success of the project of a democratic society as being closely linked with the quality of its educational system. According to Jefferson a high quality education for every citizen is the best means of preventing democracy from atrophying and being replaced by an authoritarian regime. The German conference of ministers of education (Kultusministerkonferenz) (2008) described "Education for Democracy" as a central task for schools and the education of youth (KMK 2009). Strengthening moral democratic competence, in particular, is regarded as a task of the schools. In answer to a question of the SPD parliamentary group, for example, the Minister for Culture, Youth and Sport of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg said:

> "The promotion of moral and democratic competencies is an essential element of the educational reform and hence of the Educational Plan for 2004, which, in its introduction, formulates central questions on the fields "Living in Communities" and "Learning Democracy" which are binding… Teaching promotes the readiness to accept responsibility and the ability of students to make moral and political judgments. Democratic education mediates the competence to act, thereby preparing students for participation in social and political life. The students learn to take on responsibility for themselves and others in social relationships. Living together they develop the readiness to respect the rights of others and to understand the rules necessary to this end. They learn to respect other opinions and attitudes".[13] (MKJS 2004)

Of course parents, the media, friends and other instances can and should also make their contributions. But only the school provides the opportunity to promote this competence *effectively* and *sustainably* among all citizens (inclusion). The school is the only institution which is in a position to reach all children and young people and to win them for democracy." (BLK-Project *Demokratie lernen und leben* / Project of the Federal and State Commission *Learning and Liv-*

12 Further references on the studies cited here can be found in the internet: http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/mut/mjt-references.htm

13 See also: Oberschulamt Freiburg (no year.): "Demokratie lernen und leben – ein chancenreicher Auftrag des des Bildungsplans". http://www.rp.baden-wuerttemberg.de/servlet/PB/show/1234251/rpf-ref77-chancenreicher%20Auftrag_Demokratie.pdf . (14.8.2011)

ing Democracy) Charles Darwin (1966) already pointed to the school as the most important place for the promotion of moral competence. (As far as we know he was the first person to use the concept).

Whether and how far the school contributes or can contribute to the promotion of moral competence is, however, a controversial question. Often it is not even asked at all. Although many new teaching methods have found their way into teaching, some authors deny that the school can have any promotional effect on moral judgmental and discourse *competence* (Uhl 1986; Schläfli et al. 1985). As we know from many studies, it is a fact that the measurable progress in moral judgmental and discourse competence is much smaller and less sustainable than it could be (Lind 2002; Lind 2009a; Lind 2009b). Students seldom have the opportunity to accept responsibility for their actions and to experience a democratic, respectful discussion on controversial topics.[14] In this respect there is a substantial need in our schools (and not only there) to catch up (Lind 2006b). As we have seen, we do not need to mediate any values[15] to people – most if not all people have basic moral values. We must, however, help them to apply these values in daily life and to develop the skill they need, i.e. moral competence. In the past the teaching of democracy (political and civic education studies) and ethics was mostly restricted to the mediation of conceptual knowledge, i.e. to declarative knowledge of laws, theories and institutions. This education limited to verbal knowledge of democratic ideals is not sufficient, as we have been warned by Gustav Radbruch, a philosopher of law who has substantially and sustainably influenced our modern legal system. According to Radbruch the school must make it possible for students to experience democracy – not only *democracy as a form of government* with its institutions but also, and above all, democracy as a *form of life* and as discussion. Enabling students to experience self-determination and moral-democratic ways of dealing with others in an atmosphere free of compulsion and fear is one of the core tasks of education in and for democracy. In the teaching of politics and ethics attempts

14 In KMDD lessons I regularly ask students whether they have discussed important problems with others (parents, teachers, friends etc.) in the way we had just discussed them, but I usually receive only few positive answers. A teacher who was present at a lesson at first expressed doubts about the answers of the student but after a pause for thought she admitted that the discussions normally took a completely different course.

15 The concept of "value" is ambiguous. It not only means moral basic values or moral principles, as is the case here, but also a variety of attitudes and opinions which are clearly private or culture-specific in nature and which are protected by the democratic basic law of freedom of opinion and conscience from state interference. This distinction is very important and must also be respected by schools. We must guard against mediating basic values to people who already possess them, and private and cultural values in areas over which the state has no rights.

have, therefore, been made in recent years to overcome the restriction of the curricula in these subjects to the learning of the knowledge in books. Procedural action knowledge – which was previously ignored – and the emotional affective side of moral democratic behavior are being increasingly emphasized.

In this context there are two very different approaches to making democracy experiencable, namely in relation to democracy as a *governmental form* and to democracy as a *life form* (see Ammann in this book). In regard to the understanding of democracy as a form of government (separation of powers, elections, parliamentarism, majority decision-taking etc.) the school can only succeed in promoting democratic attitudes and abilities if it itself adopts (at least in part) the governmental forms valid in society. It is only through democratic school assemblies and the participation of students in decisions at school, it is argued, that children can experience what democracy is and experience this form of government in a convincing way.

The great difficulty with the democracy as government approach lies in the fact that in a formally democratic school the children can learn democracy as a form of government but not always as a form of life. This is the case, above all, because the transfer of a democratic governmental form assumes such a high degree of moral competence among all the participants (students, teachers, school administrators, legislators and voters). When this is not the case it meets with resistance. This can be illustrated by the fate of the SMV (Schülermitverantwortung/ school council) and the still very limited dissemination of "democratic schools" (Huang 2009; Backhaus & Knorre 2008). The SMV's, which the occupying powers had introduced into the then West Zone after the Second World War, and the majority of the supporters of the "democratic school" movement were guided by this idea. The most prominent example of this approach is the nationwide model project "Demokratie lernen und leben" (Learning and living democracy) (2002-2006) financed by the Bund-Länder Kommission (Federal Government/Federal States Commission for Educational Planning). This project aimed at the mediation of democratic values through creating opportunities for students to participate in the government of school life. "The *readiness* of young people to take an active part in civil society" was to be promoted.[16] The evaluation of this project by the DIPF (German Institute for International Educational Research)[17] revealed an increase in the *readiness* to participate and more positive attitudes towards democracy among the partici-

16 My emphasis; GL.

17 Unfortunately it is no longer available in the internet. http://blk-demokratie.de/programm/externe-evaluation.html. Other links to this study (http://193.175.239.23/ows-bin/owa/r.einzeldok?doknr=36040) are also no longer valid. (17.8.2011)

pants. Yet, the possibility that such projects also promote competence was not investigated.

One of the few approaches whose efficacy has been empirically evaluated by means of intervention studies is the *Just Community* approach of Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues (Kohlberg 1987; Power et al. 1989; Oser & Althof 1994; Lind 2002; Lind 2009). In spite of the great efforts undertaken and the large degree of acceptance by the students and teachers this approach proved to have had little effect on the promotion of moral judgmental competence. "The studies we have examined which linked moral development to social studies and history seem to have brought about scarcely any real change in the moral judgmental competence", writes Ann Higgins (1980: 106), one of the leading scholars in this field. In their large-scale *Just Community* project in New York Power, Higgins and Kohlberg found only a very weak effect after a year.[18] The slight increase in test scores (9.50 MMS-points) is all the more disappointing as control students from traditional schools with no *Just Community* revealed a higher increase in the same period (15.25) (Power et al. 1989: 279). In the *Just Community* project carried out at three German schools, the DES Project (Lind & Raschert 1986; Oser & Althof 1994; Lind 2002), a very clear growth in judgmental competence was established after a period of about 2.5 years (Lind 2002: 180). The project also revealed a reduction in dysfunctional behavior. But even when effects were recognized they could not be clearly attributed to the democratization of the school, as dilemma discussions were also carried out at the same time in all of these projects. As we know how effective dilemma discussions are, the possibility cannot be excluded that these led to the increase in test values and not so much the *Just Community* program.

This sobering realization has led me to rethink fundamentally the previous approaches to moral-democratic education. In view of the ineffectiveness of many of these approaches I have become convinced that *democracy as a life form* can be achieved more quickly and effectively in schools and society if one takes the individual as the starting point and undertakes fitting means to promote moral competence directly. According to everything we know, fundamental trust in democracy as a life form arises in young people (and adults):

a. when they deal respectfully with each other and can practice and experience a discursive, non-violent solution of problems

18 "The results indicated a modest developmental change only in the two democratic high schools with teaching staffs explicitly committed to the just community approach" (Power et al. 1989: 297).

b. when they experience themselves as enjoying equal rights and see that their opinion counts just as much as anyone else's and that power and status do not decide on access to information.

Being able to experience these things is a question of the opportunity offered to young people and of their individual ability to grasp and use this opportunity. It is, therefore, very important for the effectiveness of teaching that the opportunities provided for moral-democratic learning are well adjusted to the individual abilities. Precisely this is achieved by the *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion*, which we developed over the past twenty years.

7 The promotion of moral competence with the *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion* (KMDD)®

The main aim of the KMDD is the promotion of moral-democratic competence. Put simply this means the furtherance of the ability to stand up for one's own point of view and of the capacity to listen to others when important issues are at stake, important to oneself or to another person. This also means the ability to look for and to maintain communication with others when strong moral feelings are involved on both sides. This competence is fundamental for the individual ability to solve problems and conflicts under pressure, to make decisions, to learn from experience and, above all, to cooperate with other people and to be a productive member of civil society (see below). As research has shown, the existing degree of this competence differs from person to person. In most people it is only weakly developed. They find it very difficult to engage in a dialogue with others when their counterpart expresses a different opinion or presents himself as an opponent (Keasey 1974; Habermas 1983; Lind 2002). This competence does not develop simply as a result of biological maturation and growing older, or under pressure from the social milieu, but evidently only when certain learning opportunities are given or society (in the shape of its educational institutions) provides such learning opportunities, either intentionnally or by chance (Rest & Thomas 1985; Lind 2000; Lind 2002; Schillinger 2006; Lupu 2009; Saeidi 2011).

It is not only difficult to measure competencies but also to further them in a purposeful manner, as their promotion cannot be restricted to the transmission of subject knowledge but must involve applying this knowledge and taking on responsibility for the validity of this knowledge, as well as feelings and real experience. Competencies can only be acquired by active doing (Dewey). As with competence in general the difficulty in mediating moral competence con-

sists in developing suitable tasks and exercise types which encourage students to act in a moral-democratic way. A further problem with moral-democratic educational aims is that the teaching methods (the active doing of the teacher) must be in keeping with these aims. Self-determination cannot be taught with compulsory methods.[19] The ability to behave in accordance with *inner* moral principles cannot be tested by *external* standards. The active doing of learners should not be prevented by excessive activity on the part of the teacher.

The KMDD has similarities with vaccination against virus infections. Just as in the case of vaccination the organism is confronted with real but weakened viruses in order to stimulate its ability to survive an actual virus attack, so too in the KMDD the students are confronted for learning purposes with the task of entering into a moral discourse on a moral dilemma with different-minded students and of giving arguments to convince them of their own opinion on the dilemma.

Alternating phases of support and challenge during a 90-minute KMDD session ensure that the moral feelings of the participants evoked by the controversy are kept within an optimal range. To this end special "educative" dilemmas have been constructed for KMDD sessions which are highly realistic in form and deal with controversial topics, but have fictive persons as their protagonists. KMDD sessions have only two rules: firstly, the participants can say everything they wish (except for making value judgments on others); secondly, the participants call upon one another to make contributions, i.e. there is no discussion leader or moderator. Violations of the first rule very rarely occur, but they are more frequent in the case of the second rule. In my year-long experience with various age groups, school types and cultures I have found that it is sufficient, when violations occur, to *remind* the participants in a friendly way of the rule in order to guarantee its observation. This experience strengthens the assumption that the rules of the KMDD do in fact correspond to the moral feelings of most, if not of all people. The participants make the experience that all the students and also all the teachers are subject to the authority of rules instead of the power of certain persons, in accordance with the moral ideal of the *equal dignity* (Juul 1995) of all people, and that they do this freely and gladly without their being any need for punishment or reward. Participants also report that in KMDD sessions they have learned to esteem people with other opinions as important and useful sources of inspiration for their own development and not merely to tolerate them.

The KMDD method can be traced back to the work of Blatt and Kohlberg (see Reinhardt 1980; Lind & Lind 1984; Lind 1987; Lind 1989a; Lind 1993;

19 Portele (1978) fittingly calls this the "You ought-to-want-to paradox".

Lind & Raschert 1987). This method became popular in Germany as a result of the school project *Democracy and Education in the School* (DES) carried out in North Rhine-Westphalia (from 1985 to 1991), which I had initiated and co-directed together with Jürgen Raschert (Lind & Raschert 1987; Lind 1993; Lind 2004a; Lind 2008a; Oser & Althof 1994). The Kohlberg method turned out to be more effective than all the hitherto known teaching methods. Its effectiveness seemed to me, however, to be capable of improvement (Lind 1994; Lind 2002; Lind 2009a). On the basis of the experience made with the DES project I have further developed the Blatt-Kohlberg method and have considerably increased its efficacy over the last twenty years. In this way the *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion* (KMDD)® was born, which is described in more detail below. The KMDD is based on the insight that an effective, sustainable and, for society, functional promotion of moral competence can only succeed[20]

a. when moral learning is made possible through the *positive experience of equal dignity*, i.e. of genuine *freedom of speech and respect* and is not (overtly or covertly) prevented by teaching methods which run counter to the learning goals (the compatibility of aims and means),[21]
b. when feelings and emotions are competently and responsibly integrated into the learning process by the teacher (the *professionality* principle),
c. when students and teachers have the opportunity to receive objective, intelligible and undistorted *feedback* on their learning gains (the *self-evaluation* principle),
d. when *all* students are furthered and inequality of opportunity for civic participation is compensated for (the *inclusion* principle).

The KMDD is one of the few educational methods whose efficacy has been scientifically tested by means of intervention studies with before-and-after investigations and comparative analyses. It has been shown that the moral-democratic competence of people can be very effectively promoted with the KMDD method: Even after only a few KMDD lessons the recorded effect size is far higher than the customary effect sizes ($r > 0.5$, i.e., $d > 1.20$).[22] In addition numerous reports of participants are available in the internet which give an impression of the acceptance and experienced effectiveness of the KMDD.[23]

20 For an introduction see: Lind 2009a.
21 The phenomenon of the "hidden curriculum" referred to by Jackson (1967).
22 The effect sizes are far greater than the values of other methods. A value of $r = 0.3$ is regarded by some as a threshold. On the conception and evaluation of the KMDD see http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/moral/kmdd-references.htm
23 http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/moral/KMDD_rueckmeldung_teilnehmer.htm

The KMDD is well received by the participants not only because students usually enjoy discussing and because these sessions bring variety into everyday life at school. The students are mostly also very impressed by good discussion culture. "We could really argue about something without it immediately becoming personal and causing aggression, as it usually does" was the judgment of a ten-year-old girl. Many participants judge their experience with KMDD lessons in a similar way. A number of media reports and video documentations on the KMDD exist.[24] The KMDD has the following characteristics:

1. It can be employed in all subjects and also in interdisciplinary teaching.
2. Its efficacy is continuously self-evaluated with anonymous before-and-after tests through the ITSE program.[25] ITSE stands for *Improvement of Teaching through Self-Evaluation*. ITSE is an integral part of the KMDD and of the training to become a KMDD teacher. This assessment serves to assure both the quality of the teachers' work and the further development of the method. The anonymity of the data collection prevents the *inevitable corruption* of person-related evaluations ("Campbell's law" see Campbell 1976; Amrein & Berliner 2002; Nichols & Berliner 2006; Lind 2004c; Lind 2011c). Composite anonymous data serve as the basis for the evaluation and further development of the KMDD.
3. Clinical supervision by colleagues is also an integral part of the KMDD and of the training to become a KMDD teacher. It is an important element in internal further education in schools and of quality assurance and it serves as a "window" to the outside world (other teaching staff, society), thus opening up the project to the society outside.
4. The core of the examination and certification of KMDD teachers is the assessment of a "best practice video" by two experts. Here the candidate can demonstrate that he has a sovereign command of the method (and not the method of him). The examination by means of a video is comparatively valid for the profession and fair. It is largely independent of indispositions resulting from examinations of the candidate, his class and the examiner and can be tested by third persons in the event of objections. This part of the test can be repeated. There is no graded marking. In addition a learning portfolio with brief reports on lessons, efficacy studies and reflections on one's own training is required.

It can often be observed that teachers who use the KMDD change their entire behavior in their teaching. It seems that the KMDD "rubs off". This is a thor-

24 http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/moral/KMDD_rueckmeldung_medien.htm
25 http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/evaluation/itse_home.htm

oughly desirable effect of the KMDD. The KMDD can be used in all school types (from grade 3 on) and also in other non-school educational institutions at home and abroad.[26]

8 Conclusion

Democracy is a high moral ideal of most people worldwide. Regardless of culture, religion, age, social class, gender etc., most if not all people have high moral ideals and principles. But we also know that these are not sufficient in view of the complexity of everyday life for people to make decisions in every situation which accord with these ideals. To this end we have to develop a special ability which we have characterized here as moral and moral competence. As the research shows this competence can scarcely develop of its own accord, but requires encouragement by the institutions of society – parents, siblings, friends, media etc. and especially by the schools. The *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion* provides schools with a method with which they can promote moral-democratic competence very effectively and which can be easily integrated into the curriculum of all subjects. In order to be effective, however, this method requires a thorough training in its use.[27]

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26 Non-school educational institutions in which the KMDD has hitherto been employed: in the German Armed Forces (Bergmann 2007), in prisons (Hemmerling, in prep.), in university didactics at the University of Konstanz, in medical training (Medical School of Monterrey/Mexiko, Universidad de Sao Paulo/Brazil, Universidad de Chile), at an interdisciplinary level in the Universidad de Monterrey/Mexico, in the training of ethics teachers at the University of Poznan/Poland, at the Universities of Applied Sciences for Social Work in Berlin and Zurich and at the University of Applied Sciences: Special Needs Education in Zurich.

27 A detailed presentation of the theory and implementation of the KMDD can be found, *inter alia*, in my book "Moral ist lehrbar"[27] and on the following website: http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/. An account is also given there of the similarities and differences between the KMDD and other methods of moral and democratic education, such as the Kohlberg method, role-playing, debating clubs, etc.

28 All the articles marked '*' can be downloaded from: http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/.

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Internet-Addresses

"Promotion of moral and democratic competence": http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/

The use of the KMDD in various subjects and disciplines:
http://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/moral/kmdd-references_teaching_subjects.htm

Images of Corporate Participation and Democratic Structures in Business Administration Textbooks used in Higher Vocational Schools in Austria, Switzerland and Germany

Annette Ostendorf & Michael Thoma

Business textbooks transmit participation and democratic behaviour in organizations in very specific ways. In so doing, they enable students to construct their own images of the concept of democracy. But what are these images? And how can they be identified? In order to investigate these questions, our study, which is funded by the 'Aktion Daniel Swarovski 2011', uses an emerging approach to textbook research which is based on poststructuralist theory. From a Foucauldian perspective, textbooks are important players in discourses, manifesting specific images of democracy and participation for the generation of future employees and managers. Employing a qualitative, comparative, empirical approach, we investigate the images of participation and democratic behaviour in textbooks used in similar higher vocational schools in Austria, the German-speaking part of Switzerland and Southern Germany (Bavaria). We focus in particular on aspects of inclusion and exclusion in order to arrive at a clearer view of fundamental concepts. The focus is both on legally required forms of employee involvement in organizational decision-making processes (especially codetermination) and on other, not legally regulated forms of participation.

1 Introduction

Contemporary didactics in vocational education favours competence orientation and experience-based learning. Still, business textbooks seem to be defending their role and function as powerful educational media. New editions of business textbooks are mushrooming and they remain the basis of teaching and learning in everyday school life.

Considering that textbooks continue to be very important agents of instruction and learning, we wonder (in line with Kahlert 2010) why they aren't investigated more intensively – both theoretically and empirically. We find this

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astonishing since textbooks are more than neutral educational media. They also deploy power in a very special sense: knowledge is classified as useful or not useful for a specific context, didactic reduction is made from a point of view which is either transparent or not, examples are classified as typical of a special segment of business reality, and role models emerge from descriptions. Textbooks also have to be seen in the specific context of their educational systems, the expectations of their economic and political environment, specific forms of teaching preparation, and different school types. They are strongly connected with national curricula and specific ethical norms. “In this regard, they reflect the knowledge and values defined by a given society, and particularly its political elites, as essential and thus suitable for passing on to the next generation.” (Lässig 2009: 2) As a consequence, they are not only harmless media in the educational process but powerful actors (Ostendorf 2010).

2 Understanding democratic competencies

The development of democratic competencies is seen as a life-long learning process not specifically tied to citizenship education (as qualification is), but as a part of political subjectification. As Gert Biesta (2010: 23 f.) points out: "The question for education – and thus also for educators – is not only whether citizenship education should be confined to qualification or should also include socialization, i.e., whether citizenship education should focus only on the possible conditions for citizenship or should play an active role in the ‘production’ of a particular kind of citizen. The question is also whether citizenship education can and should contribute to what we might refer to as political subjectification, i.e., the promotion of a kind of citizenship that is not merely about the reproduction of a predefined template but that takes political agency seriously." Citizen education in the interpretation we use is not linked to a specific subject in a school curriculum, such as social studies (the German 'Sozialkunde'). It is understood as the overarching process of becoming aware of individual agency and participation in democratic societies – in our case in business life.

Democracy is based on a particular appreciation of plurality and difference. Following Lawy et al. (2010: 353 f. with a reference to Biesta (2006)), one can state: "… democracy or the democratic process is less concerned with producing 'good' citizens and more concerned with processes of collective judgement and decision-making that are inherently democratic. In its shortest formula, it is about action-in-plurality." Here, we investigate how the images of action-in-plurality and the involvement of employees in decision-making processes are

influenced by a body of knowledge in business textbooks and whether these texts foster a person's subjectification to become a democratic citizen.

3 Theoretical/methodological basis

Our research work is embedded in the context of poststructuralist educational theories. Poststructuralist textbook research is an emerging field of educational interest (see for example Aamotsbakken 2006, Knudsen 2006, Höhne 2003). It focuses on school textbooks as powerful media, which contribute to the way students – as the next generation of political and economic decision makers – think about the world, or rather, which contribute to the formation of a special type of political and economic subject.

In particular, the theoretical and methodological perspectives of this article refer to thoughts of the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault. While we cannot unfold the Foucauldian 'tool-box' in its entirety, we can offer a short introduction to how business textbooks – our research objects – can be conceptualized in a Foucauldian sense.[1]

Following Foucault, various approaches and possible conceptualizations of our research object are conceivable: textbooks could be explored from a genealogical perspective and thus in a basically historical way. The focus in this case could, for example, be on the shifts and transformations of how books are understood and used as a medium in educational settings. This was not our intention.

Alternatively, textbooks could be analysed as one element of a 'dispositif', which Foucault defines as a "heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. (…) The apparatus [= *dispositif, A.O./M.T.*] itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements." (Foucault 1980: 194) Textbooks could be regarded as such elements, for example in an 'education dispositif'. While this form of analysis would have been extremely interesting, *as a whole* it is not feasible in this context. Now, after saying what we did not do and what the focus of our research was not concerned with, we can outline what our analysis did involve.

Our primary methodological perspective is influenced by Foucault's discourse-theoretical considerations. In a first step, we need to outline (albeit brief-

1 For a first introduction to Foucault's major works and themes see e.g. Dreyfus, H./Rabinow, P. (1982): Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics or Gutting, G. (1994): The Cambridge Companion to Foucault or Rabinow, P. (1984): The Foucault Reader.

ly) one central concept from his tool-box, namely the concept of 'discourse'. Specifically, we refer to the theoretical aspects Foucault deals with in his book *Archaeology of Knowledge (orig.: L'Archéologie du Savoir*) which was published in French in 1969.

According to Foucault, a 'discourse' can be defined as a group of statements (in contrast to utterances) which are generated and governed by specific rules in a given period of time in a historically variable, epistemological field (episteme). In this sense, a statement is the typical core of actually uttered spoken or written things. The epistemological field can be regarded as underlying – regulatory but unconscious – structures where discourses occur. The episteme is the basis for the formation process of statements and hence for the formation of discourses. It provides the conditions for the possibility of a (temporally limited and thus variable) knowledge in a given historical period (Foucault 2008).

Therefore, 'discourse' as defined by Foucault can not be reduced to speech. Discourses offer a set of possible (and in the context of particular discourses) legal, plausible and permissible practices of thinking, writing, speaking and acting that – as a consequence – "systematically form the objects of which they speak." (Foucault 2008: 54) They are productive in an essential manner.

In a given period of history, discourses determine modes of 'truth production' and hence draw the line between what receives the status of 'true' or 'false'. In this sense, knowledge is produced discoursively. It is the effect of a specific episteme. As a consequence, it is not simply a representation, a copy of a 'reality out there', but a powerful entity that produces order, structures individual perceptions, establishes specific rationalities, legitimates specific modes of argumentation, and hence configures the reality that it pretends to represent. In order to stabilize these truths, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are necessary. From Foucault's point of view, knowledge is always conceptualized as "power-knowledge" (f.e. Foucault 1995: 27).

What then are (business) textbooks, if we follow Foucault's discourse theory? In our study, we perceive textbooks as material objectivations – empirical artefacts – that represent a specific knowledge (as described above). Within the context of discourse analysis, we follow Keller's (2001) remarks on the conception of any form of textual material and regard textbooks as documents which refresh and manifest fractional realisations of one or various discourses. From this perspective, textbooks as central educational media are both: discoursive products and modes of reproducing discourses. They can be seen as powerful constructs of socially legitimated knowledge (Ostendorf & Thoma 2010).

The aim of our analysis was neither to conduct a discourse analysis nor to identify different discourses, for example an economic discourse or the discourse of democracy. Instead, we wanted to gain a clearer perspective of the

images of participation in business enterprises that emerge from the books analysed. In other words, we wanted to carve out and focus on *how the text works:* what is said and what is not said, what is embedded in the argumentation and what is left outside it, which of the arguments presented are connected with each other and which aspects are separated from another.

'How the text works' implies the question of how the textual material (along with pictures, illustrations and assignments) functions in a productive manner and which images of participation and democratic subjects emerge. Our assumption is that these emerging images structure the perceptions of students – and thus of future employees and managers – in a specific way; they establish specific truths and determine 'what is normal'.

4 Research Design

4.1 Sample description

Textbooks used in different German-speaking countries are the basis of our research. This comparative view aims to provide improved insight into texts produced for a national context. Our main initial hypothesis was that there is not much difference between the textbooks, because comparable types of schools were selected for analysis. The countries are all German-speaking democratic societies with a capitalistic economy. While the regions investigated have a close geographical proximity, they have different democratic traditions and cultures. In particular, there is a difference between direct democracy in Switzerland and the systems of representational democracy in Germany and Austria. Therefore, it would also be interesting to investigate these constellations in textbooks as sources for the development of images that reflect business and democratic behaviour.

Textbooks from Austria, Germany (Bavaria) and Switzerland are examined: all of them were written for students of higher vocational schools at level 3/4 A of the UNESCO classification (ISCED) and all focus on business administration and management. The students who use them are aged between approximately 16 and 20. They attend schools offering access to universities or universities of applied science and providing specific qualifications in vocational business subjects.

4.2 Research questions

By employing the methods of content analysis, we intend to answer the following questions:

- How is employee involvement (co-determination and other forms of participation) in organizational decision-making processes illustrated in business textbooks? What kind of participatory practices can be identified in the text body, in examples, in illustrations?
- What kind of democratic subject emerges from the textbooks?
- Are there country-specific differences?

4.3 Categories and coding procedure

Text passages concerning participatory practices or issues related to decision-making in organizations were highlighted systematically in all textbooks investigated. In a spreadsheet program, attributions were added to pertinent text passages. An example:

Text: "Bevor die Unternehmensleitung jedoch im Rahmen der strategischen Planung die eigentliche Unternehmensstrategie entwickeln kann, muss sie sich mit den eigenen Werten, der Vision und dem Leitbild auseinandersetzen." (CH^2, S. 55)

Translation: "Before top management can develop the company's actual strategy in terms of strategic planning, it has to reflect on its own values, the vision and the mission statement."

Attribution: 'Strategic planning as an exclusive task of top management'

From a synopsis of these attributions specific 'patterns' emerge. These patterns are described in greater detail when we summarize our results. Simultaneously, we also examine the text and ask "what is excluded?"

5 Results

5.1 Höhere Lehranstalt für wirtschaftliche Berufe (HLW)/Higher School for Industry and Trade (Austria)

2 We use the national code (A, CH, D) for identifying the textbooks.

5.1.1 Description of the school type

HLW is a specific type of a 'higher vocational school' at the secondary level in the Austrian education system. Higher vocational schools "provide advanced general as well as (…) vocational education, which enables pupils to pursue more sophisticated occupations on the one hand, and to take up university studies on the other (dual qualification). Education is full-time, lasts five years and is completed by a secondary school leaving and diploma examination (*Reife- und Diplomprüfung*)." (bmukk 2008: 43) A closer look at the curriculum clarifies what 'sophisticated' means in this context: Graduates of this school should be able to fulfil tasks in the area of personnel management (BGBl II 2006: 3), and – something which is particularly relevant for our subsequent argumentation – they should be able to lead employees.

The target group of the books analysed are students aged from approximately 17 to 19. The students have at minimum of 3 months of institutionalized/organized workplace experience gained in an obligatory placement which is defined in the curriculum.

5.1.2. Results[3]

An opening chapter (A, V: 10) in one of the books we focused on discusses 'leadership' in companies in general. In this context, organizations are initially introduced as structured assemblages with pyramid, i.e. hierarchical structures. Alternative, less hierarchical and hence more heterarchical forms of organizational structure are mentioned in the book as examples of 'future trends' – especially in the chapter on 'organising' (A, V: 28). Still, the idea that 'top management' is located at the narrow top while operative employees ('the personnel') are found at the broader bottom, seems to be the dominant and leading image throughout the textbook.

According to the text, one of the most important tasks of top management is to develop and install a set of entrepreneurial strategies that determine the organization's long-term activities. Strategies affect the basic direction of the enterprise and thus the set of possible actions, rules and objectives as a whole.

3 The books analysed (Betriebs- und Volkswirtschaft III, IV and V) were published in the 'Trauner Verlag'. The exact bibliographic details can be found at the end of the references. At this point we want to clarify that – in accordance with our theoretical framework that disclaims the concept of 'an author', but focuses on the text itself as a materialized result of discourses and in this respect as power-knowledge – neither the authors of the analysed material nor the publishing companies are the objects of our critique.

Strategy formulation is the exclusive right and task of company management (A, V: 16)[4]. Strategies form the basis on which company objectives are formulated and, in the final analysis, the basis for the employees' daily actions. In order to ensure corporate success, personnel have to be 'managed'. Similar to strategy formulation, personnel management is the sole domain of the company's (top) management (A, V: 58). The leadership process as a specific part of personnel management is essential for entrepreneurial and thus organizational success (A, V: 10). In this sense, management includes supervision (A, V: 36), monitoring and assessment (A, V: 66) as self-evident, absolutely necessary instruments, without the chance for personnel to defend themselves against these techniques. In this context, supervisors appear as powerful authorities (A, V: 65, 74) with a high level of responsibility for both employee behaviour (are rules and strategy being followed, are objectives achieved (A, V: 12)) and – as a consequence – for organizational success.

Interestingly, the text does not mention legally required 'codetermination' as a form of employee participation in companies – in Austria defined in the *Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz (ArbVG)*. The concept of a 'works council' is briefly alluded to in an introductory chapter where some tasks and possibilities of influence are listed in a tabular form (A, III: 16), but when it comes to the presentation of specific topics (for example personnel management, marketing, corporate finance), these aspects are not referred to. For example, human resource planning, personnel recruitment processes, the internal transfer of personnel, dismissals, the implementation of (employee) control mechanisms, and specific assessment procedures appear as autonomous, unquestioned decision processes that exclusively involve the company owner(s) or the top management, but no one else.

The allusion to the possible influence of the works council seems to be detached from the 'daily business' of the company and thus is marginalized, almost irrelevant, and non-existent. For example, the employees' right to be informed and to make proposals, the right to intervene in certain aspects of personnel management and corporate finance are disregarded in the text.

When it comes to 'participation' – i.e. any other form of employee influence beside that which is legally regulated – the individual employee is, despite the powerful role of management or the authorities in general, illustrated as more than just a kind of fully determined 'vicarious agent'. The individual em-

4 "Strategien sind von der Unternehmensleitung formulierte Aussagen (Handlungsanweisungen) darüber, wie ein Unternehmen seine vorhandenen und potenziellen Ressourcen einsetzen kann, um langfristig den Veränderungen der Umwelt zu begegnen. Strategien geben an, mit welchen Produkten oder Dienstleistungen das Unternehmen auf welchen Märkten seine Umsätze und Erträge erwirtschaften soll." (A, V: 16)

ployee is thoroughly equipped with – albeit rather limited – possibilities of articulating his/her own intentions. The book mentions (explicitly) at least two forms of participation for the individual employee. One is the 'appraisal interview', where employees get the chance to articulate their ideas concerning work responsibilities and processes, to point out their suggestions and talk about their individual aims. During the appraisal interview, the individual's performance of the past, the degree to which objectives have been achieved, as well as future objectives can be discussed with the supervisor[5]. These objectives are defined conjointly (and hence 'democratically'). They are the basis for the employee's (personal and external) guidance as well as a benchmark for the employee's (personal and external) assessment in the future. Furthermore, this kind of employee involvement is used in the text as an example of a (general) reduction of heteronomy and hence as an indication for the increasing possibility of self-determination in an organizational context (A, V: 17).

Another possibility for employee involvement is in the process of developing the corporate 'mission statement', where, for example, ethical values, moral concepts, attitudes, forms of internal and external communication as well as guidelines for communicating with suppliers and customers are formulated. The text justifies this kind of participation by arguing that practical implementation is more successful when all those affected are involved in the development process (A, V: 15)[6]. In this context, the explanation for the necessity of employee participation is the implementation of the mission statement. In this sense, participation appears more as a preventive act than a desired activity; it is mainly used to ensure corporate success, rather than constituting a fundamentally democratic phenomenon.

A closing side note: The glossary of the book excludes both, the keyword 'works council' as well as the concept of 'codetermination', but it includes a definition of 'Kantönligeist' or 'provincial thinking'(A, V: 200) and an explanation of 'Nachttresor' or 'night safe'(A, V: 201).

5 "Der Mitarbeiter hat im Rahmen des Mitarbeitergesprächs die Gelegenheit, seine Vorstellungen über Arbeitsinhalte und Arbeitsabläufe zu artikulieren, Anregungen zu geben und über seine persönlichen Ziele zu reden. (…) In einem Mitarbeitergespräch können die Leistungen und der Grad der Zielerreichung besprochen und neue Ziele vereinbart werden." (A, V: 65f.)

6 "In vielen Unternehmen gibt es zwar ein Leitbild, es fehlen aber Maßnahmen zur Umsetzung in die Praxis. Sie wird nur dann gelingen, wenn die Mitarbeiter bei seiner Erarbeitung eingebunden werden." (A, V: 15)

5.2 Fachoberschule (FOS) Bavaria (Germany)

5.2.1. Description of the school type

Like the Austrian HLW, the Fachoberschule (FOS) is a specific form of 'higher vocational school' at the secondary level of the German education system. Education is full-time, lasts two years, includes a 6-month placement in an appropriate working field, and is generally based on 'Mittlere Reife' (Realschulabschluss). Fachoberschulen offer different forms of specialization for their students, such as agricultural economics, social studies, technology, and economic sciences. Here, we focus on the latter. Graduates are able to start an apprenticeship (for example in the German dual system of vocational education), begin to study at universities of applied science, or (after one additional year) enter university. In contrast to the Austrian system of higher vocational education, in Bavaria, business administration textbooks are not subject to an 'approval procedure' (Art. 51 BayEUG). As a consequence, the market for textbooks is highly diversified and heterogeneous and includes various publishing companies. The users of the book analysed are (again) approximately between 16 and 20 years old.

5.2.2 Results[7]

The text starts by introducing principles of business administration. In this context the 'economic principle' is introduced as the essential paradigm. 'Profit maximisation' is the ultimate objective of a company (D, 21), and other objectives – which are derived from that – are shown as very important determinants of organizational success. Company objectives are discussed from several perspectives – for example classification, measurability, operationalisation, interdependencies, and hierarchies. In this context, the text offers the idea that objectives are both 'given' by the management and agreed on with the employees (D, 17)[8].

One aspect is not explained: it remains unclear which objectives are formulated in a more participative, 'democratic' way and which ones are predefined by the management. Although the marketing chapter includes a hint that company

7 The book analysed (Betriebswirtschaftslehre mit Rechnungswesen) is published in the ‚Bildungsverlag EINS'.

8 "Ziele werden mit den Mitarbeitern vereinbart oder von der Geschäftsleitung vorgegeben." "In jeder Unternehmung werden viele Ziele nebeneinander vereinbart und vorgegeben." (D, 20)

management predefines the 'profit objective' (D, 376), there is no discussion whether there are legal requirements that open up possibilities of codetermination/participation or not.

'Personnel'– an umbrella term for all employees except for management – is described in terms similar to those used in the description of the 'production process of goods': 'it' needs to be 'planned', 'it' is 'provided', 'used', 'developed' and finally 'discharged'. This implicitly fosters a specific, passive picture of the 'factor' personnel. In the personnel management process, supervisors are emphasized as important actors with regard to employee contentment and performance (D, 32)[9]. In this chapter, the possibility of codetermination through a works council is explicitly mentioned in several parts of the text (in each case with reference to the German '*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz' (BetrVerfG))*: in connection with the implementation of personnel information systems (D, 25)[10], in the context of personnel planning and recruitment concerns (D, 28)[11], and in connection with the implementation of specific assessment procedures (D, 34)[12]. These references are, however, neither followed by a more detailed description nor by a (more in-depth) discussion of the possibility or relevance of employee participation in organizational contexts. Codetermination is, again, not (deeply) embedded in the textual argumentation and thus remains detached from the description of daily business in the company.

Like the book analysed in the previous section, this textbook offers a glossary. Again, neither the keyword 'works council' nor the concept of 'codetermination' is included.

5.3. Matura Schools (German-speaking part of Switzerland) – specializing in Business and Law – and 'Berufsmaturitätsschulen'

5.3.1. Description of the school type

The Swiss education system is multi-faceted because the "cantons" are responsible for schools. As a consequence, many types of schools with varying conditions and different lengths of study can be found. The textbook under investiga-

9 "Wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Zufriedenheit und die Leistung der Mitarbeiter hat das Verhalten des Vorgesetzten." (D, 32)

10 "Bei der Einführung eines Personalinformationssystems sind die Mitbestimmungsrechte des Betriebsrats (§87 BetrVerfG) zu beachten." (D, 25)

11 „Bei der Neueinstellung und der Personalplanung hat der Betriebsrat umfangreiche Informations- und Mitbestimmungsrechte." (D, 28)

12 „Bei der Einführung neuer Beurteilungsgrundsätze hat der Betriebsrat ein Mitbestimmungsrecht." (D, 34)

tion aims at students of grammar schools which specialize in business and law, on 'Berufsmaturitätssschulen', higher vocational education and courses in further education. ‘Gymnasium’ and 'Berufsmaturitätsschulen' are positioned at the upper secondary level of the educational system in Switzerland.[13]

5.3.2 Results[14]

This textbook refers closely to the academic discipline of business administration. It is written against the background of a specific management paradigm: the systems approach to management, also known as 'the St. Gallen Management Model'. This has quite a significant influence on the content and perspectives of the book and lends it an 'academic touch', which is also noticeable in the language and quotations. The subtitle "Zusammenhänge verstehen" ("Understanding Interrelations"), expresses the book’s main concern. Business is – in line with the specific approach of the 'St. Gallen Management Model' – deeply anchored in cultural and social contexts. According to the headline of chapter 1.1, business is a part of society. Companies are described as being embedded in an environment which is divided into legal, social, ecological, economic and technological spheres (CH, 41). A complex network of relations is shown, but – while these relations are emphatically proclaimed as the core of the management model – a more detailed analysis reveals that social and some legal aspects are hardly discussed at all. Particularly, codetermination issues are ignored. In another context, the special situation of business in Switzerland is strongly stressed (as in pages 20 f.), but the Swiss codetermination law – the 'Mitwirkungsgesetz' – is not mentioned at all. In Switzerland, every company with more than 50 employees needs a labour representative, and labour laws have been implemented since 1964. None of these legal aspects are mentioned. Non-smoking laws (!) are mentioned as an example of how the legal sphere influences company work. This seems to be more important than labour legislation. The company seems to be free of co-determination. In the textbook, a type of employee without rights emerges as a prototype.

The company is described as a system comprising the functions of marketing, production, strategic management, finance, organization, and human resources. For identifying modes and patterns of democratic participation, the fields of strategic management, organization and human resources are especially interesting.

13 http://www.beruf.lu.ch/index/ueber_uns/zahlen/berufsbildung_2011.pdf

14 The book analysed (Betriebswirtschaftslehre. Zusammenhänge verstehen) is published by ‘hep Verlag‘.

In chapter 3, which covers strategic management, the main focus of the book becomes clear again. The dominant perspective is that of leadership. It is written from the top of the hierarchy. Lower hierarchical stages are not involved when the mission and vision of the company are established. This is the exclusive task of (higher) management and they bear all responsibility. They have to live mission and vision as an ideal (CH, 56)[15]. Strategy planning is the exclusive task of managers (CH, 69). The very important involvement of employees (CH, 69) is mentioned but in the sense that they need to follow a plan imposed upon them, not that they are asked to participate in the planning itself.

There seems to be a rather critical view of the shareholder value approach, which is characterized as risky. The stakeholder value approach is, however, shown to recognize different needs, especially those of customers and employees (in that order!). (CH, 39)

In the chapter on organization, a very mechanical, Tayloristic image of organization emerges. Everything can be scheduled and calculated. In the human resource chapter, the concept of participation is mentioned explicitly in an example (CH, 176).[16] It is, however, very strongly linked to stimulus-response theory and rewards. The concept of stimulus-response theory is described as highly significant for human resource management in general.

The book focuses strongly on the development of business terminology. After every chapter there is a list of central concepts that were used and have to be learned. If one takes into consideration that language is a central concept of culture, it becomes clear that the exclusion of certain concepts (such as codetermination) propagates a system of cultural inclusion or exclusion.

6 Discussion

As mentioned above, the focus of our research was to analyse how the textual material works. Our aim was to gain better insight into what is said and what is not said and to focus on how the arguments presented in the book are linked with each other. In so doing, we wanted to find out how employee involvement in organizational decision-making processes is presented in the books analysed. In this closing section, we want to draw together the findings described above in

15 "Die Vision stellt ein generelles Ziel des Unternehmens bzw. die Grundmotivation der Unternehmensleitung dar. Sie ist ein Zukunftsbild, welches i.d.R. die Unternehmensgründer bzw. Inhaber haben." (CH, 57).

16 "ABB Schweiz hat operative Anreiz- und Belohnungssysteme für Mitarbeitende mit und ohne Kaderstufe. Damit beteiligen sich die Mitarbeitenden am jährlichen Erfolg der Geschäftseinheit."(CH, 176)

order to highlight the leading text patterns and to point out which kind of *democratic subject* emerges.

We chose three textbooks from three different countries with different democratic traditions. First, we have to state that we were astonished by the high degree of similarity regarding the inclusion and exclusion of specific topics. While these textbooks differ in their comprehension level, their structure and their design, they are almost identical in creating specific images of participation and democratic agency.

Company employees are mostly conceptualized as an anonymous factor called 'personnel'. This category forms a counterpart to management and company owner(s). The differentiation of the two categories goes hand in hand with an asymmetrical allocation of responsibility and the degree of influence in decision-making processes. Management dominates the process of formulating company strategies; it determines the long-term perspective and thus the basic direction of the company. Personnel are responsible for the successful implementation of 'given' plans, objectives and tasks in order to ensure the success of the company. In doing so, they have to be managed. That means that they have to be supervised, monitored and assessed. Employee/personnel participation becomes 'necessary', when the success of the company is in danger – it is a kind of 'functional participation'.

This may (or may not) be a 'realistic' or 'appropriate' description of the organizational structures of companies in capitalistically organized societies. We cannot and do not want to assess the validity of this emerging picture. But – and this is our point of critique – the textual material excludes some central aspects and implicitly offers a specific picture of the individual employee in an organizational context.

The text constructs an 'employee subject' who has neither the inner motivation (in the form of an inner urge to participate) nor a basic desire to play an active part in organizational decision-making processes. In that matter, individual subjects are basically passive. They are not interested in any form of involvement or participative commitment and hence do not claim such rights. Due to this specific kind of 'subject conceptualisation', concepts like codetermination/participation receive a marginalised status: they are not relevant for the argumentation – if there are no problems, then solutions are not necessary. At this point, we should note that marginalisation works first and foremost through *exclusion* (the employees' inner commitment) – and thus through the way the employee subject is constructed. This subject is positioned beyond (a field of) democratic demands. It is functional (in the sense of following 'given' plans or rules), it is incentive-driven and thus can be governed with specific stimuli, but it is basically not resisting in an emancipatory sense.

At this point we come back to the discussion of democracy and democratic education provided by Gert Biesta (2006). He argues that democratic education can be interpreted in three ways (Biesta 2006: 127 ff.): from a Kantian perspective, education has to produce the democratic individual (individualistic position) through knowledge and the individual empowerment of judgement. From Dewey's point of view, the democratic individual can only be produced in democratic social interaction. Finally, from the perspective linked to the philosophy of Hannah Arendt, education has to offer space for individuals to act, where they can bring their beginnings into the world and where the initiatives of others are not obstructed. Without ignoring the first two interpretations, there is some preference for the latter one. Textbooks can be considered as an integral part of a learning environment. They provide learning spaces for students, but regarding them as the major form of democratic education would surely overburden them. Following Arendt's conception of the democratic individual, we feel it is necessary to call "(...) for schools in which democracy – understood as action-in-plurality- is a real possibility." Nevertheless, we have to be aware that powerful media transmit special role models to students in which action in plurality is ignored. It is all the more important therefore, for teachers to open up space for critical argumentation.

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Co-determination in Times of Economic Crisis: Changes in the Social Positioning of Works Councillors?

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This article focuses on the reception of consequences of the current economic crisis on the system of co-determination. Co-determination in Austria is based on relatively strong legal rights; however, participation has to be seen as an immanent social process. Therefore, co-determination depends on social acceptance within organisations as well as acceptance and support by public opinion. We highlight some aspects of the interdependence between works councils and economic crisis with the theoretical framework of the theory of structuration (Giddens 1979) and focus on social positioning, knowledgeability and learning. Our arguments concentrate on the representation and construction of the following aspects: participation in creating and establishing human resource policies to react to economic pressures; interaction patterns and social relations between works councils and management as one main 'partner' deriving from difficult economic situations; and the role of knowledgeability and learning for the stability of the system of co-determination.

1 Co-determination in Austria

Industrial relations systems influence the way national economies deal with rising unemployment and heavy pressures on working conditions as negative consequences of economic crisis. At the same time stronger economic pressures also affect these systems by creating a much more difficult environment for important institutional elements of industrial relations, like negotiations on collective agreements or participation of employees at company level. These reciprocal effects are not only valid for the level of national economies, economic sectors and industries but for single companies, too. The specific model of participation of employees and their representatives has a strong impact on how companies deal with strong economic struggles that usually include negative impacts on employees (from the loss of jobs to a negative, stressful work environment); however the consequences of economically difficult situations of

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companies on participation also depend on the particular system of organisational democracy.

Similar to Germany, in the Austrian industrial relations system works councils are of particular importance for workplace relations, human resource management and, therefore, for establishing employment and working conditions in organisations (e.g. Hermann & Flecker 2006; von Eckardstein 2004; Weitbrecht 2003; Traxler 2000; 1998; Auer 1994)[1]. First of all, the legal rights of works councils are particularly strong in personnel and social matters (like dismissals, appraisal systems). Also formal plant agreements usually cover issues in the field of human resource management (e.g. flexible working time schedules). Additionally, works councils are still very common, particularly in larger organisations. Around 14 % of all private companies in Austria have established works councils, in enterprises with more than 200 employees 90 % are covered by works councils; all in all more than half of the employees in private companies are represented by works councils (Hermann & Flecker 2006)[2]. Moreover, works councils are elected by the employees of a company and, thus, represent large parts of the workforce. The acceptance and support of these employees legitimate works councils. Therefore, works councils do not only react to complaints and requests from individual employees but are sensitive towards general human resource strategies and policies. Experienced work councillors can also develop profound knowledge in the area of human resource management so they may not only rely on the labour law and support of the employees but on their expertise.

From the employers perspective the strong position of works councils in human resource management and labour relations makes competent and sensitive management of co-determination necessary in order to deal effectively and efficiently with the consequences of strong economic pressure at company level. This approach towards co-determination may for example include preventing conflicts by a pro-active engagement with works councils. Furthermore, there is also empirical evidence that participation of works councils has positive economic effects for companies (e.g. Backes-Gellner et al. 1997; Jirjahn 2008; more critical Addison et al. 1993; for a discussion of this stream of research Frege 2002). Therefore, some authors see co-determination not as a restriction to 'free', efficient decision-making of employers (e.g. Drumm 1992) but as a means to achieve economic success and social cohesion at the same time (e.g. Wächter 2004; Wächter 1983). This may be particularly important in situations

1 Austria and Germany have a relatively similar co-determination structure at workplace and plant level (Jenkins & Blyton 2008; for Austria: Traxler 2000; for Germany: Weiss 1992; for a comparison: Auer 1994).

2 The figures are based on estimations of the Austrian Trade Union Federation.

of strong economic problems because works councils can support or undermine innovative and flexible ways to deal with these problems (Die Mitbestimmung 2009).

Research on co-determination (mainly in Germany) has discussed intensively the consequences of economic, social and cultural changes during the last two to three decades. Works councils have already been confronted with important changes particularly deriving from the globalisation of the economy. Besides the decline in works councils coverage (Herrmann & Flecker 2006 on Austria; e.g. Ellguth & Kohaut 2005, Hassel 1999 on Germany) and decentralisation of industrial relations (particularly opening clauses in collective agreements) (e.g. Jenkins & Blyton 2008; Auer & Welte 2001) economic and organisational changes have created a more difficult environment in terms of representation of the interests of the workforce for existing, and often well-established works councils:

- Stronger economic competition makes it more unlikely to achieve substantial improvements in job security and working conditions; the still ongoing economic problems in some economic sectors make this situation even worse.
- 'New' intra-organisational designs like process organisation, project teams or quality circles that often substitute or at least supplement the functional organisational structures as well as increasing diversity of structures of companies (e.g. chain store structures, multinational companies) weakens the potential of works councils to participate effectively and efficiently; the legal concept of co-determination is still mainly based on the functional (and national) design of companies (e.g. Gerum 1997).
- Processes of decentralization and individualisation of human resource management (Wächter 1987; Drumm 1989) means that line managers (often together with affected employees) make important decisions on human resource management. Works councils are not involved in substantial areas of human resource management like staff development and training (e.g. Breisig 1993; Oechsler 1993).
- Centralized decision-making at company level in the area of human resource management restricts the chances of participation for local works councils at the level of shops or firms; local human resource managers as the main negotiation partners of works councils have only very limited influence on working conditions, as have works councils.

Despite of these changes there is empirical evidence for Germany that works councils remain a relatively stable institution, which is able to adapt to new

economic and social structures (e.g. Gumbrell-McCormick & Hyman 2006; Ellguth & Kohaut 2005; Frege 2003, 2002; Bosch et al. 1999; Kotthoff 1994). Research on works councils has dealt with the stability of the system of co-determination in times of significant economic changes (e.g. Frege 2003, Frege 2002). Despite signals of less acceptance and support within organisations (Hermann & Flecker 2006) co-determination is still regarded as a reliable and established part of industrial relations. The long tradition of co-determination, the economic advantages of the system, and, particularly, the legal and institutional strength of the system (Schmidt & Trinczek 1991) are the main arguments. Works councils obviously put a very pragmatic, realistic approach into practice by understanding economic pressures and social changes but are also aware of the differing interests of management and works councils (and employees). They are usually able to develop cooperative and integrative forms of bargaining and dealing with the management. Some authors even emphasise the role and function of works councils as co-management that fulfils core business functions for the company (Müller-Jentsch 1995; Haipeter 2010).

However, there might still be interesting changes in the self-understanding of works councillors, in their practices and strategies of participation and in the social relationship of works councils and their main partners/opponents (employers, employees, trade unions). Participation, co-operation and power relations in organisation cannot be fully determined by the law and even works councillors are careful to apply the law in many situations (Auer & Welte 2009; 2007). Co-determination practices go beyond legal structures and issues and, therefore, are an immanent social phenomenon, an interaction process (Trinczek 1989). Developing and applying knowledge/skills and networks in a broad sense (for example the knowledge of legal regulations or the ability to form political coalitions) represent key issues in this context. Moreover, acceptance and legitimation of works councils within companies but also in the wider society are crucial for effective co-determination.

Times of economic crisis make the elements of stability and strength as well as erosion and weakness of co-determination even more visible. Although the economies of Austria (and Germany) have effectively recovered from the crisis, co-determination had possibly never been confronted with such strong consequences of negative economic developments; moreover, on-going economic and social changes have changed and, possibly, weakened the system already.

The aim of this article is to discuss the impact of the strong economic crisis starting in 2008 on the social positioning of works councils. We present first ideas on the social identity and related practices of works councillors and on the relationships to one core interaction partner, namely management/employers.

These ideas are based on our understanding of the institutional structures of co-determination and first results of a study on the perception of works councils during the economic crisis in Austrian newspapers[3]. Furthermore, we develop a research agenda on the role of knowledge and learning of works councillors and works councils for dealing with an economic crisis. The role of knowledge and learning in a rather broad understanding, including forms of transactional knowledge and learning as a social practice for co-determination, is hardly explored. Knowledge and learning could be a main resource, a medium to adapt participation practices of works councillors in particularly difficult circumstances. In this context, we present a theoretical framework to conceptualize organisational learning and relate this concept to co-determination by developing specific research questions.

2 Social positioning as theoretical framework

Our analysis is rooted in the theory of structuration (Giddens 1992; 1979), particularly, on the idea of potentially knowledgeable and reflexive agents, who have a profound understanding of themselves, other human beings, social conventions and societal and organisational structures (see also Becker et al. 2006). Structuration theory offers a sensible approach to analyse which impacts a specific group of individual agents, like works councillors, or collective agents, like works councils, can have on structures and practices of organisations.

Giddens has called to attention the emergent, restricting and sometimes enabling facets of organisations, and stresses the role of human actors' recursive actions and their ongoing interpretations and constructions of the social phenomena they are confronted with. In this perspective structures do not exist unless practiced by people which give actors/agency a central role in the understanding of social systems. Actors have "the capability … to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events" (Giddens 1992: 14) and are in principle capable of reflecting on their actions although their knowledge about the conditions and consequences of their activities is limited. The analysis of actors/actions must be conducted in the context of structural components of social institutions or societies (Giddens 1992). It is this interplay of structure

3 The data we use in this article are first findings from a project on "Co-determination in times of economic crisis: The reception of works councils in Austrian and German newspapers from September 2008 to September 2010" which is promoted by the "Forschungsförderungspreis 2010 der Hypo Tirol Bank an der Leopold-Franzens-Universität". We analysed three Austrian daily newspapers: 'Der Standard', 'Die Presse' and 'Salzburger Nachrichten'. We found 209 published articles between September 2008 and September 2010 that are concerned with works councils/co-determination and economic crisis.

and agency that allows a deeper understanding of the restrictions and opportunities organisational actors perceive and experience.

Since we are interested in the analysis of the impact of specific groups of agents the concept of social positioning within structuration theory is of particular importance and allows us to explore the situation and impact of specific actors in social systems. Social positioning describes the process of integration of individual or collective actors within a network of social relations and patterned practices. The agents-in-focus should, therefore, "always be conceptualised from the start as being in the midst of, as already being caught up in the flow of position-practices and their relations" (Stones 2005: 93). We distinguish three dimensions of social positioning:

1. In the context of the social identity as works councillors, we particularly refer to the legitimation of their position and activities within companies. Giddens (1992: 84) defines a social position as "a social identity that carries with it a certain range (however diffusely specified) of prerogatives and obligations that an actor who is accorded that identity (or is an 'incumbent' of that position) may activate or carry out …". However, social identity is never absolutely fixed. It's an ongoing process of sense-making accomplished through social interaction (Ainsworth 2002). We are particularly interested in the activities of works councillors deriving from their understanding of the social position of works councillors in the situation of economic crisis. Although (legal) norms may be of particular importance for the social position of actors, interpretative schemes and facilities have the potential to support, complement, or contradict these norms. Therefore, works councillors activities demonstrate their legal, normative background but also their interpretation and self-understanding of their social position within companies.
2. A definite identity is always related to a network of social relations. That means individual actors are confronted with expectations coming from social systems but also from other agents. Social relations referring to (patterned) interactions with other main actors in the organisational field of co-determination: Social positioning describes the process of integration of an individual within a network of social relations and patterned practices. Points of reference (social spaces) can be an organisation, workplace, family, etc. The positioning of actors within time refers to day-to-day life, the individual life circle and institutionalised practices (social systems) (Giddens 1992). Social positioning is, therefore, fundamentally connected to social time-space paths that emphasise the societal and organisational (institutionalised) expectations on individuals during their life path. It forms

the basis on which individuals are permanently assessed by others and themselves. Therefore, rules of legitimation of social positioning are of particular relevance. The positioning of individuals within time-space contexts of activities strongly influence interactions. Social relations affect the structuring of interactions and offer social space for the positioning of individuals. We mainly refer on the relationships of works councillors to the management. Since companies difficult economic situations usually have an impact on employees the cooperation or confrontation of works councils and management play a key role in the handling of such circumstances.

3. Strategies of actors to achieve certain goals rely particularly on knowledgeability, which is part of social identity (e.g. the capacity to reflect on the position within the social system) and social relations (awareness of the dominant coalitions within an organisation). Knowledgeability of agents emphasises the knowledge of works councillors of formal and informal structures and processes of the social system they are in. It consists of explicit and implicit or tacit knowledge of the structural characteristics and dynamics of the social systems within which they act (Giddens 1992). Accuracy of this understanding can be measured "by how far actors are able to co-ordinate their activities with others in such a way as to pursue the purposes engaged by their behaviour" (Giddens 1992: 90). The impact of using structures (rules and resources) depends on the biographies and abilities of the actors as well as on the specific context (Ortmann 1995). The actors' knowledge or awareness is always limited and allocated unequally between actors. This becomes particularly obvious in regards to the capability to quickly build up or transfer knowledge of rules and resources to contexts remote from previous experiences (Giddens 1992). Besides the individual expertise, the knowledge that is exclusively stored within an individual's memory (Brauner & Becker 2006), transactive knowledge or metaknowledge (Brauner 2002) represents another important dimension of the knowledgeability of actors. Transactive knowledge means that actors have access to and are able to use the knowledge of other individuals within a social system (e.g. Brauner & Becker 2006). We assume that knowledgeability, in its individual and collective version, has a profound effect on the capacity of works councillors to influence decision-making processes within companies. Difficult economic situations may challenge routines as well as existing knowledge. Therefore, works councillors may be forced or at least challenged to acquire different knowledge and learn as well as experience new social practices. Knowledgeability and learning can, therefore, be regarded as key issues in the context of changing economic and sociocultural circumstances of co-determination.

3 Human resources policies and the relationship to management

In the following we develop first ideas on the impact of serious economic problems of companies on the social positioning of works councillors:

1. Social identity of works councillors becomes particularly obvious in the context of the participation of works councils in creating and establishing 'new' human resource policies to react to economic pressures.
2. The impact of the economic crisis on interaction patterns and social relations between works councils and relevant partners/opponents is of particular interest. We mainly focus on interactions with management as the most prevailing and influential relationship in this situation.

(1) The economic crisis started with fundamental economic problems in the financial (and partly real estate) sector in autumn 2008 but soon had strong negative impacts for many other industries (manufacturing, tourism, etc.). Economic problems of companies affect roles and practices of works councils and works councillors, particularly via the strong implications of economic pressures on employment and working conditions of companies. Potential challenges can include dismissals of employees, reduced working hours and, therefore, income losses for employees, strong pressure on wages and salaries but also social benefits in order to reduce personnel costs, and reductions of investment in human resources by e.g. cutting down training and human resource development programs.

The Austrian co-determination system, together with the German, includes the most extensive rights for employees to information, consultation and joint decision-making in Europe (Jenkins & Blyton 2008). The Works Constitution Act forms the legal basis of co-determination by works councils. This law grants the strongest forms of participation in relation to personnel and social issues but offering very limited participation rights in economic matters of the organisation. Therefore, co-determination is particularly important and influential in the area of human resource management. Moreover, issues of human resource management often represent the core competence of works councils and, are, therefore, crucial for their acceptance and social standing within companies.

Discourses on the role and participation of works councils in different human resource management issues can have a strong influence on the public perception of works councils within and outside companies and, therefore, on their social identities. Descriptions and conceptualisations of co-determination in the context of dismissals and downgrading working and employment condi-

tions deriving from economic problems of the involved company create a specific image of the work of works councils.

Anecdotal evidence from reports in Austrian newspapers gives first insights in main issues:

- Dismissals of employees in some cases even in large numbers are the most obvious challenge for works councils. They try to prevent these job losses but in many cases their final responsibility is to negotiate redundancy programmes (e.g. Der Standard 3.11.2008, Die Presse 8.2.2009).
- Another very important feature represents reduced working hours. Employees are affected by short time work, which – depending on the specific scheme – particularly means a strong loss of income and potentially tensions between employees affected and not affected by reduced working hours; however employees keep their job (e.g. Die Presse 27.11.2008, Salzburger Nachrichten 19.11.2009).
- There is strong pressure on the management to reduce personnel costs, which affects negotiations on collective agreements between trade unions and the employer association. Not only are works councillors involved by supporting their trade union in these negotiations by making political pressure in companies (Die Presse 22.7.2009) but negotiations on payment at company level that goes beyond collective agreements may become particularly difficult.
- Some works councils are even confronted with suggestions of managements to accept voluntary reductions of the salaries and wages of employees (Salzburger Nachrichten 13.7.2010, Der Standard 31.1.2009).

All in all a first analysis of the 209 articles on works councils during the economic crisis shows that 134 articles deal with job cuts (including bankruptcy of the involved company), 61 with working hours and forms of reduction of working hours (as e.g. short work, early retirement or educational leave) and 37 with payment reduction (Auer et al. 2011). These results are also supported by a study from 2009 based on an online-questionnaire for works councils in large enterprises in Austria: 52 % of the covered companies reduced temporary staff, 24 % had job cuts, and 16 % reduced working hours (Eichmann & Bauernfeind 2009).

Works councillors concentrate their activities on attaining work place security for the core staff. That means their participation is hardly determined by equality for all employees (including temporary staff) but by the idea of workplace security for permanent employees. They act within the legal framework, get a stronger role in human resource management, but seem hardly to act pro-

actively and, therefore, only concentrate on a few 'hard-core' human resource policies. Measures in the areas of training, human resource development, outplacement or more creative forms of working time flexibility do not seem to play an important role.

(2) The social position of works councils in organisations is characterized by substantial structural and functional interdependencies (e.g. Fürstenberg 1958; Auer 1994) that may be affected by strong economic struggles of companies.

Formally works councils have an independent position from the employer, which means that their decision-making processes are separated from the employer and management. However, they have to negotiate and agree with the management on many issues; usually, works councils react to plans and suggested policies of the management. Moreover, legally works councils are meant to cooperate with the employer and have to pay attention not only to the interests of employees but also the company. The relationship between works council and management can be strongly affected by economic problems within companies since the issues they have to deal with have become more serious and difficult and conflicts are more probable.

Works councillors are representatives of the workforce. That means that first of all they have to legitimate their activities in relation to the employees which can or cannot re-elect the existing works councillors. Moreover, the support of employees forms an important source of power for works councils in the sense of getting (informal) information, social acceptance and knowledge and expertise. However, works councillors may not always receive relevant and necessary information (from employees) and get the necessary social support for their policies. For example, Herrmann & Flecker (2006) report that employees, particularly when they are highly qualified, distance themselves more and more from works councils, are not prepared to run as candidates for works councils, try to represent their own interests, do not inform works councils on important issues and refuse ideological and social support. Higher economic pressure can either reinforce individual orientation and competition or strengthen solidarity between employees and possibly with works councils; employees may even be more dependent on the activities of works councils. Moreover, works councils are confronted with a tense work climate in this situation and have to deal with strong individual and collective pressures on employees.

Works councils are elected by and from amongst the employees and, therefore, formally act independently from trade unions. At the same time, many works councils are personally and functionally strongly connected to trade unions and identify themselves with their goals. In cases of conflict they may look for and get support from (local) trade union representatives. The potential con-

flict between solidarity with general trade union aims and policies and solving problems at the level of companies in a pragmatic way becomes particularly precarious in times of strong economic pressure. Works councils may either tend to become even more company orientated or in some situations (e.g. in case of unacceptable job losses) rely more heavily on trade union support.

A second focus of our study on the perception of works councils during the economic crisis in Austrian newspapers was to explore the relationships and networks of works councillors. The focus of most of the newspaper articles we analysed is the relationship between works councils and management (Auer et al. 2011). The articles mainly used descriptions that emphasize the constructive cooperation between management and works councils (e.g. 'willingness to negotiate even in opposition to trade unions', 'constructive bases', 'no discord' are main phrases). Only one-third of the articles that are related to four companies shows a tense relationship between works councils and management and therefore use terms like 'betrayal', 'no information', and 'lame excuse of management'.

Economic problems within companies seem to have two opposite effects: It either strengthens collaborative relationships between management and works councils or it leads to more conflicts. The latter usually goes along with trade union policies; the first one can be in conflict with trade union positions. Whether economic problems of companies enforce or weaken already existing patterns of cooperation between works councils and, particularly, management could be an interesting empirical question to clarify.

4 Knowledgeability and learning as a 'new' research agenda

Knowledge of the economic, social and legal framework of organisations as well as understanding formal and informal socio-cultural processes that influence decision-making processes in companies are fundamental to participate effectively, particularly in a situation of economic crisis. Of course, the general idea of knowledgeability is part of (empirical) literature on co-determination (e.g. Bosch et al. 1999; Auer 1994) although often implicitly and hardly based on a systematic concept of knowledge and learning. Particularly, the question of professionalization of works councillors (e.g Wächter 2004) is, of course, strongly related to knowledge and processes of individual and collective learning. However, we assume that all in all the process of originating, evolving and developing of knowledgeability that means learning of works councils and works councillors still remains underrepresented and implicit in research but also in more practical literature (but e.g. Die Mitbestimmung 2009). Therefore,

we think that the concept of knowledgeability and a broad, dynamic understanding of learning could offer a deeper understanding of how works councils/councillors use and reflect their experiences, develop their political strategies and cooperate with relevant partners.

Some factors that have the capacity to restrict or broaden the knowledge works councillors have of the conditions of social systems and, therefore, affect their strategies, are especially interesting (Giddens 1992): The social location within the system influences the means of access to knowledge. The hierarchical level, the occupational function and the informal status within the system as a whole and within subsystems, like departments or informal groups is extremely important for the scope of actions of actors. Knowledge of the structures and patterns communication or decision processes is only fragmentary and also works councils (re)produce, use and modify this knowledge. However, they may, like other actors, operate with false understandings of the contexts of their own activities and, therefore, rather unsuccessful strategies. In any case to know the legal, disciplinary, cultural and social context in which they act and to apply this knowledge to specific situations (e.g. negotiating budgets) is crucial for the success or failure of works councillors' practices.

The dynamics of knowledgeability can be best captured by a broad concept of learning: First of all, the assumptions of learning behind the idea of knowledgeability are very close to the idea of learning as a process or the 'participation metaphor' of learning (Elkjaer 2004; 2003; Sfard 1998): Learning is understood as the practical process of participating in 'communities-of-practice' and "cannot be separated from the creation of (professional) identity" (Elkjaer 2004: 422). Therefore, the learning content is to become a skilful practitioner. This view of learning also emphasises its context and the influence of social, political and cultural factors. However, the capability to coordinate own activities successfully with others and competent use of organisational rules and resources needs explicit knowledge, that means specific expertise that mainly derives from formal education and functional division of labour but also specific knowledge of organisational structures, regulations, procedures, etc. as well as analytical and communicative skills. Therefore, knowledgeability also relates to the 'traditional', 'common sense' idea of 'learning as acquisition' metaphor (Elkjaer 2004; Sfard 1998). Additionally, coordination in organisations does not only depend on individual abilities to communicate and cooperate but on mutual knowledge (Brauner et al. 2005) of participating actors.

Elkjaer (2004) integrates elements of 'learning as acquisition' metaphor as well as analytical and communicative skills with the 'learning as participation' metaphor to develop a third way of learning. This way acknowledges "that thinking is instrumental in learning as participation and that learning takes place

as a social process" (Elkjaer 2004: 420). Drawing on the Deweyian concepts of inquiry and experience Elkjaer (2004) emphasises reflection as a pragmatic approach to individual and organisational learning. Reflection includes questioning one's own knowledge and actions as well as questioning of knowledge and action of others (see Jordan et al. 2009).

To develop and, particularly, strengthen knowledgeability of individuals but also collective agents, like works councils, elements of reflexive learning play a crucial role: for example reflecting on their own strategies in negotiations, on routines, structures, cultures and power relations within works councils, in their cooperation with the management, employees and trade unions but also in the organisation as a whole, on the specific situation of the company, and the role of the works council within a specific company. To explore the role of knowledgeability and learning in a situation of economic crisis seems to be particularly interesting because works councils are then forced to (re)act quickly, to be clear and decide about their goals and strategies, communicate effectively with management but also employees and trade unions. They may have to acquire knowledge on economic, legal, and (organisational) cultural aspects and at the same time learn from their experiences in negotiations, situations of exchange of information, decision-making processes and participation in general. Therefore, works councillors', (human resource) managers' and trade union representatives' perception and assessment of changes of the system of industrial relations, particularly of co-determination, deriving from a strong economic crisis could offer valuable insights in the development of institutionalized participation processes and patterns in organisations. This may not only include experiences of ongoing changes of practices and structures of the work of 'works councils' but also ideas on necessary transformations of co-determination to fulfil its democratic purpose.

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The Analysis of Preconditions for the Fostering of Democratic Behavioural Orientations in Business Organizations – The ODEM Questionnaire (POPD)

Wolfgang G. Weber & Christine Unterrainer

1 Introduction

1.1 Social orientations fostering democracy

Is it possible to support the (further) development of democratic and democracy-related orientations through structures and practices of democratic decision-making in business organizations embedded in a capitalistic economy? This is the frame research question of the project series ODEM that is performed within the research centre Psychology of Everyday Activity (PsyAll) and the research platform Organizations and Society (OrgSoc) at the University of Innsbruck[1]. The research group ODEM (Organizational Democracy) is also engaged in the Organizational Participation in Europe Network that recently has presented a research review on employees' involvement in organizational leadership (OPEN, see Wegge, Jeppesen, Weber, Pearce, daSilva et al. 2010).

Our research platform OrgSoc focuses upon conceptualizing and investigating democratic and social competencies in different areas of human activities. While such competencies are indispensable for the functioning of a democratic system as a whole, as well as for the ethical and peaceful regulation of human behaviour in everyday life, the motivational base to act in a democratic and prosocial manner, namely community-related behavioural orientations, is also of great importance for a functioning democracy. Such community-related behavioural orientations represent a specific group of social action orientations (sensu Geulen 1982; Habermas 1990). The latter refer to motive-, value-, or

1 "Organizational Democracy - Resources of Organizations for Social Dispositions Fostering Democracy" (ODEM). The project was funded as part of the research program >node< (New Orientations for Democracy in Europe, 2002) from March 2004 until September 2006 by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, from October 2006 until December 2007 by the Tyrolean Science Fund, and from July 2008 until February 2010 by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research (Impact promotion >node<).

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belief-related readiness for goal-directed action of participants that are engaged in cooperative activities, in the context of economic organizations and their socio-economic environments or beyond. Action orientation is defined as the relatively constant direction taken by future individual behaviour in a concrete situation with respective subjective intentions, interests, and derived goals. Here, perspective-taking and communication are considered central psychological means of enabling participants to coordinate their motives, beliefs, and cognitions to such an extent that this coordination results in successful cooperation. Social action orientations can be placed along a potential scale with selfish motives (instrumental orientation) at one extreme, and prosocial motives (communicative orientation) at the other.

Several forms of behavioural orientations that are of relevance for a democratic political system can be differentiated: prosocial orientations, moral orientations, democratical-political orientations, humanistic orientations (note, that this categorization is not exhaustive).

Our concept of work-related *prosocial orientations* encompasses (in the narrow sense) the employees' readiness to help and support each other when in need, to take the other's perspective when he/she is concerned by one's intended actions as well as to practice direct solidarity toward other employees, also without direct service in return (see Fricke in this book). The theoretical basis refers, for example, to Brief and Motowidlo's thoughts to Prosocial organizational behaviour (1986: 711): "Prosocial organizational behavior is behavior which is (a) performed by a member of an organization, (b) directed toward an individual, group, or organization with whom he or she interacts while carrying out his or her organizational role, and (c) performed with the intention of promoting the welfare of the individual, group, or organization toward which it is directed."

While prosocial orientations focus situative empathy and helping within direct interaction in the present or near future, we also state a human potential and possible motivation to take into consideration social and socio-economic matters of concern, including legitimate action maxims, even when they go beyond the immediate scene of the interaction, and are far-reaching over time. The frame definition of such specific *community-related*, that is democratic and democracy-related, *behavioural orientations* proposed by the ODEM research group (Weber, Unterrainer & Höge 2008; Weber, Unterrainer & Schmid 2009; Pircher-Verdorfer 2010) refers to participatory and deliberative democratic theories, on the one hand and to psychological concepts of prosocial and moral behaviour, on the other hand.

Individuals' empirical community-related behavioural orientations correspond to the societal tradition of the ideal-typical democratic core values

Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood/Sisterhood, for example the protecting of human dignity, tolerance towards differing opinions and ways of life, active political participation, shared responsibility for collective governance, accordance with fair treatments to regulate conflicts, moral courage, fight against existential poverty, and engagement against social discrimination (see studies reported by Bibouche 2003; Klicperová-Baker 1998). So far, within the ODEM studies three facets of community-related orientations were taken into account: humanistic-egalitarian orientation, a willingness to engage oneself for democratic concerns in the society, and the belief in self-efficacy concerning one's own contribution for the preservation or creation of justice in the world.

European and North-American democratic theorists, social philosophers (e.g., Barber 1984; Habermas 1990; Moldaschl 2004; Ulrich 2001; for a review see Jurschitz 2008) or developmental psychologists (e.g., Damon 1998; Lind 2002; Power, Higgins & Kohlberg 1989; see also Lind in this book) hypothesized that prosocial and community-related orientations can be seen conducive to a democratic society. A development throughout the whole life-span is assumed, which starts with the formation of empathy, perspective-taking, and prosocial behaviour within direct interactions and often in close relationships in childhood and youth. Under favorable life conditions, prosocial orientation may further develop in form of cosmopolitan, humanistic behavioural orientations which refer to the more abstract and remote community, in adolescence and adulthood.

These humanistic and democratic behavioural orientations can roughly be related to Lawrence Kohlberg's conceptualization of moral judgment and *moral orientations*. The late Kohlberg and his followers regarded democratic schools and democratic worker co-operatives as fractals of the – more complex – democratic society. According to Power et al. (1989) the structural features of moral atmosphere (e.g., democratic decision-making, open dialogue, adequate transfer of competence and responsibility) have positive effects on the developmental level of moral culture in schools, on the level of individual political-moral judgment-performance, and on the individual willingness to act socially responsible.

1.2 Organizational Democracy and socialization of prosocial and community-related behavioural orientations

In her seminal work on participatory democracy, Pateman (1970) has stated the following *spillover effect,* considering contributions of business organizations to the socialization of political competencies and orientations. Substantive employ-

ee participation in democratic decision-making allows employees to experience political efficacy. In the long run, experiencing political efficacy has an educative effect, fostering employees' civic virtues, political engagement, and active citizenship behaviours not only at the workplace, but also in civil society. Complementarily, Sidney Verba argued that, in addition to a sense of political efficacy, the formation of political skills ("civic skills", e.g., Brady, Verba & Schlozman 1995) represents a further important mediator for the realization of the (hypothesized) spillover effect.

The basic idea of those propositions is that democratically organized firms, which offer their employees opportunities to participate not only in operational but to some extent also in tactical or strategic decision-making, represent fractals of a democratic society and of its common welfare institutions. Such fractals incorporate a socializing field supporting employees in the (further) development of democratic competencies and orientations.

Certainly, adults' work conditions, especially requirements of organizational decision-making do not represent the only socialization factor. Referring to matters of education (family, school, youth institutions), there is sufficient evidence that age-based opportunities for autonomy and participation in decision-making combined with parental caring, appreciation, and induction concerning children's or juveniles' perspective-taking and empathy, as well as assuming responsibility and experience in conflict resolution benefit prosocial and other democracy-supporting behavioural orientations (see Berkowitz & Grych 1998; Damon 1998; Eisenberg 1989; Hoff, Lempert & Lappe 1991; Keller & Malti 2008; Lind 2002; Oser & Althof 2001; Power et al. 1989; see also contributions by Ammann and Lind in this book). Despite this impact of family, school, peer group, occupational self-selection, and external selection processes it is likely that work and organizations exert influence on attitudes and value orientations. However, until now, only little research has been done to link work and organizational characteristics to prosocial and community-related orientations and competences that are important for the reproduction and progress of democratic communities and resistance against anti-democratic tendencies in the society.

In the majority of the few empirical studies on the spillover effect in *democratic enterprises,* moderate positive empirical relationships between the degree of direct participation in decision-making and a *sense of political efficacy* or potency have been found (cf. Elden 1981; Greenberg, Grunberg & Daniel 1996; for a review see Hammer 1990). Furthermore, substantial influences seem to exist for *prosocial work behaviours* or *solidarity orientation* at work (see Goletz 2001; Weber 2004; Weber et al. 2008). Several studies indicated positive associations, also of moderate size, between employee participation in democratically structured enterprises and social or political participation in the

larger society (Elden 1981; Gardell 1983; Weber et al. 2009; for contrary results see Greenwood 1984). The qualitative research reviews by Elden (1981), Greenberg et al. (1996), or Spreitzer (2007) demonstrated (limited) support for the spillover hypothesis while Carter's (2006) research review, in which democratic firms are under-represented, turned out skeptically.

Findings of existing longitudinal studies on employees participating in operational decision-making in *conventional enterprises* signal reciprocal effects between work-related participation, decision-making in leisure activities, individual skills and orientations, and societal engagement. They propose that the moderate spillover effects identified within preceding studies *also* represent organizational *socialization effects* that go beyond selection factors. Thus an educative spillover effect is suggested considering moral reflection competency (see a German qualitative longitudinal study by Hoff et al. 1991), self-efficacy, feelings of power, and intraorganizational engagement (Ashforth & Saks 2000), community-related and political engagement (see supporting quantitative longitudinal U. S. studies by Brady et al. 1995; Schooler, Mulatu & Oates 2004 vs. a non-supporting Swedish follow-up study by Adman 2008).

1.3 Reasons for the mixed results concerning organizational socialization of democracy-fostering orientations

All in all, empirical studies concerning the spillover hypothesis exist only in a small quantity and support the socialization effect of organizational democracy on prosocial and further democracy-fostering behavioural orientations to a limited extent. In other words, the findings are not quite unanimous. The following reasons seem to play a role and should be considered in future research:

(1) Research reviews referring directly to the spillover effect (Carter 2006; Greenberg et al. 1996) or to other socialization effects of organizational democracy (Cornforth 1983; Heller 1998, 2003; Shperling & Rousseau 2001; Strauss 1998), at least let assume the existence of several *context factors*, *mediators*, or *moderators* that influence the effect of structurally anchored democracy upon employees' social and political orientations and respective engagement in the society. Thus, if some of the following interrelated factors appear in coincidence with organizational democracy this seems to increase the probability of the spillover effect (and vice versa):

- employees' direct (face-to-face) participation in democratic decision-making instead of mere representative participation;
- bundling ownership rights with profit sharing, extensive participation in decision-making, concise information about financial issues, and personality-promoting work design (quality of work-life, humanization of work);
- empowering workplace experiences (sense of mastery, competence, affectance, control; note: this mediating factor is already explicitly included in the spillover hypothesis);
- a high extent of training and qualification supporting economic knowledge and social skills of the employees;
- a good practice in effective conflict-solving methods (or a low degree of intraorganizational conflicts)
- a favorable economic situation of the enterprise;
- supporting tax laws and opportunities to receive favorable loans

(2) Representative participation, supporting leadership, and trust

In a study on US-American workers cooperatives by Greenberg et al. (1996) *representative participation* was negatively related to indicators of democratic political engagement compared to positive effects of direct participation on the employees' reported behaviours. This seemingly paradox result may reflect a passive attitude of those employees who only elected their representatives and did not engage in organizational decision-making or politics, thus, no transfer effect beyond the workplace could develop. However, findings of a case study on Opel Hoppmann GmbH, a well-known democratic German reform enterprise, indicate that not disinterest but employees' satisfaction with and trust in well functioning representative structures of organizational democracy may also lessen their readiness to engage actively in organizational politics (Weibler, Czada & Müller-Jentsch 2010). Other studies showed a beneficial influence of supporting leadership (and sociomoral atmosphere in two of our ODEM studies, see Picher-Verdorfer 2010; Weber et al. 2008) on prosocial work orientation and solidarity at work, as already reported.

(3) Political engagement within the enterprise

Furthermore, the scientific debate on the spillover effect has neglected the following conceptual problem. Studies based on qualitative data analysis or field reports indicate that a considerable number of democratic enterprises exist (or existed in the Eighties and Nineties) in which a lot of employees consider their *work activity* also a *political* or *community-enhancing engagement* (for a

research review referring to German firms see Vilmar & Weber 2004; for a British study see Cornforth 1995). This seems typical for self-governed employee-owned firms in the social service sector or in the ecological energy or transport branch, but also for those workers co-operatives following the social economy approach (especially in Romanic countries; see Putnam 1993). Many employees from such firms regard the products or services that result from their daily work as a means to improve or change the society because those products are very useful for the social welfare of the larger society or for environmental protection. Or, they view their company as an attempt to abolish alienation and domination in labor. Although such orientations clearly represent specific indicators of (perhaps seemingly utopian) political participation, empirical research on the spillover effect did not account for these phenomena because the employees' intraorganizational and societal engagement coincide in these cases.

(4) Methodological deficiencies of established organizational participation measures

Organizational democracy research has bred several questionnaire measures to assess the functional range (scope) and the level (degree) of participation. Because business organizations appear in an immense variety of forms and complexity implying that there is a magnitude of decisions to made, it is very difficult to construct an instrument that can be applied to all organizational settings, universally. Therefore, some measures encompass only a few items that are rather globally formulated (e.g., participation scales by Adman 2008; Bartölke, Eschweiler, Flechsenberger, Palgi & Rosner 1985; Greenberg et al. 1996; Klein & Hall 1988). While they can be utilized in a lot of branches independent from specific attributes of the respective professions and technological processes on the one hand, external validity of answers is endangered on the other hand, because there is no possibility to control how the respondents influenced through their specific organizational contexts construe the abstract item formulations. Therefore, compared to contemporary methodological standards, the comparability of the results seems questionable. This may have contributed to the mixed findings concerning the test of the spillover hypothesis.

Reviewing characteristic self-report scales for the measurement of employees' participation led us to the result that most of these measures are largely restricted in scope (issues of operational decision-making) and unit of organizational participation (individual jobs, work groups, or departments). In contrast, to give an example for a questionnaire measure that seems to be representative for comparative quantitative research on employee engagement in democratically structured enterprises the questionnaire Perceived Organizational Participation

and Democracy (POPD) shall be described in the following. This questionnaire represents a compromise between globally formulated, universal scales and concretely formulated, sector-specific scales.

2 The POPD Validation Study: Methods

2.1 Sample

From December 2004 to December 2006 we investigated 25 enterprises practicing employee participation with different legal structures and levels of organizational democracy in Austria, Germany, and Italy (South Tyrol). All companies are small or medium-sized (the range was between 4 and 250 employees) belonging to several economic sectors (craft and commercial enterprises, service, non-profit enterprises, and innovative technological enterprises). Out of 683 distributed questionnaires, 395 were returned. That comes up to a response rate of 58%. Finally, due to a high amount of missing values (more than 10 % per person according to Kline 1998), we used 357 in our analysis. Thirty-six per cent of respondents were female, 64 % male. In terms of age structure, 28% of the participating employees were 30 years and younger, 53% were between 30 and 45, and 19% were over 45 years old. With respect to education, 40% had no high school degree, 30% held a high school degree, and 30% a university degree. Thirty-two per cent of respondents were holding supervisory responsibilities in their company. On average, participants have been employed in their organization for eight years.

2.2 Validation study of the POPD questionnaire: Measures

2.2.1 Questionnaire for the analysis of Perceived Organizational Participation and Democracy (POPD)

According to previous studies and research reviews (see below) we developed the presented questionnaire for the analysis of Perceived Organizational Participation and Democracy (POPD; Weber & Unterrainer 2009) in order to measure employees' perceived involvement in organizational decision making. This questionnaire can be applied in handcraft, industrial, trade, and (non social, non medical) services sectors. Using the Influence Power Continuum (IDE International Research Group 1981), we determined individual participation in democratic decision-making in the form of the „ … involvement as subjectively experienced

by the sample respondents, respectively“ (IDE International Research Group 1981: p.58). Within the POPD questionnaire, we slightly adapted and included 15 items of the very influential measure (decision list PO1/PO2) of the IDE International Research Group (1981), four additional Items of Heller, Drenth, Koopman & Rus' (1988) decisions list, and two additional items of Goletz' (2001) decisions list. We formulated 22 new items considering existing empirically supported classifications of organizational participation (i.e., including strategic decision-making), too (see the studies by Bartölke et al. 1985; Greenberg et al. 1996; Klein & Hall 1988; McLaney & Hurrell 1988; Lohmann & Prümper 2002; Rooney 1993; Rubenowitz, Norrgren & Tannenbaum 1983). All in all, the perceived involvement refers to the worker's participation in three types of democratic decision-making: strategic, tactical, and operational decisions (cf. Weber et al 2009).

The first type, *strategic decisions*, applies to long-term decisions with high importance for the whole company. Such decisions comprise issues like budget planning, major capital investments, or election of the CEO. In total, the strategic component of the questionnaire consists of 16 items.

The second type, *tactical decisions*, pertains to intermediate-term decisions with high importance for parts of the firm or moderate importance for the whole firm. This component consists of 15 items that ask for employees' involvement in decisions e.g., on process improvements, delegation of representatives to a company board, or decisions on hiring and dismissals of workers.

The third type, *operational decisions*, refers to short-term decisions with high importance for the respective worker/workplace. With 12 items we measured employees' participation in decision making on issues like work scheduling, personnel placement, or assignment of activities.

According to the Influence Power Continuum (IDE International Research Group 1981) we rated the three indicators on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *I am not involved at all*, 2 = *I am informed about the matter beforehand*, 3 = *I can give my opinion*, 4 = *My opinion is taken into account*, 5 = *I take part with equal right*). Level 4 and 5 represent pronounced levels of employee participation in organizational democracy. Participation is only binding on management at these levels. Because the subject of organizational diagnosis with the POPD questionnaire is participation in *democratic* (i.e., collective) decision-making, decisions made by an individual employee all alone are not considered within POPD.

The Appendix comprises the original German version as well as the translated English version of the Questionnaire for the analysis of POPD including all 43 items.

2.2.2 Measures as validation criteria

In purpose of the validation of our questionnaire for the analysis of POPD we investigated employees' perceived Socio-Moral Climate and their Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations on the level of the individual.

Kohlberg's Just Community Approach in the school context (Power et al. 1989) and the studies of Hoff et al. (1991) on antecedents of a Socio-Moral Climate in an organizational context indicate a positive relationship between POPD and the Socio-Moral Climate. Enterprises with direct participation possibilities for employees provide forums where employees can discuss and decide on issues relevant to their everyday current and future work life. Such discussions on shared problems require moral judgments on a high level. Therefore, we propose with respect to *construct validity* in *Hypothesis 1*: The more employees have influence on organizational decision making (POPD), the more they experience a Socio-Moral Climate within their company.

According to the spillover hypothesis described in section 1, we also assume a positive relationship between employees' POPD and their Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations in terms of *construct validity*. Thus, *Hypothesis 2* states: The more employees perceive involvement in organizational decision making (POPD), the more they report Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations.

On organizational level we analyzed each company's democratic structure to assess our questionnaire with respect to *criterion validity*. The following paragraph briefly describes the applied measures.

Socio-Moral Climate

We used 14 items of Weber et al.'s (2008) screening scale to measure the four components of Socio-Moral Climate: Involvement in Social Conflicts (4 items; sample item: 'Contradictory economic interests between the employees and the organization are discussed frankly'), Reliable Appreciation and Support (4 items; sample item: 'Nobody is indifferent to others'), Open and Free Communication (4 items; sample item: 'We have no taboos'), and Responsibility Allocation (2 items; sample item: 'Our job contributes to the protection of the environment'). We rated all items on a 1-6 Likert scale ranging from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 6 = "strongly agree".

Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations

The construct Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations consists of six indicators. The first component, Prosocial Work Behaviours, was measured with a German version of the Organizational Citizenship Behavior questionnaire developed by Staufenbiel and Hartz (2000). We used 10 items from the scales Altruism and Courtesy (e.g., 'I help others who have been absent'). The second component, Perspective-Taking/Empathy (9 items; e.g., 'I feel compassion and sorrow for people who have more problems than I'), is based on a German scale developed by Holz-Ebeling and Steinmetz (1995) who included items from Davis (1980), too. The third component, Solidarity at Work, comprises items with positive and negative indicators of solidarity vs. rivalry behaviour (Flodell 1989). Each respondent was asked to indicate what she/he would advise a new colleague concerning topics of solidarity with collective employees' interests. We used 11 items from this scale (e.g., 'You need to worry about the interests of the colleagues with whom you have to collaborate') and added two items on readiness to defend colleagues against unfair treatment by a supervisor and to support colleagues of other firms who are in trouble. With the fourth component, Humanitarian-Egalitarian Ethic scale (adapted and translated by Doll & Dick 2000, following Katz & Hass 1988), we assessed employees' readiness to act on moral obligations. Out of the 12 items of the validated German version we applied 8 (e.g., 'The benefit of the community should be considered in one's own acting'). The fifth component, Bibouche's (2003) Democratic Engagement Orientation measures participants' tendency to act in a community-oriented fashion to support the poor and members of minorities to bring more justice in their everyday life with 10 items (e.g., 'Our prosperous nation has to take responsibility for poor nations'). Finally, five items from Mohiyeddini's and Montada's (1998) Self-Efficacy in Promoting Justice in the World were used to assess individual's beliefs in his or her capacity to act effectively from a humanitarian perspective (e.g., 'I can make a contribution to more justice in the world').

All variables were measured using 6-point Likert scales (from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 6 = "strongly agree") except for Solidarity, which included a 4-point scale (from 1 = "by no means" to 4 = "in every case").

Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy

As our sample consists of 25 enterprises with different levels of democratic structure we categorized them according to the classification criteria of Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy (Unterrainer, Palgi, Weber, Iwanowa

& Oesterreich 2011; Weber et al. 2008). The analysis of company documents (e.g., bylaws, organization charts, company descriptions, mission statements) and the conduction of structured interviews with the chief executives or their representatives built the basis for the assignment. Table 1 gives an overview on the different types, the number of participating enterprises, and the number of participants in each type of enterprise.

Table 1. Classification of the participating enterprises

Types of enterprises		Nr. of enterprises	Nr. of participants
E1	Hierarchical enterprises	3	60
E4	Conventional employee-owned enterprises / workers co-operatives	3	39
E7	Social partnership enterprises	3	69
E8	Democratic reform enterprises	8	117
E9	Democratic employee-owned enterprises / workers co-operatives	2	23
E10	Self-governed employee-owned enterprises / basis democratic workers co-operatives	6	49

Note. Because our study included not all forms of participative enterprises, only those types of enterprises, which were represented within the sample, are listed here.

Globally, the degree of Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy increases from type E1 to E10.

2.3 Analysis

From the original sample (N = 395), we deleted data of 38 persons, who had more than 10 % missing values overall (according to Kline 1998). The remaining data from 357 questionnaires with less than 10 % missing values were imputed using the expectation-maximization (EM) algorithm with the NORM software (Graham, Cumsille & Elek-Fisk 2003) to prevent biases caused by not completely random missing data processes.

Table 2. Confirmatory factor analyses of POPD, Socio-Moral Climate, and Prosocial & Community-Related Behavioural Orientations.

Latent variable	Nr. indicator scales	Nr. items	χ^2	*Df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA*
POPD	3	43	2345.41	831	.923	.072
Socio-Moral Climate	4	14	286.88	72	.895	.092
Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations	6	55	2695.23	1400	.827	.051

Notes. CFI = comparative fit index. RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation.
It was necessary to add on residual correlations to reach adequate model fits.

Testing the successful operationalization of constructs, we conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) with maximum likelihood estimation for POPD, Socio-Moral Climate, and Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations at the item-level using AMOS 7.0. Table 2 shows the fit indices of the conducted confirmatory factor analyses. With the exception of Socio-Moral Climate, all latent variables reached an acceptable fit in their hypothesized factor structure. The relatively poor fit of the Socio-Moral Climate construct (four-factor model) may be due to the high intercorrelations among subscales. Therefore, we also computed a one-factor, a two-factor, and a three-factor model, but the empirical data fitted best to our described four factor model.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Construct Validity

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics, intercorrelations and reliability coefficients of the questionnaire scales. Reliabilities demonstrate all scales reached acceptable internal consistency (minimal $\alpha = 0.779$). The significant intercorrelations between POPD with all other indicator variables corroborate the proposed positive associations. Socio-Moral Climate is strongest positively related to POPD ($r = 0.50$). Solidarity at Work ($r = 0.28$), Humanitarian-Egalitarian Ethic ($r = 0.25$), Democratic Engagement Orientation ($r = 0.38$), and Self-Efficacy ($r = 0.28$) correlate moderately with POPD. The scales Prosocial Work Orientation ($r = 0.11$) as well as Perspective Taking ($r = 0.13$) are – only to a low but still significant degree – positively associated to POPD.

The conducted structural equation model shown in Figure 1 gives additional support to the positive relations between POPD with Socio-Moral Climate and Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations. POPD has a positive influence on employees' perceived Socio-Moral Climate and their Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations. Additionally, Socio-Moral Climate partially mediates the relationship between employees' POPD and their Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations (Sobel $z = 3.47$, $p<.000$). Hence, POPD positively influences Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations through two mechanisms. First, directly: the more employees perceive involvement in organizational decision making the more they report Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations. Second, indirectly: the more employees have influence on organizational decision making, the more they experience a Socio-Moral Climate within their company that in turn increases employees' Prosocial and Community-Related Orientations.

Table 3. Means (M), standard deviations (SD), number of items, and intercorrelations on POPD, Socio-Moral Climate, and the six components of Prosocial and Community-Related Behavioural Orientations.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Nr. of Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. POPD (index)	3.10	1.25	43	(0.985)							
2. Socio-Moral Climate (index)	4.42	0.82	14	0.50***	(0.891)						
3. Prosocial Work Orientation	4.78	0.68	10	0.11*	0.30***	(0.879)					
4. Perspective Taking	4.53	0.69	9	0.13*	0.26***	0.48***	(0.787)				
5. Solidarity at Work	3.25	0.40	13	0.28***	0.30***	0.47***	0.46***	(0.789)			
6. Humanitarian-Egalitarian Ethic	4.86	0.67	8	0.25***	0.24***	0.47***	0.50***	0.55***	(0.846)		
7. Democratic Engagement Orientation	4.62	0.65	10	0.38***	0.29***	0.35***	0.46***	0.59***	0.76***	(0.779)	
8. Self-Efficacy (justice in the world)	3.62	0.98	5	0.28***	0.17**	0.31***	0.36***	0.28***	0.44***	0.49***	(0.854)

Note. Cronbach alpha reliabilities appear in parentheses along the diagonal. $N = 357$.
*$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$. ***$p < 0.001$.

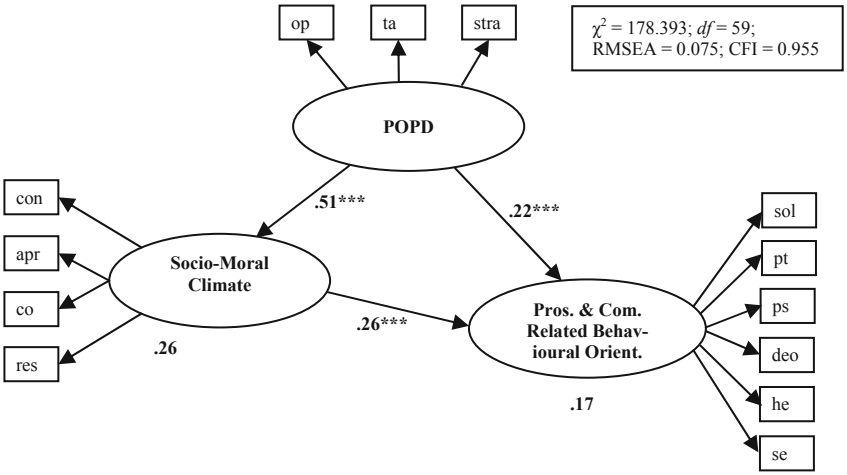

Figure 1. Test of the hypothesized structural model

Notes. op = Operational Decisions; ta = Tactical Decisions; stra = Strategic Decisions; con = Involvement in Social Conflicts of Interests; apr = Reliable Appreciation; com = Free, Participative Communication; res = Allocation of Responsibility; se = Self-Efficacy (justice in the world); he = Humanitarian-Egalitarian Ethic; deo = Democratic Engagement Orientation; ps = Prosocial Work Orientation; pt = Perspective-Taking/Empathy; sol = Solidarity at Work.

Thus the positive intercorrelations (Table 3) and the presented SEM-model (Figure 1) provide sufficient support for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 concerning construct validity of our questionnaire for the analysis of POPD.

2.4.2 Criterion Validity

With respect to criterion validity we compared employees' POPD in different types of democratic enterprises. Evidence for criterion validity can be assumed if employees' perceived participation in operational, tactical, and strategic decisions rises with increasing Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy according to Weber et al.'s (2008) typology of democratic enterprises. Therefore, *Hypothesis 3* proposes that in highly democratic enterprises employees' POPD is higher than in medium- and non-democratic enterprises.

As already mentioned before (see Measures), our identified company types represent an ordinal scale. Thus, traditional Hierarchical enterprises (E1) show no signs of democratic decision structures, whereas Self-governed employee-

owned enterprises/basic democratic workers cooperatives (E10) have most substantial democratic structures. Table 4 reports first evidence for criterion validity of our questionnaire. The means of operational, tactical, and strategic decisions constantly increase from company type E1 to company type E10. The differences are substantial. For instance, employees in Hierarchical enterprises (E1) rated on average 2.66 on operational decisions. This means that they are informed about the matter beforehand, but most of them cannot even give their opinion to such workplace specific decisions, whereas in Self-governed employee-owned enterprises (E10) workers rated their involvement in operational decisions between "My opinion is taken into account" and "I take part with equal weight" (M = 4.61). The described mean differences between E1 and E10 even increase with respect to tactical and strategic decisions.

Table 4. Classification of the participating enterprises and their means in POPD

Type	Nr. of enterprises	Nr. of participants	Mean operational decisions	Mean tactical decisions	Mean strategic decisions	(Variance-analytical) Group	Struct. Anch. OD
E1	3	60	2.66	1.62	1.23	1	no
E4	3	39	3.18	2.45	2.17	2	medium
E7	3	69	3.89	2.73	2.23	2	medium
E8	8	117	4.09	3.36	2.97	3	high
E9	2	23	4.19	3.73	3.48	3	high
E10	6	49	4.61	4.36	4.41	3	high

For significance testing, we pooled the 25 enterprises in three variance-analytical groups (see Table 4). Group 1 contains Hierarchical enterprises (E1) without any signs of Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy. Group 2 encompasses Conventional employee-owned firms/workers co-operatives and Social partnership enterprises (E4 + E7), and group 3 represents Democratic reform enterprises, Democratic employee-owned firms/workers co-operatives, and Self-governed enterprises (E8, E9 + E10). The level of Structurally Anchored Organizational Democracy is causal for the assignment of the types of enterprises to the three groups (group 1 = *no* democracy, group 2 = *medium* level of democracy, group 3 = *high* level of democracy).

Table 5 depicts the results of the variance analytical group comparisons. The performed one-way multivariate analysis of variance revealed significant main

effects of the group (no, medium, and high democratic enterprises) on all three indicators of POPD. Additionally, the explained variance of involvement in operational (29.8 %), tactical (31.7 %), and strategic (30.30 %) decisions by the three groups is very high. According to the descriptive statistics shown in Table 5, post-hoc tests (Games-Howell) demonstrated that employees in hierarchically structured enterprises (group 1) report a significant lower involvement in operational, tactical, and strategic organizational decisions than employees in companies with medium (group 2) and high (group 3) level of democracy. Furthermore, employees working in enterprises with a medium level of democracy (group 2) refer to significant lower involvement in operational, tactical, and strategic decision making than workers in companies with a high level of democracy (group 3).

Table 5. One-way MANOVA. Type of enterprise → POPD (on operational, tactical, and strategic decisions) (N = 357)

	Independent variables	Operational (range: 1- 5)	Tactical (range: 1 - 5)	Strategic (range: 1 - 5)
Type of enterprise	No Democracy	2.66	1.62	1.23
	Medium Democracy	3.64	2.63	2.21
	High Democracy	4.23	3.66	3.40
	$F(2, 354)$	74.993	82.207	76.955
	p	.000	.000	.000
	$\eta 2$	.298	.317	.303

These results affirm that employees' perceived participation in operational, tactical, and strategic decisions increases with the ascending level of democracy in the company types. This effect provides information supporting the hypothesized interrelation on criterion validity (Hypothesis 3) of our POPD questionnaire.

3 Conclusions/Future Research

For several years, socialization researchers of different disciplines have been broaching the issue of "post democracy" (Crouch 2004). They claim the danger that democratic institutions increasingly diminish mainly through two mechanisms: First, such democratic institutions do not make those powerful decisions anymore. Second, humanistic orientations, justice-perception, and democratic

awareness seem to decline also in the everyday-activities of the broad class of population. Considering the reported research literature, we propose that an intensive investigation of the spillover-effect pays off because the spillover-effect basically questions to what extent democratic participation in organizations is able to countervail the danger of Citizenship-erosion in politically acting subjects.

We have already mentioned in section 1.3 that future research on the spillover-hypothesis has to avoid previous shortcomings:

Research on the impact of democratic work should now include additional socialization factors such as parental education behaviours, school education and climate, close relationships, or joint leisure activities upon their behavioural orientations. Importantly, self-selection effects resulting from the above mentioned factors or from personality traits of new employees who enter democratic firms should be controlled within longitudinal studies in the future.

Furthermore, it is of utmost interest to clearly define which behavioural orientations and patterns should be applied as criterion variables of the spillover-effect. For this purpose research can tie in with current investigations on volunteering and charitable engagement (see Gentile & Wehner 2007). Organization-immanent behaviours serving the public good should be included, too.

Finally, the use of short, superficial participation scales like those mentioned in section 1.3 do not allow to derive recommendations for organizational practice. Questionnaire scales with detailed and numerous items referring to decision processes that are characteristic for specific sectors or branches and technological areas of the economy may build an alternative. Their external validity is higher as their items are formulated close to the concrete phenomena under investigation (e.g., measures by Goletz 2001; Lohmann & Prümper 2006; Rubenowitz et al. 1983). However, they have limitations, too: their application causes much effort, and comparisons all over the economy are not possible. We hope that the POPD questionnaire helps to reduce this methodological gap.

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5 Appendix

Perceived Structure of Organizational Democracy Questionnaire (Weber et al., 2009)

Instruction: In which of the following areas of decision-making do you participate directly within your team, work group, participatory body, etc.? Attention: Please mark decisions that you make all alone with "A".

1 = I am not involved at all.
2 = I am informed about the matter beforehand.
3 = I can give my opinion.
4 = My opinion is taken into account.
5 = I take part with equal weight.

Strategic decisions

1 Changes in corporate governance or mission statement, charter, statutes etc.
2 Budget planning (including equity capital formation, extent of shares, contributions of capital of the employees, profit distribution)
3 To pass the budget of your firm
4 Major capital investments (e.g. an additional production line, a new branch)
5 Borrowing of a loan or taking of a credit
6 Shareholdings in outside companies
7 Sale of parts of your firm (e.g. land and buildings, machinery)
8 Major changes in the way one or more departments are organized (restructuring)
9 Employment creation/job creation
10 Election of members of a supervisory board, supervisory body
11 Determining whether the firm should make a completely new product or service
12 Election of chief executive(s) or members of the managing board
13 Admission of new shareholder, stockholders, equity holders (e.g. members of a cooperative or of a partnership)
14 Quality planning, establishment of a concept for quality management
15 Establishment of principles of marketing
16 Non-profit-making activities, charity performance, social engagement

Tactical decisions

1 Production planning or sales planning, planning the business mix or planning the palette of services of your firm
2 Innovations (e.g. development of extensive improvements of technology, work organization, product or service)
3 Purchasing of new operating resources, operating media, equipment (e.g. machinery and tools, PC)
4 Election or delegation of representatives of your department/work group into a participating/representative board or commission etc. of your firm
5 Appointment of a new head of department/division
6 Appointment of your direct superior or a spokesperson of your work group
7 Establishment of criteria and procedures for hiring and selection of new employees
8 Recruitment of new employees

9 Dismissal of employees
10 Design of education/training methods
11 Personnel planning (e.g. how many persons shall work within a work group or a department?)
12 Differentiation of wages or salaries (changes in how much a certain grade/wage group shall earn)
13 Changes in the system of labour time
14 To determine whether or not work study technique is to be used (e.g. stopwatch, time and motion studies) or another investigation has to be performed
15 Engagement of a business consulting firm

Operational decisions
1 Job order planning and control
2 Personnel placement and task distribution (who does what at which work place)
3 Activities within your unit designed to save costs
4 Changes of the amount of work that has to be done
5 Assignment of one's tasks/orders
6 From when to when one can go to a holiday
7 From when to when one's working hours are (e.g. beginning of work, overtime, shift schedule)
8 Improvement in physical, ergonomic or organizational work conditions of one's workplace (e.g. noise, security, health, tool, room partitioning, layout)
9 Replacement of one's personal equipment (e.g. electronic office equipment, tool, clothing)
10 Whether one can follow a vocational training course (during work hours)
11 Whether one is transferred to another job within the firm.
12 Development of new safety procedures

Fragebogen zur Individuell wahrgenommenen Organisationalen Demokratie (Weber et al., 2009)

Instruktion: An welchen der folgenden Entscheidungsbereichen wirken Sie im Team, in der Gruppe oder in einem Gremium direkt mit? Achtung: Bitte markieren Sie jene Entscheidungen, die Sie ganz alleine treffen mit „A".

1 = Ich bin überhaupt nicht daran beteiligt.
2 = Ich werde darüber informiert, bevor die Sache entschieden wird.
3 = Ich kann meine Meinung dazu vortragen.
4 = Meine Meinung wird in die Überlegungen miteinbezogen.
5 = Ich nehme gleichberechtigt an der Entscheidung teil.

Strategische Entscheidungen
1 Änderung von Unternehmensverfassung, Leitbild, Statut, Satzung etc.
2 Planung des Unternehmenshaushalts
3 Genehmigung des Unternehmenshaushalts
4 Große Kapitalinvestitionen
5 Aufnahme größerer Darlehen / Kredite
6 Kapitalbeteiligung an anderen Unternehmen
7 Verkauf von Unternehmensteilen bzw. –gütern (z.B. Grundstück, Gebäuden, Maschinen)
8 Umfassende Restrukturierungen / Veränderungen im Unternehmen

9 Schaffung neuer Arbeitsstellen
10 Bestimmung des Aufsichts-/Verwaltungsrats
11 Entscheidung über die Herstellung eines neuartigen Produkts / einer neuartigen Dienstleistung
12 Wahl der Geschäftsleitung oder des Vorstands
13 Aufnahme neuer AnteilseignerInnen bzw. TeilhaberInnen z.B. GesellschafterInnen, GenossenschafterInnen
14 Qualitätsplanung / Qualitätsmanagementkonzept
15 Marketingkonzept
16 Gemeinnützige Aktionen

Taktische Entscheidungen
1 Produktionsplanung bzw. Planung Verkaufsprogramm, Sortimentsgestaltung, Dienstleistungsangebot
2 Betriebliche Innovationen
3 Beschaffung neuer Betriebsmittel, Einführung neuer Technik (z.B. Maschinen, größere Geräte, PCs)
4 Wahl/Entsendung von VertreterInnen der eigenen Abteilung/ des eigenen Bereichs in ein Mitentscheidungsorgan des Unternehmens
5 Berufung neuer AbteilungsleiterInnen/ -sprecherInnen
6 Berufung der direkten Vorgesetzten oder der GruppensprecherInnen
7 Festlegung von Richtlinien und Verfahren der Personalauswahl
8 Einstellung von KollegInnen
9 Entlassung von KollegInnen
10 Gestaltung der Ausbildungsmethoden
11 Festlegung der Größe der Arbeitsgruppe/der Abteilung
12 Gestaltung des Lohn-/Gehaltsystems, Einkommensverteilung
13 Veränderungen in der Arbeitszeit
14 Durchführung von Untersuchungen, Befragungen etc. (Arbeits-/Zeitstudien)
15 Einbeziehung einer externen Unternehmensberatung

Operative Entscheidungen
1 Planung und Steuerung der Reihenfolge von Aufträgen bzw. Arbeitsaufgaben
2 Personaleinsatz und Verteilung der Arbeitsaufgaben (wer macht was an welchem Arbeitsplatz)
3 Maßnahmen zur Kostenverringerung am Arbeitsplatz / in der Arbeitsgruppe
4 Veränderung der Arbeitsmenge, die geleistet werden muss
5 Zuweisung der eigenen Arbeitsaufträge / Arbeitsaufgaben
6 Zeitliche Festlegung des eigenen Urlaubs
7 Festlegung der eigenen Arbeitszeit (z.B. Beginn der Arbeit, Überstunden, Schichteinteilung)
8 Verbesserung der physikalischen, technischen oder organisatorischen Arbeitsbedingungen am eigenen Arbeitsplatz bzw. in der Arbeitsgruppe (z.B. Lärm, Sicherheit, Gesundheit, Werkzeug, Raumaufteilung)
9 Art der persönlichen Arbeitsausstattung (z.B. Bürogeräte, Werkzeug, Arbeitskleidung)
10 Besuch eines Kurses zur eigenen Weiter-/Fortbildung während der Arbeitszeit
11 Versetzung auf einen anderen Arbeitsplatz innerhalb des Betriebs
12 Entwicklung neuer Maßnahmen zur Arbeitssicherheit

Changing Police Managers' Attitudes towards Participative Management: Translating Research-based Knowledge into Practical Solutions

Brigitte Steinheider & Todd Wuestewald & Armin Pircher-Verdorfer

There is consensus among scholars of the police that law enforcement remains a very traditionally organized enterprise. Originally modeled along military lines, police administrative practice came to embrace highly bureaucratic principles that stressed rigid hierarchy, uniformity, and autocratic decision-making (Cowper 2000; Mastrofski 1998). Even as business and industry moved away from traditional, scientific management principles in order to foster knowledge creation and innovation, the police world held on to its command and control system (King 2004; Marks & Sklansky 2008). While efficient and accountable, this management approach tended to stifle employee initiative and creative problem solving (Goldstein 1990; Skogan 2004), thereby hindering organizational initiatives and progressive police reform (DeLord, Burpo, Shannon, & Spearing 2008; Flynn 2004). In a sense, the police appear maladapted to a knowledge era which places high value on human capital and organizational learning (Alarid 1999; Gottschalk 2008).

Scandals related to the abuse of power, discrimination, and violations of civil rights are often attributed to the fact that efforts at police reform have emanated from the topdown (Bayley 2008). Consequently, these reform measures are often met with equal resistance from rank-and-file police officers and their unions (Berry, O'Conner, Punch & Wilson 2008; DeLord et al. 2008). Rather than generating compliance, authoritarian reform efforts may actually contribute to resistance and misconduct. It has been the hope of many in policing that the liberalization of the police culture, and in particular police administration, would generate true bottom-up improvement in the police service (Bayley 2008; Marks & Sklansky 2008). Affording officers a measure of democratic control over their own work lives may engender greater tolerance, justice, and respect for democratic principles (Marks & Sklansky 2008; Steinheider & Wuestewald 2008; compare also Weber & Unterrainer 2012).

There is strong evidence for workforce and organizational benefits arising from the inclusion of employees in organizational decision-making (Heller,

W. G. Weber et al. (Eds.), *Democratic Competences and Social Practices in Organizations,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-19631-2_9,

Pusic, Strauss & Wilpert 1998; Wilkinson, Gollan, Marchington & Lewin 2010). Under the right conditions, participative management (PM) practices have been linked to a variety of positive outcomes, including the creation of a healthy socio-moral work climate (Weber, Unterrainer & Höge 2008; Weber, Unterrainer & Schmid 2009), improved employee commitment, job satisfaction, retention, labor-management relations, productivity and overall organizational performance. Scholars have noted that the field of policing stands poised to reap similar benefits from participative management approaches (Marks & Sklansky 2008; Toch & Grant 2005) and several isolated cases studies support this assumption (Toch, Grant, & Galvin 1975; Steinheider & Wuestewald 2008; Wycoff & Skogan 1994)

1 Case Studies in Police Participation

In the few documented instances where participative management has been implemented in policing, the results have been encouraging. In Oakland, California in the 70s, police officers were afforded training in democratic principles, supervisors practiced participative management, and officer peer review panels were set up to adjudicate citizen complaints. Researchers found that these reforms contributed to improved police-citizen interactions and less police violence (Toch et al. 1975). Ultimately, the liberalized management policies in Oakland were not maintained once research funding expired.

Participative management was also explored in the Madison, Wisconsin police department in the late 1980s. An experimental police precinct was established in which officers exercised a great degree of autonomy, democratically participated in operational decisions, and even selected their own supervisors (Wycoff & Skogan 1994). As a control group, other police precincts were maintained under a traditional management system. In comparison with the traditionally managed precincts, officers in the experimental precinct exhibited greater job satisfaction, task identity, and more positive attitudes toward community-oriented policing. Despite the promising results, this program was discontinued after the police chief who initiated it retired.

More recently, employees in a mid-size police agency in Broken Arrow, Oklahoma were empowered to routinely determine strategic and organizational matters via a representational employee decision-making body (Steinheider & Wuestewald 2008). The agency formed a representative, cross-functional steering committee called the *Leadership Team* comprised of 14 individuals representing the labor unions, management, and most of the divisions, units, ranks

and functions within the department. Team members were elected by peers or appointed by the two labor unions or the Chief of Police. The goal of the *Leadership Team* was to directly involve a cross-section of all employees in making important organizational decisions.

The *Leadership Team* was established as an independent body, with authority to effect change and make binding decisions on a wide range of policy issues, working conditions, and strategic matters. The Team primarily dealt with overriding policy matters and not day-to-day operational issues, so in this respect the traditional hierarchy of a police organization still operated. Policies enacted by the Leadership Team governed a wide spectrum of organizational matters, including recruiting, hiring, training, employee evaluations, discipline, termination, working hours, awards, uniforms, vehicles, and equipment. Contrary to typical police hierarchy, rank and seniority played no part in Team member selection, proceedings, or voting. Team decisions were rendered by a two-thirds majority vote. While the Chief of Police maintained a 'gate-keeper' function on items the Team could consider, once an item was placed on its agenda the Team had full ownership and its decisions were final and binding on the rest of the organization. Typically, 90% of issues coming to the Chief's Office were referred onto the Leadership Team for consideration. In many respects, the Chief and formal hierarchy were subservient to its decisions. Suggestions for the Team's agenda could be forwarded anonymously, via e-mail, memo, or verbally by any member of the agency this eight-year action research project demonstrated that representational democracy was a viable and sustainable concept in policing. Follow-up studies using survey data determined a positive relationship between the evaluation of the *Leadership Team* and improved employee organizational commitment, which was mediated by perceptions of empowerment (Steinheider et al. 2006). Archival data also revealed increased productivity and improved community satisfaction with police services. Qualitative employee interviews attributed these improvements to the new democratic management practices. In addition, labor-management relations were found to have improved, as did perceptions of work conditions, communications, and workforce morale (Steinheider & Wuestewald 2008). Subsequent qualitative interviews revealed high organizational trust and perceptions of a socio-moral climate (Steinheider & Wuestewald 2009).

Notably, the studies in Oakland, Madison, and Broken Arrow all involved close collaborations between academic researchers and police practitioners, indicating the potential benefits of collaborative implementation of democratic initiatives. They also demonstrate that research, experimentation, and implementation of participative management initiatives are relatively rare in the police field (Bayley 2008; Marks & Sklansky 2008). It appears that, even when

successful, such initiatives seem to have little effect upon police administrative theory or practice. When research funding dries up or the involved researchers / practitioners move on, so do the participative initiatives (D. Cowper, personal communication, February 14, 2011; Toch & Grant 2005). There seems to be little institutionalization of participative initiatives and bureaucracy tends to reassert itself. Given the volume of federal, state, and local police entities in the United States (17,000 according to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000), it is remarkable that there has not been more implementation of democratic initiatives in the police workplace. A potential hindrance may be the perceived disconnect between theory and practice in law enforcement.

2 Bridging the Scientist-Practitioner Gap

The relationship between practitioners and researchers in the field of policing is tenuous. Marks, Wood, Ali, Walsh, and Witbooi (2009) observed that law enforcement and academia were 'worlds apart.' Similarly, Bradley and Nixon (2009) called the discourse between police and researchers a 'dialogue of the deaf.' Consequently, most police scholars agree that there is still far too little research collaboration or application in the field (Canter 2004; Engel & Whalen 2010). Mutual misunderstandings negatively impact the practitioner-researcher relationship, thereby hindering long-term, trusting partnerships (Bradley & Nixon 2009; Canter 2004). This can hamstring the diffusion, understanding and acceptance of theoretical concepts, such as participative management.

While the body of criminal justice research has grown considerably during the last decades, many policies and practices still have not been systematically evaluated (Skogan & Frydl 2004). This is especially true with regard to police management (Jensen 2006). In addition, the sheer volume and diversity of American law enforcement, in itself, creates logistical and cultural hurdles for the diffusion of research results. Most research in the U.S. is conducted in cooperation with larger, urban police departments, whereas the majority of American police agencies are small and serve rural jurisdictions (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 2000). Small agencies, however, are less likely to see relevance in big city research. Conversely, innovative management studies, such as that conducted in Broken Arrow, are less likely to gain acceptance from big city police.

Evidence-based policing was introduced to promote the use of research and empirical data by law enforcement; practitioners, however, still complain that the diffusion of research knowledge and assessment of its impact is neglected (Bradley & Nixon 2010; Jensen 2006). A further hindrance for introducing

democratic workforce processes to organizational cultures with explicit command-and-control structures, such as law enforcement, is the lack of practical implementation models (Marks & Sklansky 2008). Practitioners point out that researchers often discount their knowledge and experience, which is critical for the implementation of new approaches (Bradley & Nixon 2009; Canter 2004).

The 'science-craft dichotomy' (Johnston & Shearing 2009: 417) is not unique to the field of law enforcement. It is, in fact, characteristic of management and organizational science research as well (Rynes, Giluk & Brown 2007). To close the gap between research and practice, Rousseau and McCarthy (2007) suggest the following principles to teach evidence-based management: 1) focus on principles where the science is clear; 2) develop decision awareness in professional practice by encouraging reflection and questioning of principles; 3) diagnose underlying factors related to decisions by learning to ask appropriate questions; and 4) contextualize knowledge related to evidence by taking into account situated knowledge of local experience, priorities and needs. We applied these principles to help overcome the gap between practitioners and research during a series of workshops for police executives.

3 Workshops as bridge between practitioners and researchers

In 2006, the authors published an article in a practitioner-oriented journal concerning the administrative reforms that took place in the Broken Arrow Police Department (Wuestewald & Steinheider 2006). The article, which detailed a participative management system that was implemented in that agency as well as the empirical outcomes of the study, generated considerable interest and further inquiries. Consequently, we were invited to conduct a series of workshops for police leaders in different parts of the United States. We realized that although the workplace democracy concepts we were discussing were far from new, they were new to the field of policing and could be met with skepticism and resistance. We determined that we wanted to take an evidence-based approach to the delivery of the workshops. Evidence-based training involves the learning of the principles (declarative knowledge), as well as the 'know how' for implementation of the new concepts (procedural knowledge; Rousseau & McCarthy 2007). Following Lewin's (1947) group discussion experiments in which he showed that peer discussion had stronger short and long term effects on attitude change compared to lectures, we decided to detail the Broken Arrow case study within a participant-centered, active learning framework. This would provide participants with factual, contextualized application of the principles, and incorporate a reflective, hands-on methodology. Further, the workshops

were co-presented by a practitioner-researcher team; in effect personifying the evidence-based policing partnership. By the design of these workshops, we wanted to address potential challenges which might hinder the willingness of police leaders to implement participative management in their agencies. The effectiveness of this approach was tested with police managers participating in four conferences (three regional, one international) during 2006 and 2007. To evaluate the effectiveness of the training, we used Kirkpatrick's (1976) four outcome criteria for the assessment of training:

1. *Learners' reactions:* learner's view on the learning experience
2. *Acquisition of learning:* changes in knowledge, skills, competencies, and attitudes
3. *Behavioral changes:* the transfer of learning into workplace behavior
4. *Changes in organizational practice:* changes to the organization.

For these workshops, we focused on knowledge transfer and changes in attitude toward participative management (level 2), including willingness for implementation (level 3).

4 Methods

4.1 Design and Procedures

We utilized a pre-/post survey design to evaluate the effectiveness of the workshops. The sessions described the development of the Broken Arrow Leadership Team concept, its implementation and its results. Participants were asked to complete specific portions of a survey after each part of the workshop. We, as the primary researcher and practitioner, delivered all four workshops. In two of the workshops, we were joined by additional members of the Broken Arrow Police Department representing the union, the administration, and rank-and-file employees. These presenters shared their perspectives on the new management practices. The duration of the workshops varied between two and four hours.

At the beginning of the workshop, participants filled out demographic data and indicated their level of understanding of PM. We took turns presenting and discussing theoretical and practical aspects of participative management, the use of cross-functional teams, and the applicability of these concepts to law enforcement. Subsequently, participants filled out survey questions assessing the degree of participation within their own agencies, their attitudes towards PM, as

well as potential benefits and hindrances to implementation. Participants then discussed their assessments in teams at their tables and reported back to the presenters. The presenters would then address the various concerns and perspectives that were raised, based on their experience with the case study. During the next part of the workshop, the presenters discussed the design and implementation of the *Leadership Team* model, including the initial training as well as the consequent results. After the following discussion, participants re-assessed their level of understanding of and attitudes towards PM.

4.2 Sample

Data were collected from workshop attendees in Oklahoma City, OK (Oklahoma Association of Chief of Police, OACP; *n*=50), Boston, MA (International Association of Chiefs of Police, IACP; *n*=96), Plano, TX (Institute for Law Enforcement Administration, ILEA; *n*=75) and Copper Mountain, CO (Colorado Association of Chiefs of Police, CACP; *n*=73); the total sample size was $N = 294$. 55.8% of the total sample were executive leaders, with the highest percentage of Chief executives attending the Colorado conference (n=68, 93.1%) and the lowest percentage attending ILEA (*n*=29, 38.7%; OACP: *n*=79.6 %; IACP: *n*= 88.5%). 19.5% of the sample were command staff, 15.4 middle managers, 7.5% first line supervisors, and less than 1% officers. Attendees were predominantly male; women represented between 4% (CACP) and 15% (IACP, ILEA) of the sample (OACP: 6%). 45.8% of the IACP sample and 35.6% of the CACP sample had a master's degree or higher, whereas the percentages of the samples at OACP and ILEA were significantly lower (20% and 18% respectively). Most respondents had been working in law enforcement for more than 20 years and were not union members. Only in Oklahoma the majority of respondents were union members (55.1%). Municipal agencies represented the largest portion of the sample with agency sizes ranging between 20 and 99 sworn officers. Most of the represented police agencies were in jurisdictions with populations between 10,000 and 50,000.

4.3 Questionnaire

The survey assessed participants' level of understanding of participative management and their attitudes toward PM pre-/ and post-workshop; as well as the perceived hindrances and benefits of implementing PM in their agency. Respondents also indicated their willingness to implement PM at the end of the

workshop and described the current level of participation within their agencies. The survey employed a 5-point Likert Scale (1= very poor or completely disagree to 5= very good or completely agree).

Level of understanding of participative management was assessed with one item ('How would you describe your level of understanding of the concept of 'participative management').

Participative management practices were assessed with 8 items (yes/no) ranging from informal participation to high involvement practices ('Employees participate in decisions that influence organizational direction and performance). Cronbach's alpha was $\alpha = .74$. This scale was not given to the Oklahoma sample.

Attitudes toward participative management were assessed with two items (Pre-workshop: 'Do you agree that participative management is a good concept for the administration of law enforcement organizations?' Post-workshop: 'Do you think that participative management and the Leadership Team are viable concepts for law enforcement organizations?').

Willingness to implement participative management after attending the presentation was assessed by 4 items (e.g.'Would you be willing to implement participative management in your own agency?'); Cronbach's alpha was $\alpha = .68$.

Additionally, open-ended questions assessed perceived benefits and hindrances of participative management after discussing the concept of PM, as well as reasons for not being willing to implement PM at the end of the workshop. As demographic variables, gender, age, level of education, rank, years at current rank, membership in a police union, years in law enforcement, type of agency, number of sworn and non-sworn personnel, and population of jurisdiction were assessed.

5 Results

Age, rank and education as demographic variables were positively correlated to each other as well as to level of understanding of PM pre- and post-workshop and current PM practices (see table 1). None of the demographic variable was significantly associated with the attitudes toward PM post workshop or the willingness to implement PM, but education was positively correlated with pre-workshop attitudes toward PM. Consequently, age and rank were excluded from further analyses. In three of the four samples, participants reported the extent of participative management practices in their agencies. The mean value of $M =$

0.49 (*SD* = .08) indicates that employees participate in almost 50% of the listed PM practices; however, the significant positive correlation with rank (r=.41, p <.001) supports the assumption that higher ranks might overestimate the degree of participation within their agencies.

In the following, we will delineate the results concerning the main questions of our interventional study.

Question 1: Did participants report higher levels of understanding at the end of the workshop?

A repeated measures ANCOVA was conducted to assess the learning effect of the workshop for the different samples with level of education as covariate. At the end of the workshop, respondents reported significantly higher levels of understanding ($F_{1,275}$ = 34.58, p< .001, η^2= .11). At the beginning of the workshop, samples differed significantly with respondents at IACP and ILEA indicating a better understanding of the concept compared to CACP and especially to OACP ($F_{3,275}$ = 5.00, p = .002, η^2= .05; compare figure 1); however, at the end of the workshop differences between samples had decreased significantly (Measurement point x Sample: $F_{3,275}$ = 5.58, p = .001, η^2= .06; compare figure 1). Education had a significant positive effect on understanding of the concept ($F_{1,275}$ = 13.61, p< .001, η^2= .05), however, this difference had decreased at the end of the workshop (Measurement point x Sample: $F_{1,275}$ = 7.93, p = .005, η^2= .03).

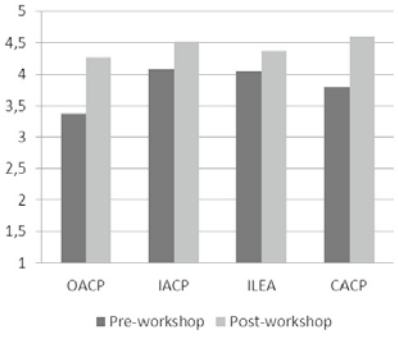

Figure 1: Level of understanding of participative management before and after the workshop

Question 2: Did participants report better attitudes toward PM at the end of the workshop?

A repeated measures ANOVA was also conducted to assess a change in attitude toward participative management between the two measurement points. At the end of the workshop, respondents reported significantly improved attitudes toward PM across all samples ($F_{1,276}$ = 27.95, p< .001, η^2= .09). Samples differed significantly in their initial attitude, with respondents at OACP indicating less positive attitudes compared to the other samples ($F_{3,276}$ = 4.09, p = .007, η^2= .04; compare figure 1); however, at the end of the workshop the difference between samples had decreased significantly (Measurement point x Sample: $F_{3,276}$ = 2.72, p = .045, η^2= .03; compare figure 2).

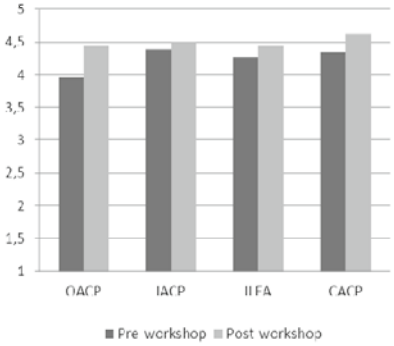

Figure 2: Attitude toward participative management before and after the presentation of the case study

Question 3: How willing were police chiefs to implement participative management at the end of the workshop?

The workshops were especially focused on chief executives as the main decision makers for organizational change; however, we assumed that they might also feel threatened by the concept of participative management as an erosion of their management rights. T-tests were conducted for the subsample of chiefs to assess differences in terms of understanding and attitude change as a result of the workshop. At the end of the workshop, chiefs reported significantly higher levels of understanding (t_{153} = -7.66, p< .001) as well as better attitudes toward

participative management (t_{152} = -4.13, p< .001) compared to the beginning of the workshop. Moreover, 79% of the chiefs (n=127) indicated that they did not perceive participative management as a threat to their management rights and 84% (n=130) stated that they would at least consider implementing PM (willingness to implement scores of 4 and higher).

Question 4: Which variables predicted police chiefs' willingness to implement participative management?

Stepwise multiple regression analysis was conducted to better understand which factors predict willingness to implement participative management as dependent variable with pre- and post-workshop understanding of the concept, as well as pre-workshop attitude, participative management practices and level of education as predictor variables. Post-workshop understanding of PM was the strongest predictor variable for the willingness to implement PM (final model: β = .27, t_{228} = 5.93, p< .001), explaining about 18% of the adjusted outcome variance ($F_{1,228}$ = 49.88, p< .001). Pre-workshop attitude toward PM also significantly predicted willingness to implement PM (β = .24, t_{227} = 4.94, p< .001; ΔR^2 = .07) while neither pre-workshop understanding of PM nor participative management practices or education were included in the final model ($F_{2,227}$ = 39.68, p< .001, R^2= .25).

Question 5: What potential obstacles and benefits do police managers perceive for the implementation of participative management?

Chief executives reported resistance from sworn officers and unions, lack of accountability, officer self-interest, lack of trust, and time consumption as major hindrances to the implementation of participative management. Middle managers, however, anticipated resistance from senior management due to fear of losing power and control as the biggest obstacle. Chief executives perceived police union resistance, implementation failure, personal agendas, and loss of control and organizational focus as the greatest threats to PM. Middle and senior managers agreed, however, that increased morale, higher job satisfaction, employee ownership, more buy-in on all levels of the organization, and higher productivity are potential benefits of participative management.

6 Discussion

To facilitate the adoption of an innovative participative management model in policing, we took an evidence-based approach to a series of workshops by focusing on a practical case study (Lewin 1947; Rousseau & McCarthy 2007). Joint practitioner-researcher presentation of the materials as well as active learning methodologies were selected to help overcome the potential skepticism of workshop participants and to encourage active implementation of PM practices in the field. To evaluate the effectiveness of this approach, we applied Kirkpatrick's (1976) training evaluation criteria.

6.1 Learner Reactions

Learners' reactions (level 1) are traditionally measured in terms of satisfaction with the training and assess the immediate emotional reactions of learners. Yet, while capturing reactions may be effective in determining the acceptance of the training itself, this outcome level does not provide any information about the actual amount of material learned or the ability to apply the material in the work setting (cp. Kraiger, Ford & Salas 1993). For this purpose, evaluations at levels 2 to 4 are needed.

6.2 Acquisition of Learning

Workshop participants understanding of the concept of participative management improved significantly during the course of the workshops (M=3.88 vs. M=4.45), and differences between samples' initial levels of understanding were leveled at the end of the workshop ($F_{3,276} = 2.50$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .03$). At the end of the workshop, also the effect of education was no longer apparent ($F_{1,276} = 2.56$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .01$), indicating that the workshops improved participants' knowledge and understanding of PM significantly, and attendees felt a high level of comfort with the materials presented.

6.3 Attitude Change

Mean comparisons indicate significant attitudinal improvement toward PM (M = 4.27 pre- / M = 4.49 post-workshop). In light of the traditional paramilitary

orientation of police, this was a far better result than we anticipated. We would speculate that the successful police case study that was detailed during the workshops contributed to this attitudinal change, as well as the fact that the material was being presented to practitioners by practitioners. It should be noted, however, that we found much more positive attitudes toward PM at the outset of the workshops than what we initially anticipated. This might be attributed to the fact that we had already presented the theoretical concept of participative management and how it applies to policing for our pre-workshop assessment. Another potential explanation is that participants listed their current PM practices before indicating their attitudes toward PM; this might have primed participants in a positive way. The significantly lower acceptance of PM at the beginning of the workshop in Oklahoma City (where we did not assess PM practices explicitly) supports this assumption; however, at the end of the workshop these differences had disappeared. The general perception of police administration is that it is authoritarian and anathema to notions of workplace democracy. Contrarily, our pre-workshop responses indicate that the police managers in our sample were already positively pre-disposed toward PM and include their employees in organizational decision-making.

6.4 Behavioral Changes

The primary aim of the workshops was to overcome police executives' resistance to the idea of sharing their leadership with their subordinates. This apparently was achieved. In their post-training responses, 84% of participants and 79% of Chief executives indicated they would be willing to consider adopting participative management practices within their own police agencies. Even though the transfer of learning to the workplace is more difficult to assess, the fact that the vast majority of respondents indicated a willingness to implement PM suggests that behavioral changes were likely to follow the workshops. As Azjen (2005) points out, attitudes are reliable predictors of future behavior. The subsequent large volume of requests for follow-up information and implementation guidelines (see below) also indicates the likelihood of behavioral transfer of learning.

6.5 Changes in Organizational Practice

Since publication of the original Broken Arrow article in 2006, nearly 300 requests have been received from police and academicians for additional infor-

mation regarding the case study and its results. Many of these requests came from participants in the workshops and asked for BAPD departmental policies related to the Leadership Team program. This would suggest an intention to actually move toward organizational implementation. In addition, we responded to 10 requests for individual agency trainings on the concept of PM in six different states in the U.S. and are aware of at least 12 police departments that have actually implemented a *Leadership Team* program of employee participation.

7 Changing Hearts and Minds

There is general agreement that current police management structures mirror the top-down systems of a by-gone era, with the result that police organizations may be maladaptive to the current complexities of the technological era (e.g. Alarid 1999; Gottschalk 2008). Participative management systems offer workforce and organizational advantages, and better position police agencies to adapt to contemporary environmental demands (Marks & Sklansky 2008; Toch & Grant 2005). The problem has been how to best disseminate the information about employee participation strategies to police leaders. Our experiences suggest that presentation of theoretical concepts in an evidence-based / case-based format is a practical approach that appeals to the needs of practitioners. This practical approach can be enhanced by joint practitioner-researcher presentation of the material, thereby imparting a level of practical credibility to the delivery. Finally, involvement of learners in an active, team-based format can be an effective way to elicit buy-in, and encourage reflection, dialogic debate, and critical thinking (Lewin 1947).

We started this project prepared to do what we could to win the hearts and minds of police leaders to the idea of sharing their leadership with co-workers. Perhaps the most striking revelation of these trainings was the receptivity of our participants to the concept of participative practices in the workplace. Not only did they exhibit an unusual level of understanding and willingness to implement the concepts, they *came* to the workshops with open minds and willing hearts. This contradicts the common perception of police as authoritarian bureaucrats. If our sampling of police leaders is at all representative, it bodes well for the future of policing

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	Variable	N	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Current PM practices	244	0.49	0.08	(.74)							
2	PM Understanding pre	293	3.88	0.90	.31†							
3	PM Understanding post	282	4.45	0.60	.27†	.36†						
4	PM Attitude pre	294	4.27	0.70	.27†	.26†	.27†					
5	PM Attitude post	280	4.49	0.54	.14*	.18†	.31†	.25				
6	Willingness to implement	283	4.27	0.49	.22†	.15*	.37†	.37†	.74†	(.68)		
7	Age	285	47.58	7.50	.25†	.15*	.11$^{(*)}$	-.02	-.01	.04		
8	Rank	292	5.19	1.10	.41†	.16†	.13*	.00	.06	.07	.45†	
9	Education	293	3.84	1.11	.11$^{(*)}$	.25†	.14*	.15*	.03	.08	.20†	.11$^{(*)}$

Note: Score reliabilities are presented in parentheses on the diagonal. Rank was coded 1 = Officer, 2 = First Line Supervisor,
3 = Middle Management, 4 = Command Staff, 5 = Chief Executive; Education was coded 1 = High School, 2 = Some College,
3 = Associate, 4 = Bachelor, 5 = Master or above. $^{(*)}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{\dagger}p < .01$

Table 1

Innovatory Qualifications at Work[1]

Werner Fricke

Innovatory qualifications are the foundation of workers' ability to organize their working conditions according to their interests; they provide the workers with the – in many ways constricted and limited – opportunity to act as subjects of their work. According to our research all workers have potential for innovatory qualifications, regardless of their professional qualification and entirely independent of their level of education. They can be found coevally with highly qualified white-collar workers with an academic education and with (so called)[2] unskilled workers, who lack formal vocational education: There is always an interest in being the subject of one's work. Quite often the innovatory potential is blocked. In the context of the 'Peiner Humanization Project' in the mid seventies we met a group of (so called) unskilled workers, some of whom had been working at cutting machines of various kinds for thirty years. Their working conditions were marked by extreme monotony (work cycles between one minute and 12 seconds), high physical stress (they had to move up to six tons a day in the form of heavy blanks, which were to be cut into threads), high noise lev-

1 This text is the translated, abridged and partially updated version of a paper I have written for the edited volume 'Eigen-Sinn und Widerstand' by Axel Bolder and Rolf Dobischat (2009). It is based on a text that was published in 1981 as the final report of our Peiner humanization project (Fricke et al 1981, 217ff.). The 'Peiner Project' took place in the screw plants of the Peiner AG (a company of the then Salzgitter AG) from 1976 to 1979. The project served to develop and test a procedure for the participation of staff in shaping their working conditions according to their interests. Both the development and the analysis of innovatory qualifications played a key role in this action research project. I have retained some of the passages, which show the difficulties in and the possibilities for developing and applying innovatory qualifications for the workers in their then working conditions. Today, thirty years later, working conditions have changed fundamentally in parts, however, the concept of innovatory qualifications (Fricke 1975) developed in the seventies has lost none of its topicality. Partly the parallels to current working conditions are obvious. It becomes clear that the issues, which concerned workers and us in the seventies, are still of relevance. The same applies to some of the solutions found at that time, which can readily be transferred to the context of modern working conditions. I will point this out in several passages of the present text. Finally, I would like to emphasize that I kept the original, but abridged, descriptions of the process and of the conditions that were a prerequisite for the development of innovatory qualifications within our humanization project.

2 It would be more appropriate to refer to unqualified working conditions, which are hindering the professional and innovatory development of workers rather than to unskilled workers.

W. G. Weber et al. (Eds.), *Democratic Competences and Social Practices in Organizations,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-19631-2_10,

els (with peak values up to 120 decibel), individual piecework and a strong internal hierarchy.[3] Given these working conditions the innovatory qualifications of workers were blocked, their attitude was characterized by resignation and an overly self-critical attitude. However, in the course of a project-funded four-year (learning) process, we were able to prove – just after six months – that actually each worker has innovatory potential, which can be unfolded and reactivated. This is just as true for modern work processes, which are less characterized by high physical stress[4] than by extreme pressure of time, deep-rooted individualization and rivalry as well as by heteronomous autonomy with highly ambivalent interrelations between self-determination and heteronomy (Peters 2001). I will show this in detail in the following text.

1 The concept of innovatory qualifications

We use the term 'qualifications' to describe those elements of human's scope of action that allow humans to deal with their environment. It is only in the process of applying qualifications in the process of action (working) that we can detect which qualifications individuals actually possess. When we talk about potential (possibilities), this also means that the actor is able to activate, use and develop his/her qualifications.

According to their means of action we distinguish between two types of qualifications in work situations, namely vocational and innovatory ones. Vocational qualifications are used when workers are dealing with their tasks and objectives, in order to fulfill the task. Innovatory qualifications, in contrast, are directed at the creation of alternative elements in the work situation, which meet the interests of the workers better than the current operational reality. These qualifications may be identified and are developed in very long, detailed reflec-

3 It should not be ignored that physical stress still is relevant in current working conditions, and increasingly so. According to a study by the Dublin Foundation, the significance of physical stress has even increased in recent years (Paoli 2002).

4 The Peiner project did not remain an isolated case over the years. In early 2001 I visited a factory for agricultural machinery in the lower Rhine area, where a participatory process similar to the Peiner humanization project had taken place. The workers were just as proud of the result of their participation in the restructuring process as the Peiner screw plant workers had been: "Everything you can see here, is our work," is a skilled worker's first sentence in the video "Die andereHälfte der Demokratie", which was produced in 2001 in order to document the participation process in the lower Rhine area. Again, the concept of innovatory qualifications proved to still be of relevance. The process, which was in contrast to Peine initiated by a production manager, is vividly described by him in Concepts and Transformation, which is our International Action Research Journal (Kreienbaum 2001).

tion processes (as for example in the working groups and seminars in Peine) or in activities (actions) to change and improve working conditions to comply with the workers' interests – i.e. in change processes that do not serve aims of production, but the creation of better working conditions (GuteArbeit – see Pickshaus & Urban 2009).

Working conditions that can be changed using innovatory qualification include tasks, work results, technical and organizational means of work, work patterns, merit conditions, strains, conditions for cooperation and social relations. Furthermore we understand the potential for action, the health condition, the physical and spiritual well-being, and the workers' consciousness and personality as preconditions for successful and satisfying work. They are changing in relation to the workers' activities in the context of the respective working conditions, but they can be the matter of innovative action as well.

Skills are developed through learning and acting. They form a worker's potential for action, they are developed through people's ability to learn and may be used in work situations, if the working conditions allow it. If the working conditions are hindering the development and utilization of vocational and innovatory qualifications, the discretion to act cannot develop as it would in the sense of a freely unfolding personality.

Today the question of developing and utilizing innovatory qualifications is the more significant the fewer the opportunities to use innovatory qualifications become due to technical-organizational advances (for example in call centers). The same is true for conditions of modern, market-driven organization of work (Moldaschl & Sauer 2000), which appear to allow and even provoke using innovatory qualifications with the demand for creativity, for flexibility towards market processes and customer needs and with the dependent (professed) autonomy of action (Peters 2001). These new forms of organization of work and the scopes of action they create have highly ambivalent consequences for workers. On the one hand there are more opportunities to develop professional skills, which is quite appealing for workers (mostly young, highly qualified staffers, ostensible self-employed, so called entrepreneurs of their own workforce; cf. 'entreployees', 'self-entrepreneurial work force' (Voß & Pongratz 1998; cf. Pongratz 2004). However, the costs of taking advantage of these opportunities are high: pressure to perform and pressure of time increase considerably in market-driven work structures; there is a high risk of self-exploitation ('work ad infinitum') that puts chances of limited self-determination into perspective within a short time. The utilization of innovatory qualifications in terms of self-determined creation of work-structures is only possible to a very limited extent; often autonomy proves to be an illusion. In fact, workers do not have the chance to create their own working conditions; neither in respect to the duration, the

amount and the temporal structure of work, nor to the customer relationship. Quite to the contrary, they are much more exposed to changing market conditions than in traditional hierarchical work relations. The character of dependence is changing; it becomes more abstract. The holders of power are no longer identifiable, but dependence itself remains, though in different forms, such as indirect dependence (Peters 2001).The conditions for the development and utilization of innovatory qualifications are often not (much) better than in traditional Taylorist or Fordist work organization.

In the future work will be acceptable for workers only if the application of innovatory qualifications, i.e. the adaption of working conditions by the workers according to their interests, is a part of paid work activities. Herewith work has a meaning for workers, and we can rightly speak of humane design of work. Unfortunately, currently this requirement can only –if at all – be achieved in highly industrialized countries; it presupposes a certain level of development of economic activity and prosperity.

2 Structural boundaries and subjective conditions for the application of innovatory qualifications

Studies in industrial sociology on the activities of industrial workers show the very tight barriers the workers are facing regards using their qualifications. The reasons listed for the lack of opportunities to apply qualifications at work are:

1. Structural conditions that are predetermined by claims to power and economic interests of shareholders and their managers, which safeguard the primacy of the functionality of production processes over human demands in the design of production conditions;
2. The dependence of wage workers, their lack of educational and professional qualification, their adaption to (normative orientation towards) operational conditions and expectations, authoritarian rather than democratic orientation, individualistic competitiveness rather than solidarity;
3. The indifference towards work content, i.e. an instrumental view of work as a means to earn money.

Now, do the structural conditions have to be changed before workers have a chance to use their innovatory qualifications? Or do the workers need to develop and use them in order to create the conditions that allow them to use their potential and adapt the working conditions to their interests? It is certainly a two-way

process within which the increasing use of innovatory qualifications induces change of the structural conditions in the long run and vice versa.

In our action research project we deliberately neglected the question, whether action potentials that are activated in work situations or outside of work are identical. However, according to the information we had about the private life of the workers involved in our project, there are similarities. Workers used their innovatory qualifications in order to enforce their own interests and life planning, for career transitions or to improve their personal well-being. The workers in Peine thus already had an innovatory potential for action, which they had developed in professional as well as in private contexts, before the project started. Therefore we suggest that innovatory qualifications might be distinguished by their origin and their usage, but not by their type, as qualifications of production or reproduction.

It is often argued in literature and entrepreneurial practice that workers would neither be interested in processes of participation nor would they sufficiently be qualified to do so. Our experiences from the Peine action research project however demonstrate that hesitant or sceptical employees may change their attitude towards participation when they start to reflect on their working and living conditions jointly and after some success in improving working conditions become visible. Success is a good teacher!

The argument that *insufficient qualification* is a subjective barrier regarding the demand to adapt one's own working conditions is both, right and wrong. It is true insofar as most employees could only access a small fracture of those learning opportunities and educational contents, which constitute today's academic and cultural standard of our society. At the same time it is wrong, because as we saw in the Peiner model, workers are able to express their demands for learning opportunities. The same applies for opportunities of collective learning for the improvement of innovatory qualifications (e.g. the demand for joint participation in technical training), for the improvement of professional skills (e.g. the demand for basic training) as well as for opportunities for individual learning (e.g. the activity of a young woman, who was preparing for her high school degree parallel to work in order to be able to begin training as an infant nurse).

Out of those qualifications that are part of vocational education workers mainly need the skill of verbal communication. The uncommunicative character of many work situations causes a lack of communication about work equipment, utilities and working conditions. In noisy and isolated work places, under pressure to perform with performance-linked payment there is a lack of opportunities for verbal communication. Communication, with superiors as well, usually

takes the form of gestures and technical signals or of shorthand symbols. Foreign co-workers are particularly affected.

There are additional issues in written communication because writing is neither required nor possible in many workplaces. The lack of practice for decades causes massive inhibitions regarding reading aloud, reading and writing. A shop steward, a skilled worker, describes the problem as follows:

> *"Children leave school more knowledgeable than ever before. Then, after working for a couple of years, they forget everything they had known. Is that humanization, when taxes have to be spent once more, so that workers relearn what they already knew but forgot at the workplace?"*

A lack of communication between co-workers promotes suspicious and cautious isolation and behavior that fosters rivalry. A co-worker, who quit working at the cutting division during the project, describes the crucial difference to her new workplace:

> *"In the cutting division we talked much more and laughed and made jokes. Now I have to be very careful about what I say. Everything is immediately misunderstood and held against you."*

Adaptation, authoritarian orientation and competitiveness are attitudes and behavioural patterns that are often re-enforced by school and work or by education. They are survival strategies in oppressive life and work situations. At the same time they do not rule out that workers have potentials for a democratic orientation and solidarity, which they do not want to or cannot use in the context of their current working conditions. In Peine we experienced that conformism, authoritarian orientation and competitiveness becomes the subject of self-critical and distanced assessment as soon as the workers are given the opportunity to jointly reflect on their working conditions.[5]

Often workers seem to bear their working conditions passively. This is however not the case. In fact they actively contest their working conditions as a strategy to keep the stresses and strains just short of being intolerable. The daily contest keeps workers from being or becoming indifferent towards their work. Their demonstrated indifference has a protective function to conserve mental energy for coping with the work situation day by day and not to show any vulnerability. The average worker cannot afford to show a complex personality nor

5 This was recently confirmed for modern working conditions in an IT company by Wilfried Glißmann (1999).

to complain constantly about pain, effort, anxiety and discomfort, because otherwise he/she would be unable to cope with his/her work in the long run and would soon lose the job, accused of being unsuitable for work.

Bammé et al (1977: 91) strongly support the use of the concept of possibilities in social sciences. This idea, that perceivable reality is just one of several possibilities, was central to our research process right from the start. Reality in this sense includes past and future options, which can be analyzed in form of an analysis of possibilities and – if they meet the workers interests – put into practice in the course of processes of participation *(*Fricke1975: 43ff). Based on this idea we started off with an extensive evaluation of the situation together with the workers and highlighted the possibilities for an alternative development of working conditions that could lead to an improvement of their work situation. Pointing out and enforcing opportunities for the alternative design of working conditions, requires a lot of work and energy. The workers involved in the process provided both. Their behavior in work groups, seminars and project groups as well as in enforcing their ideas within the company refutes the suggestion often found in literature about an instrumental orientation of workers to their work.

Therefore we may assume that everyone, who has work experience, has sufficient innovatory qualifications and is able to use them to design more or less elaborate concepts on how current working conditions would have to be changed in order to meet his/her requirements.

3 Conditions and barriers for the implementation of innovatory qualifications in work situations

In order to adapt their working conditions workers need innovatory qualifications. According to the model project in Peine these are

- Articulating common interests, needs and goals,
- Overcoming isolation and rivalry,
- Overcoming an overly self-critical attitude (perceiving failure as a personal responsibility and success as a circumstantial condition),
- Cooperating with supervisors and experts to follow through with their own interests
- Solidary acting
- Creating technically and politically realistic strategies for action.

Individuals have these skills. However, in Peine, we made the experience that innovatory qualifications can be developed and used more easily in group processes. Some of them are directly connected to solidarity actions in groups. Hence innovatory qualifications are explicitly not restricted by the operational division of labor; they unfold in and depend on processes of work, discussions, reflection and action, which are transverse to the hierarchical and functional division of labour.

Wolfgang Lempert(1977: 312) describes the conditions necessary to promote the use of innovatory qualifications:

> "Accordingly a work environment that fosters development – beyond the fulfillment of basic requirements such as job security, fair pay and tolerable strains – is marked by the following features:

- Activities that are challenging and rich in variety
- Opportunities to experiment
- Cooperative interaction and communication
- Democratic decision making
- experiences and realistic expectations of individual advancement and social progress."

The conditions listed by Lempert as requirements for developing and applying innovatory qualifications are equivalent to the basic interests of workers. The fact that working conditions contradict these interests is the drive for workers' innovatory actions to improve their working conditions; it also encourages them to make the effort involved in learning and acting processes. Recently Weber et al. have considerably differentiated and further developed this argument (Weber et al. 2008).

However, there are numerous specific difficulties on the way to achieve acceptable working conditions.

3.1 Collective action of groups within the company

In the attempt to adapt one's working conditions to one's own interests, apart from the company's interest the individual also faces interests of other employees, which can be similar but also partly or fully oppositional. In order to incorporate all these interests, proposals for the design of working conditions have to be developed and discussed in groups that give all participants the chance to state their interests, so that they can subsequently be taken into consideration.

The chances for enforcing proposals are better when a group strives for it, uses its capabilities to create optimal solutions, creates strategies for action and pursues its goals together.

This type of group action for the interest-driven deliberating, planning and enforcing of workplace design is not an integral part of industrial organizations. Processes of work and production are organized in a way that assigns everyone a task within a given hierarchical position in order to contribute to the business goals. Employees are not to act as a collective towards supervisors or the company.

Joint action of co-workers beyond their assigned tasks, independently of the organizational division of labour and outside of meetings convened by the works council, is not accepted and even illegal, except in the case of strike. The co-workers in Peine gave the following example to describe the problem: Several years ago several women working in the cutting division decided to go to the works council's office together during work to solve a problem with the piecework system. They were punished for this joint action, because their behaviour was interpreted as a refusal to work and hence unauthorized strike. If, however, each of them went to see the works councilor independently their action would have been covered by §§ 39(2) and 82 in the Works Constitution Act 1972.

Based on their experiences prior to and during the research process the workers in Peine have suggested extensive use of the opportunities given by the Works Constitution Act and experimented with new forms of cooperation in the contest of interest-driven workplace design. In addition to regular departmental meetings convened by the works council they suggest:

- Short meetings between works councilors and all individual employees in the staffroom during work hours;
- The involvement of knowledgeable colleagues from departments in the works council's deliberations and in negotiations in equally represented committees;
- Weekly departmental meetings with the foreman in the staffroom;
- Forming small project groups to develop specific proposals for change under the direction and coordination of trade union shop stewards.

In modern work settings the possibilities of technology mediated communication (corporate intranet and internet) can be added (cf. Glißmann 2001).

3.2 Action potentials in isolating working conditions

A lack of communication at work, wage systems that foster competition, isolated individual workplaces and the impossibility of leaving the workplace, but also the increasing pressure in modern, market-driven forms of work organization, sabotage joint acting. Breaks are urgently needed to rest and therefore they cannot be used for joint activities. If there are trade union shop stewards, they have no opportunity to organize joint activities during work hours. Solutions that were proposed and tested in Peine are:

a. Short, weekly departmental meetings to discuss problems, set objectives, plan changes and to ensure the opportunity to participate in company decisions. They should take place during working hours and while normally 30 minutes should be sufficient, the timeframe should be extended if necessary. Depending on the working conditions they could also be organized as monthly meetings with a scheduled duration of two, four or eight hours.
b. Forming project groups with three to five members, who are working on specific proposals for change. These groups should use the departmental meetings to coordinate their activities with their co-workers.

Depending on their work situation (work process, operation cycle, form of cooperation) works will develop different forms of organization for joint actions. It is necessary to secure these strategies by means of workplace agreements, or, if possible, by collective agreements.

3.3 Possibilities for action in the context of a match or a mismatch of interests between workers and the company

Suggestions for the improvement of working conditions in the interests of workers have the full support of the company (the immediate supervisors, the plant or company management), if corporate interests are covered coevally.

In cases of proposals that seemingly or apparently focus exclusively on the interests of the workers but possibly still induce costs for the company, it is likely that the company opposes and eventually rejects the plans. Sometimes in these cases long-term benefits for the company are either not acknowledged or deliberately ignored. Examples from the pilot project in Peine are the rejection of suggestions to introduce minimum recovery times, to minimize noise, to

introduce departmental meetings and for a thorough introductory training for newly hired staff.

Particularly strong resistance is likely with regards to pay issues and proposals for participation in the filling of vacant posts. Here the relatively old collective agreements are usually not very helpful. Birkwald (1978: 216) shows that they have shortcomings in the following fields: ensuring training, health, quality of life and democratization of worklife. If the works councils do not achieve a satisfactory workplace agreement, they need to raise their effort on the level of trade unions with their fellow union members, in order to achieve corresponding regulations in new collective agreements.

3.4 Possibilities for action in case of learning processes and operational changes not being funded

Learning processes for developing and using innovatory skills, as well as the realization of changes that are not in the immediate interest of the company, require funding. Especially in fields that are sceptical of realizing changes due to the novelty of the proposals a funding opportunity can help to create exemplary experiences. For this reason we questioned to which extent collective agreements can be used to introduce a fund for workplace design (Fricke & Fricke 1977: 105ff).

This could be used to fund the near-service education for trade union shop stewards, who constantly work on the improvement of working conditions with their colleagues. Furthermore a fund for workplace design could be used to fund single projects for technological and organizational changes developed by workers, if they meet certain criteria. Workers and their representatives should be granted disposal of the fund for workplace design at least in the form of equal representation.

3.5 Possibilities for action in case of imminent conflict

The actor needs courage and energy to register and enforce unusual claims. He/she has to expect superiors reject his/her demands; that they feel misunderstood in their efforts to establish good relations with their subordinates; that they feel that their professional and hierarchical authority is put in question and that they will eventually try to reject the claims. That's why workers have to be prepared for conflict.

Constant conflict with superiors exceeds the individual's capacity, if the stresses and strains at work consume all his/her energy. Hence in combination with a high work load, innovative action is an unbearable strain that individuals can only cope with occasionally.

All proposals to reduce existing strains indirectly aim at reducing these problems. Furthermore it was proposed in the Peiner project that supervisors should be required to participate in trainings to learn to develop a different attitude towards the claims of their subordinates: They should widen the scope of action for employees, support their proposals and offer advice in the development of proposals in project groups. Today, modern management development seminars meet these quests.

3.6 Possibilities for action in case of lacking encouragement

Even when innovative action does not cause conflicts, but is met by passive resistance, this wears workers down and eventually leads to resignation. If all efforts fail, the failure is attributed to single active co-workers.

In spite of partly low chances of success for some projects several (not always the same) co-workers did not lose sight of their aims, did not give up, kept encouraging the others and developed suggestions to jointly overcome the difficulties. Outside of research projects shop stewards and works councillors can take on this task as long as they have the necessary innovatory skills and experience. In order to develop them, they need to be given opportunities within the trade union's training programs.

3.7 Possibilities for action within development organizations

Even if innovatory action is not met by resentment or conflict proposals are still likely to be rejected by the company's decision making bodies or activities to actually implement approved proposals may be sabotaged. Again, this resentment can cause discouragement and resignation among the actors. In the 'Peiner Humanization Project' we insisted that the respective work groups for the development of innovations should be turned into a permanent organizational institution. They were established for several years, but not permanently. Recently, interesting ideas on this issue were developed in Scandinavia, where development organizations were founded within companies in the course of various state-funded programmes for the improvement of work life. These or-

ganizations are constituted by elected representatives of all groups within the company, spanning all hierarchical levels from management to shop-floor workers. The development organization is separate from the operational organization; it is a permanent institution with the aim to foster and safeguard innovation processes in the long run (Palshaugen 2000). The strength of this Scandinavian model in comparison to the institutions founded in the course of the Peiner project lies in its pluralistic composition, which makes them more likely to last than employees' working and discussion groups. However, the basic idea is the same in both cases: to facilitate and establish the development and usage of innovative potentials in organizations. Outside of humanization projects trade union representatives can take on this task as long as they have the necessary information as well as innovatory skills. In cooperation with shop stewards and works councillors they can figure out how interventions could reactivate blocked processes, what arguments could initiate new thoughts or promote new solutions. Each part- or full-time trade union representative can ensure that the activities of works councils, shop stewards and employees do not just follow company internal interests, but also take general workers' interests into account by keeping up regular and close cooperation with shop stewards and works councillors within and beyond single companies in the context of both local and non-local cooperation with fellow trade union representatives.

4 Learning Processes

4.1 Expressing interests and aims of action

During the project we observed that the interests of workers in working groups and seminars started to form a guideline for the assessment of suggestions and for the planning of action schedules within the company. Bit by bit, they were expressed by the workers and mapped out more and more clearly. The basic interests of the workers are directed at

- Workplace security
- appropriate and secured, constant payment
- optimal design of stresses and strains in the work process

as a precondition for

- maintaining physical, mental and psychological health

- developing, applying and using innovatoryand professional qualifications in the work process and on the labour market
- taking part in corporate plans and decisions
- reducing the separation between dispositive and executive tasks and their interrelation in the work process
- cooperative work-relations with supervisors and colleagues.

If the workers were planning technical or organizational changes, because existing working conditions were harmful with regards to their interests, each suggested solution was checked for its level of accordance with the workers' interests. Their interest hence was the decision criteria for the possibility of the acceptance of suggestions for solutions.

This process only seems to be simple but is actually complex because simultaneously

- interests of co-workers must not be ignored in the proposed solution
- the operational functionality of the production process has to be maintained, taking costs into account – which means that the company's interest needs to be taken into consideration.

In discussions about planned changes within working groups and seminars the workers always took care of maintaining the operational functionality without being reminded of it; this was a requirement to preserve their jobs. Yet despite their strict compliance with this constraint they found – either on their own or in collaboration with experts – technical-organizational solutions that met their interest better than the existing conditions.

The costs of the changes, however, caused some trouble. Yet actually the proposals did not even imply increased costs, but very often a different distribution of costs between company and society. In case of implementation several proposed solutions would have even lead to cost savings. One example: stresses and strains cause costs that are usually neither accounted for in the company's cost accounting nor do they cause operating expenditures. As social costs they are paid by other groups (people with public accident and health insurance, public households). Many of the workers' suggestions aim at avoiding damage to health, premature disablement, and so on by means of a company funded reduction of stresses and strains. Herewith they contribute to the reduction of social costs of industrial production, although at the cost of higher operating expenses. Although the workers' suggestions for the improvement of their working conditions do not threaten the operational functionality of production

processes (quite in the contrary, they would improve them), an increase in production costs within the company is a major problem in a market economy when rising prices are not competitive on the market.[6]Solutions could be regulations[7] that apply for all companies and thus eliminate unfair advantages. Furthermore, abolishing production technologies that cause extremely high social costs should be considered as an option too.

4.2 Overcoming isolation and competitive behaviour

Working conditions shape the workers' attitude and behaviour. According to Hans Euler (1977) an accumulation of negative working conditions leads to disoriented attitudes in work situations and to a pessimistic perception of the possibilities to change working conditions to meet employees' interests.

At the beginning of our action research project, the workers' potential for innovative action was sabotaged by the dominating working conditions. The workers did not believe that anything could enforce changes that would not worsen but improve their work situation – neither their joint efforts, nor the supervisor's support, nor the trade union stewards, nor the works councillors. This pessimistic attitude determined their behaviour. They were inactive and resigned, avoided conflict with superiors, did not strive for joint action, but rather got involved in agent's wars with peers, which were caused by their failure to confront superiors, their own lack of influence and the almost unbearable working conditions.

Here, all aspects of innovative action potential that we considered subjective preconditions of innovative actions were suppressed:

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6 The problem of rising labour costs has been discussed ad nauseam in the last twenty years. I will neither get into this debate now, nor will I discuss the biases and distortions that increasingly dominate the discussion in the name of debates on the location of plants, shareholder-value strategies and psychoses of cost reduction.

7 Despite the opposition of employers and their usually powerful lobbying, significant accomplishments have been achieved in this field during the past thirty years. One example are the §§ 5 and 6 of the revised German Occupational Safety and Health Act 1996, which require all companies to regularly assess the overall risks at the workplaces. However, the realization is lagging behind: three years later the regulations were still not implemented across the board. Likewise, the fact that preventive action avoids or reduces costs of a post hoc improvement of problematic working conditions is far from being established in entrepreneurial account costing. In this context we should refer to the EU standard EN ISO 6385 2004 "standards for the ergonomic principles in workplace design". In section 3.1 it says: "The workers have to be involved in the design of work systems and should participate in an effective and efficient way in the design process". In Germany this standard, too, is put into practice extremely insufficiently.

- interests are not articulated,
- acting seems to be possible exclusively individually and in competition with co-workers,
- the failure of individual action seems to be inevitable,
- possibilities of solidary action are neither recognized nor given a try,
- existing rights are not exercised,
- in collaboration with supervisors workers' interests are not represented,
- realistic strategies for changes of the working conditions are not created.

It was crucial for the development of innovatory action potential and its application that, in a joint effort, workers started to discover innovative action in spite of working conditions that were hindering collective reflection and action in solidarity. This was achieved with the common effort to change these working conditions.

Our humanization project offered conditions for learning and acting that helped the workers to tentatively overcome their pessimistic attitude:

- paid work time was available for the development of proposals for change;
- they could define aims and areas of change not being suggested or forced upon them by others (supervisors, experts, academics);
- the implementation of their proposals was – to a certain extent – backed financially;
- being supported by academics promised help in overcoming difficulties;
- the works council's and the board's active and supportive attitude gave reason to assume that the implementation of desired changes was possible.

Given these conditions, the workers of the cutting division were willing to start working on a change in their working conditions together. In the process of joint learning and acting, they have overcome the isolation and rivalry resulting from their work situation. The joint work to improve their working conditions was interest-based, problem-oriented and exceeded functional and hierarchical boundaries. The constant, extensive and serious attempt to consider everyone's interests eventually replaced mutual distrust and competition for better working conditions with trust, which is essential for joint acting. The isolation in the work process was suspended through dealing with common problems.

Within the discussion process everyone had the opportunity to explain and justify his/her personal views that, up till now, were incomprehensible for their colleagues and hence had not been recognized and considered. Not before reaching an agreement on the definition of the problem, it was possible to de-

velop proposals for solutions that had everyone's backing. If the developed solution did not hurt the interests of any co-worker, strategies were developed together. This process of opinion making and preparation of action demonstrated the benefit and the potential of acting in solidarity.

Another prerequisite for solidarity behaviour besides overcoming rivalry and isolation was overcoming the deep-seated overly self-critical attitude ('failure orientation').

4.3 Overcoming 'failure orientation'

The accumulation of problematic working conditions fostered the conviction that individuals were unable to make a contribution to improving the work situation. This resignation was additionally supported by previous life and work experiences outside the company: disadvantages in the education system, unemployment despite training, missing opportunities to start or complete vocational training and finally the work in the cutting division that took away any hope for better working conditions. These were the typical stages of the majority of workers, who were participating in the project, many of them Italian. That way everyone had experienced the dependence of social processes (war in Central Europe, economic underdevelopment in Southern Europe) as an individual destiny that had to be accepted. The possibility of influencing social processes by means of political action and active representation in trade unions and political parties had either never been a perspective for them or had disappeared from their views. Initiatives to reduce at least the most extreme strains in their work situation had been mostly unsuccessful.

Based on these experiences in the fields of politics, society and work, workers developed a syndrome of resignation and 'failure orientation', which made them expect individual action would not succeed (if it did not prevent them from acting at all). At the same time the possibilities of collective and acting in solidarity were not even considered due to a lack of experiences with this form of action. Hence the workers' attitude at the beginning of the humanization project was marked by inactivity, resignation and a lack of own initiative. In our opinion, the fact that they nonetheless – even if only cautiously and tentatively at first – used the provided opportunities to discuss the use of the available funds within seminars and working groups as well as to make use of the works council's, the management's and the academics' support, is linked to the very intense interaction between workers and academics during the four-month evaluation of the situation. During this time workers repeatedly took the opportunity to ask the academics about their aims, the intentions of the project, the

planned procedure, their influence within the company, and so on. Our action research[8] approach met the workers' need for information and for a thorough examination of the academics' credibility: Workers were asked to express their interests, their view of their work situation, their innovative ideas to improve the working conditions and to act accordingly within the development process.

When – after four months of frequent contact with us – the workers had experienced that we were actually interested in their ideas and interests, they also started to believe that we actually wanted them to participate in the research process.

Already within the first out of four one-week seminars and within the first working groups the workers made significant positive experiences, which were contradictory to the day-to-day life in the cutting division: In the course of the joint evaluation of the situation, listing of problems and design of first projects for improvement they found that they could take security and strength from the mutual support during the discussion process, from the joint development and implementation of new ideas and from the mutual acceptance of individual differences.

These positive experiences, which by the way persisted during work, tempted many workers to start the common project with a superfluity of enthusiasm that was not yet justified from the very beginning. As the impatiently awaited success did not set in after just a short time, as they had expected, their previous 'failure orientation' reappeared. Again, the workers doubted their capacity to contribute to the design of working conditions as well as the possibility of establishing improvements at their workplace.

Frequently the workers' time horizon was not in accordance with the time required for organizational processes of planning and innovation. At work, pieceworkers' horizon of expectation and planning span a day at the maximum. In the face of such work experiences that had become a habitus it is difficult to grasp that innovation cycles are calculated in months rather than minutes or seconds. Additionally workers had not been involved in any process of organizational planning before, which kept them from developing any idea of time dimensions for such.

In these times of doubt and resignation we tried to strengthen the workers' confidence and capacity to act in various ways. Except when we ourselves had to deal with doubts, insecurities and fears, we encouraged the workers. In cooperation with works councillors and shop stewards we tried to show, develop and test realistic options for action. We continued working in the working groups

8 A well founded presentation of action research was published recently by Hans van Beinum et al (1996); see also Gustavsen 1992, Palshaugen 2006 and Fricke 2006, 2007 and 2011.

and kept openly discussing current problems in the work process and the difficulties of realizing proposals in the company. In the early stages tools and organizational experiences to introduce project initiatives to the process of corporate decision-making were partly missing.

In spite of these problems and the time-consuming learning experiences all people involved in the process had to make, the workers learned by participating in the research process that

- collective action is more promising to enforce change than individual attempts;
- the successful implementation of improvements requires the works council's help and support;
- it is hardly possible to achieve complex objectives with one-off activities, but that usually a long process of trial and error and overcoming unforeseen challenges is required;
- an individual actor quickly reaches the limits of his/her capacity; only if his/her colleagues support his/her efforts the desired success can be achieved after all;
- strategies have to be based on knowledge about operating conditions, decision making processes and the works council's as well as the union's scope for action;
- individual interests are more likely to be acknowledged if supported by coworkers.

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Post-democracy and Engaged Citizenship – The Case of Attac[1]

Pier Paolo Pasqualoni & Helga M. Treichl

Attac made its first appearance as an initiative promoting the introduction of a currency transaction tax (Tobin tax) in 1997. Pointing to the financial crisis in Southeast Asia, Ignacio Ramonet, editor of the French monthly 'Le Monde Diplomatique,' proposed to disarm the market and to create a movement for the regulation of financial markets. He underlined the need for a specific initiative and coined its name: *Attac – Association pour une Taxation des Transactions*

1 This paper relies on two research projects conducted at the University of Innsbruck, with Alan Scott as a project leader: The Political Role and Significance of Attac with Particular Reference to its Model(s) of Democracy and Potential Contribution to European Civil Society (2003-2006) and European Governance: Multi-Level or Post-Democratic? (2006-2008). Both projects were funded by the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research in the framework of its New Orientations for Democracy in Europe programme (http://www.node-research.at). As a German version of this article has already been published in the journal 'Magazin erwachsenenbildung.at' (Pasqualoni & Treichl 2010; see http://erwachsenenbildung.at/magazin/10-11/meb10-11_07_pasqualoni_treichl.pdf), we would like to thank the editors for their permission to include this English version in the present collection, and Sylvia Trnka for the translation.

Based on the analysis underlying the post-democracy argument (Crouch 2004), we expected to see shifts in the constitution of the political subject. There are several options of how citizens can be constructed, i.e. they can be discursively positioned and/or conceive themselves: as addressees (potential voters and audience) of political elites, as consumers or as engaged citizens. In the field of (critical) consumption, we expected to see a shift from consumer movements that address their demands to the (nation) state as market regulator towards a 'critical consumerism' whose actions are aimed at international institutions (e.g. corporations, NGOs, etc.) on the one hand, and at the consumer as moral agent on the other hand (e.g. fair trade, clean clothes campaigns, etc.). Engaged citizens could emerge in the social movement organisation (SMO) sector, which is increasingly characterised by professionalisation (Skocpol 2003). This might be interpreted as a response to shifting political opportunity structures under post-democratic conditions, an argument which might also apply to, and account for, recent innovations in action repertoires. The consumer and engaged citizen responses contribute to and (co)drive emerging forms of governance of the public domain that are neither strictly state nor market. Drawing on recent debates on the post-democracy argument, we thus claimed that Attac's criticism mimics and adopts elite discourses and strategies by taking on the other's role in EUropean politics and presenting its activists as engaged EUropean citizens. This involves affirming its role as an SMO while at the same time reframing and constantly negotiating its position within the EU's political and media environment.

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financières pour l'Aide aux Citoyens [Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens] (Ramonet 1997: 1).

Attac was formally founded in Paris some months later. Today, the association exists in over 40 countries around the world. Its main field of activities is the European Union, where Attac has gained a foothold in most Member States. The organisation's operational network comprises a plethora of traditional political actors. In many countries, the growing numbers of Attac activists attracted considerable media attention and interest in the topics addressed by the association. The recent financial and economic crisis has triggered a new boom in the formation of regional groups.

In Europe, Attac is one of the largest and most prominent organisations in the broad range of alter-globalisation movements. Acting in concert with them, this network has significantly contributed to discrediting what is commonly labelled 'neoliberalism'. The current political setting – i.e. post-democracy in Colin Crouch's terms – encompasses new opportunity structures, but fails to offer good initial conditions for the bottom-up globalisation approach pursued by Attac. In particular, there is a clear discrepancy between the demanded expansion of democratic claims to global economic actors as, for example, indicated in the name of Attac Austria ("network for the democratic control of financial markets") and the realpolitik of the past decades. In the wake of the latest economic crisis, the claims – and in particular those for a currency transaction tax – have also found their way into the discourse of 'EUrope's'[2] political elites (see Nicolaïdis 2005). Although Attac's initial claim by far exceeds the control over the financial markets that actors and practices have been able to implement, the very claims Attac has voiced in public debates for more than a decade have gradually put the organisation into a mainstream position. The discursive success is contrasted by the fact that the current debate remains limited to the potential implementation of individual measures and masks more sweeping democratic changes. Attac's constitutive request for a Tobin tax neither intended to balance public finances nor to be a populist pacification measure; its targets were international solidarity and redistribution.

In view of this fact, our contribution analyses how current action dilemmas for engaged citizens can be understood in the European context against the backdrop of the post-democracy thesis. Like a number of other movement organisations and civil-society initiatives, Attac is a learning platform through which engaged European citizenship constitutes itself. At the empirical level, our results are based on an action research project and on interviews with actors involved in national Attac groups.

2 The spelling "EUrope" was deliberately chosen by the authors.

Post-democratic developments

Attac's foundation and success story is linked to a wave of politicisation set in motion after the disconcertion in the 1990s. It has to be understood in the context of the primacy of management principles and the growing economisation of all areas of life. The obligation to economise is perceived and negotiated as hegemonic imperative, "the brutal fact of universal reducibility to economics" (Bourdieu 1986: 253) persists in the public awareness. Even authors such as John Gray (see Gray 1998) who do not adhere to political leftism called attention to this development. Another tendency that has been viewed with growing scepticism since the 1990s manifests itself in the frequently voiced lamentation that politics have primarily become or are dressed up as management (see Hirst 1996).

Colin Crouch spots a number of fundamental democratic deficits in developed western democracies as indicated by the somewhat polemic title of his influential book "Post-democracy" (2004). The trends he highlighted are briefly outlined below (see Scott 2005; Pasqualoni & Treichl 2007).

Civil society initiatives had little to counter class-based politics. In the wake of their decline, the growing gap between decision-makers and those affected has progressively contributed to the fact that decisions are taken above the heads of citizens, social groups and entire states (see Klein 2001). "Politics and government are gradually slipping back into the control of privileged elites", says Crouch (2004: 6) and does not fail to point out the complementary role envisaged for citizens: "The mass of citizens plays a passive, quiescent, even apathetic part" (ibid: 4). This 'disembedding of political elites' is flanked by state security and secrecy discourses and practices as well as negative rights whose importance increases as civil actors' opportunities to exercise control dwindle. The omnipresent rhetoric of participation is ideologically shaped and supported by the governance discourse: "You can have too much government, but you can't have too much governance" (Stoker 2011).

This framework also shows that the actual sovereign of democracy is not granted an effective option to participate and control. The catchword 'governance' is often used to camouflage this very lack of control. Moreover, there seems to be a tendency to use summary versions of procedures in order to avoid or circumvent established decision-making procedures that attach great importance to public opinion formation processes. This further decreases the power of such institutions as parliaments and cabinets. According to Crouch, public opinion is constructed via survey results without giving the surveyed the oppor-

tunity to influence the process of opinion formation (see Crouch 2004: 21). Pursuing this idea, one might say the frontstage players pull all the stops of image profiling in a high-gloss media version. The trend to personalise and trivialise politics turns into an exigency that upgrades features such as looks and the privileged position of media-attracting genres (sports metaphors, scapegoat rhetoric, etc.) to advancement criteria within the party. On the backstage, this contributes to disguising rather than revealing priorities and obligations (e.g. the importance of gentleman's agreements with individual actors who have special, and in particular economic interests). The fact that the public sector is restructured on business models (see Marquand 2004) is reflected in the prevailing New Public Management doctrine. As outlined by Crouch, restructuring leads to the successive convergence of party programmes and increasing homogenisation of styles of institutional governance and robs or even depletes politics of their traditional function ("vapid politics"). The latter seem to be subordinated to organisational imperatives (see Wolin 2004 [1960]) and, as envisaged by Karl Mannheim, political science progressively becomes managerial science. Eventually, politics and political science are replaced by marketing and management as guiding disciplines (see Stiegler 2009). The erosion of institutional pillarisation evidenced by the developments outlined above as well as the ever-growing permeability of the line between state and market (see Monibot 2000; Crouch 2001) indicate dissolution processes that thwart the relative autonomy of institutions working in parallel. Hence, the 'phantom firm' enters the political stage as a new paradigm for political parties (see Crouch 2004; Klein 2000).

Summarising, we can say that the outlined developments towards 'post-democracy' are accompanied by a loss of clout and marked curbs in the legitimacy of traditional political institutions (i.e. primarily nation states) and the erosion of democratic principles. However, this trend reversal spreads gradually and does not destroy democratic structures.

How can a high-profile movement organisation like the Attac network fight these developments? How should it organise itself, how should it create awareness in its environment in order to influence political decisions? To which extent does the movement itself resort to elements that reflect these developments? In this article, we confine ourselves to presenting Attac's stances on democracy by taking a look at its wide range of education and training activities. Hence our focus is on types of citizenship education under post-democratic conditions. This case analysis will serve as a basis for axiomatic considerations on the civil-society dimension of post-democratic conditions that conclude the article.

Attac as global learning platform

Social movements open up learning spaces. They initiate learning processes among those who actively participate in the movement as well as among those who are not directly involved but are reached by actions or simply by the existence of social movements (see Hall and Clover 2005). The importance of the media in this context has been pointed out repeatedly, also with regard to Attac (see Kolb 2004). According to Raschke (1987: 343), a movement does not exist if the media do not report about it.

Attac's proclaimed aim to bring about 'economic alphabetisation' targets the political public but is primarily pursued with a view to the activists involved in the movement. The format of the summer academy at both the national and international level is geared to both target groups. Its educational programme ranges from knowledge transfer to skills trainings and explicitly includes settings for self-reflection, self-organisation and strategy planning. Lectures and panel discussions, some of them with prominent panellists, in various regions supplement the programme of the summer academy. Most of the workshops are, however, offered by the activists themselves who also organise special self-reflection opportunities, e.g. in the form of weekends devoted to self-understanding (see Pasqualoni & Treichl 2004), world cafés, etc. In the run-up to these events and/or in campaigns the focus is explicitly on training social skills. Besides, Attac uses its own media (books, websites, annual reports and a large number of mailing lists and discussion forums) to disseminate information and texts. These media often spark controversial discussions and make Attac an authentic learning platform.

Organising alternative ways of education/training and events is no specific new way of educating engaged citizens. In fact, Attac relies on self-organised, non-formal education and training formats that constituted important elements not only in the so-called new but already in the classical social movements. Informal learning by participating in activities and campaigns probably offers the greatest learning effects. The attempt to appropriate as much as possible of the world links up to Humboldt's educational ideal and, among more recent approaches, in particular to global learning (see for example Hartmeyer 2007). Although theoretical self-positioning within educational approaches has only been discussed in smaller working and discussion groups, Attac operates as a global learning platform in both form and content. Among other things, this is due to the continuous expansion of Attac's range of topics ever since the movement was founded and thanks to the wide variety of methods used. The approach pursued by Attac demonstrates the genuinely political character of the

movement organisation, which constituted itself as a network, in particular in the European area. Like learning processes in general, this specific form of activity opens up and seizes opportunities, while it bars alternative fields of action.

Attac as electoral movement: a response to a dilemma?

The draft constitutional treaty for the European Union put to the vote in France and the Netherlands in 2005 was the result of a balanced *tour de force* by the political elites. Its main objective was to guarantee that the EU can act as global player. Moreover, the constitutional treaty should strengthen the legitimacy of the EU and its institutions. Hence the criticism summarised in Attac's ten principles[3] focuses on the imbalance between the sparse procedural and the predominantly result-oriented measures contained in the proposed constitutional treaty.

Which reasons did the main actors within the European Attac network put forward to explain the change of line towards an 'electoral movement'— a movement organisation mobilising people to cast their vote in political elections? If politics embark on a course the French anthropologist Marc Abélès compares to a drive without a rear view mirror and Tony Blair to one without reverse gear, the passengers only have a few options if the journey becomes unpleasant: They can wait for the inevitable; they can prepare the area for another style of driving in an educational intent or they can try to pull the hand brake to make the car skid in order to attract attention. While Attac's campaign for rejecting the proposed constitutional treaty in the referendums raises exactly this last option as question, Attac's "Ten Principles for a Democratic Treaty" go one step further by addressing it and offering EUropean politics a time table for facing the existing democracy deficits.

The combination of the two last-mentioned options can be seen as Attac's response to 'post-democratic' structures, because it is rooted in a diagnosed, marked discrepancy between discursive success and the way, in which realpoli-

3 After a very successful EU campaign designed as accompaniment of Austria's presidency of the Council in the first half of 2006, which was predominantly culturally orchestrated (see Attac 2006), Attac Austria took on the mission to continue pertinent activities in the European network and found an ally in Attac Germany. After lengthy considerations, the delegates of all national organisations decided to start a co-ordinated action. They wanted to summarise the results of the discussions on the draft constitutional treaty in ten principles and to present them to the public on the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome. Ultimately, all active national organisations collaborated in drafting Attac's Ten Principles for a Democratic Treaty (see Attac 2009), signed them and translated them into their national language. The main target of this mobilisation against the constitutional draft proposed by the European Union was to position Attac as a (pro-)European movement and to demand a democratic and social Europe.

tik reflects the raised demands. Last but not least, Crouch considers it symptomatic for post-democracy that "the political class desperately wants us to offer passive support; it dreads the possibility that we might lose interest in its activities, fail to vote for it, [...] ignore it. The solution it sees is to find means of encouraging the maximum level of minimal participation" (Crouch 2004: 112; see also Pasqualoni & Treichl 2007). Elections and referendums are minimum prerequisites of representative democracy and opportunities for pulling the 'veto lever' and to get own demands heard (see Pasqualoni & Scott 2007). To 'enforce' that the political class pays attention to and realpolitik implements the raised claims, elections and referendums thus seemed to be the last resort for mobilising dissatisfied voters. This also had an impact on the movement *per se* and its organisation: The concerted actions helped the Attac network to consolidate both internally and externally and to jointly advocate a "social and democratic" Europe. For Attac groups unable or unwilling to promote a referendum in their national context, participation in the "NON" campaign run in France and the Netherlands was a low-risk strategy. It enabled them to not only endorse but also constructively support the demands and to present them (and themselves) in the media. This strategy subordinated content differences between the Attac groups to a consensus orientation geared towards the shared result.

Post-democratic structures and engaged citizenship

The expectations linked with the actions and initiatives of the "NON" campaign as well as the points raised by the interviewed activists show the extent to which efficiency as such has turned into a requirement in a protest organisation and become a benchmark not only for NGOs but increasingly also for social movements. As civil society's objection shifts from movement to management (see Skocpol 2003), the protest culture of a social movement organisation starts to resemble the culture of political elites that had to redesign their *modus vivendi* in the same way when the Lisbon Treaty was elaborated (see Krzyżanowski & Oberhuber 2007). As a consequence and in line with the post-democracy thesis, both sides ascribed their political success or failure to marketing strategies. In this way, political conflict once more turns into a fight for the power of definition or even into a communication and image problem that has to be tackled by an appropriate public-relations rejoinder (ibid). Hence, the Attac network shifts towards the 'phantom firm' model described by Naomi Klein, a concept taken up and turned into a paradigm for political parties by Colin Crouch. Engaged EUropean citizenship develops at the level of European realpolitik and civil

society under the headings of self-marketing and management, a psycho-technique deemed characteristic of the current governmentality (see Stiegler 2009). A number of global learning initiatives are also familiar with this technique. If global education is reduced to enabling the western civilisation to get the problems of humankind under control in a western way, a pedagogy that deems itself progressive will automatically be caught up in neo-colonial dreams to rule the world. The less self-reflective and critical it is of its own concepts, the more easily it will succumb to them (Wintersteiner 1999: 305).

According to Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello there is a structural similarity with the 'new spirit of capitalism': "This homology affords these highly mobile movements the opportunity to recover some purchase precisely where the traditional organizations have lost their footing. But it also means that they must come to terms with the kinds of tension characteristic of the emergent forms of capitalism, not the least of which is the tension between flexibility, mobility and speed on the one hand, and the continuity of an engagement that is always vulnerable to becoming hazy if it is not continuously stimulated by events that can make it actual – that is, real – on the other" (Boltanski & Chiapello 2005: 353). As the European Attac network constituted itself as a mobilisation platform against the so-called draft constitution, protest apparently evolved in one of the gaps (in the party landscape) the established political parties had permitted to develop. This experience may well be generalised with regard to changed opportunity structures for political protest under post-democratic conditions.

In a governmentalist perspective, economy always has to be understood as being politically regulated. Hence, 'post-democracy' is not characterised by more or less politics or market but by a changed constitution of economics or politics, respectively (see Lemke, Krasmann & Bröckling 2000: 25). This approach also raises the question which concept of politics is discursively created or reflected by engaged citizenship, if a movement organisation does not (only) protest against the maximum level of minimal participation but (also) integrates this slogan into its own formation of protest. In its content, the protest is guided by the modern welfare state and a discourse on democracy and social justice. This could be linked with the regulation of disciplinary societies by slogans (see Deleuze 1992). However, like many other established movement organisations, in its *modus vivendi,* Attac serves the demands made in societies of control (ibid): output orientation, flexibility, mobility and efficiency are both a prerequisite and a result of concerted network activities. They are typical not only for successful civil society initiatives but also for political and economic elites. In conjunction with the educational activities labelled 'global learning', this activism also takes into account the demand for continuous education and lifelong learning. As outlined by Bernard Stiegler, it is important to study the condition

for the emergence of maturity and critical faculty, which Foucault is said to have neglected in his analysis of institutionalised education (see Stiegler 2009: 141ff.). 'Working with contradictions' is a slogan that seems to be coined for educational contexts (see Pasqualoni & Treichl 2004) and remains the greatest challenge for a movement that tries to link and continuously interrelate legitimacy and efficiency in a precarious way (see Raschke 1993: 33).

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