Promoting Innovation in Social Services

An Agenda for Future Research and Development

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1. Summary findings and key recommendations

1.1 Background

European welfare systems are under increasing pressure to transform and adapt to the present and future challenges of our globalized world. This is especially true of the comprehensive field of health, welfare and informal education services –that we will all use at one point or another during our lifetimes.

Social services, generally speaking, are changing. Research conducted by the **INNOSERV** social platform identified a diverse set of themes. This research agenda outlines how the various stages of investigation worked together to develop possible solutions to the issues surrounding **social service innovation**, and revealed how they might stimulate future lines of investigation.

Due to the close relation between innovation in social service provision and the broader 'development agenda' for social services, this report identifies important mechanisms for positive development in social services across Europe. The research itself focuses on key themes for social services, with the intent of helping these services improve the lives of people and promote a fair and sustainable model for society in times of rapid social change. It needs to respond to new concepts and technologies and to accommodate new social norms and expectations. All service developments have to be effective both in terms of outputs and outcomes and in the use of social and financial resources.

The themes and sub-themes for future investigation of social service innovation promoted by this research agenda neither cover the entire field of innovation in social services, nor speak to the broader field of social innovation. As it includes rather diffuse shifts and developments that affect social attitudes and behaviours, social innovation has a strong correlation to social change and the often-intangible factors accompanying it (including the influence of social movements, for instance). Social service innovation is characterized by parallels to this, but differs in that it emphasizes the 'organizational' or 'directed' aspects of innovation. It stresses, in other words, innovation in service provision as a rather formalized embodiment of ideational or thematic innovation.

INNOSERV's research agenda also parallels much broader socio-economic and socio-political trends concerned with austerity, due to limited resources and the need for their optimal allocation, along with broader welfare reforms. The difficulties in developing a cohesive direction in this debate stem from a basic confusion over the meaning of "optimum" in relation to social service provision. Do we apply the pareto principle, where no one can be made better

off without making someone else worse off? Or, should we consider the well-being of minority groups before that of the majority? Does "optimum" indicate the most cost-efficient way of resource allocation, or one that is rightful and just? If the latter, how do we determine what is rightful and just?

In this debate, innovation has shown the promise of better outcomes by mobilizing resources in a new and often more effective way, sometimes being promoted, in response to the prevailing austerity, as "doing more with less." Others criticize it for being a disguised argument in favour of further budget cuts. Obviously we cannot resolve these questions. What we can do is provide an impression of what innovation in social service might look like through 'visual sociology' (in this case, using short film documentaries to explore innovation developments) and theoretical case work (www.inno-serv.eu), and by highlighting the questions it asks, the challenges it triggers, and the promise it holds by this research agenda.

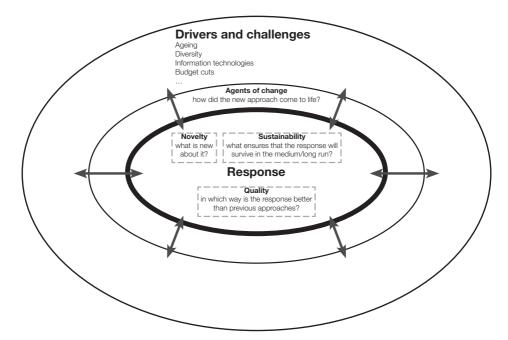
In relation to services, the INNOSERV project has neither studied the structure of individual organizations or the provider landscape, nor the present position in which these organizations and providers find themselves. At base, the project develops a deeper understanding of the emerging products and services, and specifically the processes behind their development. Against this background, we cannot judge whether innovation within social services is more limited than in the commercial arena - although this is a research question worth examining. We can, however, illustrate how innovation relates to and differs from technological innovation, and observe the particularities it brings, from the micro to the macro level, for the actors involved. Please note that all examples of innovations being shown in INNOSERV-videos are not promoted as being "best practice" examples. They rather serve to spur the debate about what innovation in social services might look like.

1.2 The INNOSERV approach to investigating social service innovation

Our platform has taken a bottom up approach, collecting the views of stakeholders about innovations in social services in various European countries. This was accomplished through visualizations of twenty innovative examples presented to users, practitioners, policy makers and experts in the field in the INNOSERV partner countries and beyond. Prior research on the state-of-the-art knowledge on social service innovation, along with a systematic assessment of major drivers and challenges in the framework surrounding the phenomenon, helped reinforce these examples of innovative practice. This enabled the development of a model for innovation in service development which linked together the factors driving innovation, including key social and technological changes and challenges with key qualities which make innovation effective and sustainable. These two factors are linked together in practice by individuals and

organizations mediating these two sets of factors. One of our key theses is that the way these are mediated is crucial to eventual adoption and take up of innovations in practice (this model presents only one of the approaches explored through the INNOSERV project¹):

Factors influencing Social Services Innovation



All of these (the review documents, the innovative practices, the innovation model, and the survey results of various stakeholders' experiences) informed the draft research agenda thematically developed at a meeting in Roskilde at the end of June 2013. This draft was then subject to a sustained consultation process with users and practitioners, policy makers and researchers. The entire process has been performed over nearly two years. The research agenda is thus the culmination of a sophisticated process that combined academic research methods with the strong involvement of various stakeholder groups.

1.3 Research themes

This research agenda provides a general description of each theme, identifies key subthemes and their respective state-of-the-art research, along with research gaps to develop a

¹ Note: this model has been developed on the basis of the empirical work within the project. It represents one of the mechanisms for identifying innovation in social services. Other approaches included, for example, the systematic detection of current research in scientific publications. For further information about the model of innovation in service development, please read chapter 3.2.

systematic outline of the research questions directing future investigations of the subject. In the following we give a short account of seven themes identified as key areas for future research. Each presented theme includes some indication of the audiences it most potentially affects and the questions it evokes. A selection of most salient research issues which have emerged in the course of the INNOSERV project will follow. This investigation proceeds by outlining the tensions the issues stimulate and how they coincidently influence several of the major research themes. The identified issues, in other words, help establish the connections between various themes.

The seven key research themes identified by INNOSERV are:

- (1) User-centred services and approaches,
- (2) Innovations and organizational as well as institutional development,
- (3) Framing social services in relation to innovation,
- (4) The governance of social service innovation,
- (5) The influence of national, regional and local contexts,
- (6) New technologies,
- (7) Measuring outcomes, quality and challenges.

The **first theme**, "User-centred services and approaches," refers to personalization, cross-sector co-operation and the increasing interaction between professionals, users and volunteers. User-centred services and approaches focus on the paradigmatic shift towards the user: user-involvement in (re)shaping processes, the shifting roles and functions of actors, and rethinking and developing competences of actors, users and volunteers. This includes beneficial aspects often ascribed to phenomena like co-production, i.e., the active involvement of users in the innovation or service provision process.

However, the new forms of interaction resulting from such scenarios may stimulate conflict between, for instance, the ethos of professionals, with their potential interest to preserve autonomy and their expert role, and the wishes and needs of users. While a profound body of knowledge already exists on the interaction between professionals and users, little work has focused on the potential beneficial and harmful effects resulting from the stimulation and diffusion of social service innovation.

Missing knowledge particularly affects the conditions and frameworks needed for successful interaction between actors, and the related management and governance questions more directly assessed in separate themes below. While this theme is of primary importance for practitioners and users, it retains value for researchers investigating the relation of the two and seeking to provide valuable advice for practice.

The **second theme**, "Innovations and organizational as well as institutional development," is about engineering change in relation to innovation: resources, patterns of change, agents of change, inter-organizational relations and the management of development. At the micro level, change within the social service organisation (managerial and organizational changes) might include resource mobilization for the realization of innovation. With respect to the surrounding institutional and other frameworks, change might include differing operational conditions for organizations thereby stimulating innovation.

This theme, in that it investigates who holds responsibility for initiating change and how socially beneficial change might be incubated, harnessed and directed, probably lies closest to the phenomenon of broader social shifts and trajectories. This makes it of central importance to researchers who analyse innovation in social services from a systemic perspective, along with policy makers who aim at triggering social change.

A **third theme**, "Framing social services in relation to innovation," in close relation to the previous theme, concerns key values and the manner in which policy talk frames innovation: it defines social and political needs and identifies problems and key principles (such as broad quasi-legislative conventions) in shaping social services. It investigates, in other words, the operationalization of broader institutional relations and how these affect the identification of social needs as well as eventual service provision. A major emphasis falls on policy issues and how policy and social discourses affect the perception and legitimation of social service innovation.

This theme is not limited to the regulative influence policy-making can have on innovation, but investigates who decides how services should be designed and the potential effect these actors and processes have over the stimulation or prohibition of innovation. It is connected to values and the normative aspects of innovation in social services.

The **fourth theme**, "The governance of innovation," is undergoing rapid change, becoming evermore complex due to the new forms of provider organizations and new forms of (governmental) governance. Governance encompasses sub-themes such as marketization, privatization, standardization, and service pillarization, along with cross-sector approaches that might come into conflict with the former or be used to overcome such conflict. This theme both sheds light on organizational aspects and contains a strong comparative dimension with respect to context. It pays tribute to the influence different welfare-state conceptions have on innovation in social services.

The theme does not only refer to inter-organizational aspects of network governance, but also to political steering through multi-level governance. Similar to the theme addressing organizational and institutional development, this facilitates the development of guidelines for standard setting

and monitoring, along with the promotion of innovation from a policy perspective (in practice and research).

The **fifth theme**, "The influence of national, regional and local contexts", refers to the 'embeddedness' of innovation in cultural contexts, where local context refers to nation states and local authorities/municipalities. Sub-themes include cultural factors as barriers and facilitators, the capacity of systems in producing and sustaining innovation, and the transferability of social service innovation.

While cultural factors and their influence help determine service demand in particular areas, becoming thereby important for practitioners as designers of social services, policy determines the capacity of systems for realizing and maintaining innovations. Identifying conditions that support the transferability of innovations is basic to the academic investigation of innovation. While the second theme examines diffusion within organizational and institutional contexts, this theme concentrates on the different aspects of geographic diffusion.

The **sixth theme**, "New Technologies," examines the impact of new technologies on organizations, professionals and users, and the interactions between them: accessibility of services, remote and assistive technologies, and especially the incorporation of new technologies in the social service process. These affect not only the communication of innovative practices and the connection between individuals as users to service providers, but also some of the delivered services themselves.

New technologies are, thus, of central importance to practitioners, not only as promotional devices, but for the development of new kinds of services and innovation as such.

The final and **seventh theme**, "Measuring Outcomes, Quality and Challenges," encompasses a range of questions dealing with the improvement of social services for the user and the service provider and at the societal level, along with the question of how to measure this improvement and any possible unintended effects. As these questions touch on both technical and normative aspects, producing a unique combination of capturing created value to inform decision-making and political steering, they are of central interest to researchers.

1.4 Key issues and resulting tensions

The following issues, because they encapsulate the highest tensions triggered by the new imperative on social (service) innovation, are of central importance to the INNOSERV research agenda and cut across thematic areas. They assist our understanding of how best to enable

social (service) innovation, how innovation relates to other key principles, and its potential capacity to re-vitalize societies.

Because the themes are so multi-faceted and broad in themselves, their final significance for the design of future research programmes, policy making and organizational practice is contingent upon pro-active engagement. The following issues help the reader better interpret the aforementioned themes. Without a higher degree of elaboration, including reference to academic knowledge from across disciplines and research traditions along with the reflexive comments of field experts, practitioners, users and policy makers, it will be difficult to fully apprehend the tension fields spanned in the following. We strongly encourage every reader of this executive summary to consult the comprehensive version of the theme most relevant to him or her, along with the applicable (directly) interconnected themes.

The following issues are presented in an accentuated manner with the explicit intent of highlighting their obvious and latent tensions. They neither exhaust the range of concerns contained in this research agenda, nor prioritize any particular aspect. Such prioritization only emerges in conjunction with stakeholder involvement and a mutual recognition of the aims of social (service) innovation, whether and how it might be fostered, and how it might be embedded in the wider societal context. These key issues, however, are significant in directing this discussion process. Though the following sections follow the same stages as the above themes, internally they correspond to a variety of other themes to which they bear strong connections

User-centrality, social needs and risk

One central challenge in making user centrality a reality (Theme 1) rests in the identification of genuine vs. artificial social needs. A more sophisticated understanding of genuine social needs enables the development of ideas for social service innovation, ideas which can then be translated into responsive social services (Theme 2). Values and norms (Theme 3) guide the definition, discovery and addressing of social needs. However, such definition can also result from political bargaining and thus depend on the power constellations of involved constituents. To mitigate this, in the identification of needs there needs to be a strong reciprocal relationship between users, who explicitly participate in the process, and the political actor. At the same time, the principle of greater user involvement includes the danger of trading the self-determination of users for the assumption of individual risk. Regulatory standards for social service innovation will have to take this into account (Theme 4).

Direction and steering modes of change

With regard to the identification and stimulation of innovation, and its organizational diffusion, there is often reference to a variety of 'agents of change' (Theme 2). This variety has both internal and external consequences for organizations and institutions. It is not yet clear whether

the dominant pattern of innovation is bottom-up, top-down or 'sideways' or indeed whether there are mixed mechanisms at play. Any judgment may depend especially on context in its geographic sense (Theme 5), the organizational life cycle, and the particular stage of innovation in question. Themes of management, leadership (primarily internally) and governance (Theme 4; primarily externally) are related to structural vs. procedural approaches to social service innovation, the latter of which may include entrepreneurial and intrapreneurial acting.

Key principles and their interpretation

International regulatory frameworks, standard principles, and conventions (Theme 3) determine policy and organizational practice. There will, however, always be differences in the local vs. regional vs. national interpretation of these framing references (Theme 5). Conflict might even arise between these principle guidelines and current legal regulations. It remains unclear how these individual frameworks, and any consequent tensions, feed into social service innovation.

(Conflicting) policy principles

What relationship currently exists between the diversity of current policy principles and social service innovation (Theme 4)? Innovation, far from being in harmony with existing policy principles, may stimulate conflict. Specifically, tensions arise with regard to innovation vs. continuity. This affects on the one hand the emergence of new (innovative) services vs. the preservation and the reliability of standard services, and, on the other, the ambitions of continuous innovation vs. scaling and how 'standardization' of new service approaches are achieved. It affects political regulation in both the field and organizational practice (Theme 2). The issues of cost vs. quality of outcomes are also often (though not always) key conflicting considerations (Theme 7). The extent to which the agendas of privatization and marketization either stimulate or prohibit innovation is a question to be asked in relation to this. It is also unclear how key principles regulating social service provision such as legal standards or broader directives (e. g., human rights declarations) might become more determinative than pragmatism (Theme 3) within this framework. Finally, with the promotion of innovation comes the need to balance administrative efficiency vs. cross-cutting service and funding streams, which seem to be needed for social service innovation.

Systematic enabler of innovation

What contextual factors help stimulate social service innovation: capacity vs. necessities (Theme 5)? Is innovation more likely to emerge where we find the biggest need, or where existing socio-economic and socio-political systems have the highest capacity? Is innovation prompted by scarcity (which triggers potential demand) or abundance (in delivering potential supply)? Any answer depends on the local, regional or national context and the effects this has over the number, scope, size and type of the emerging innovation. This, in turn, shapes actor constellations and has implications for the design of funding streams (Theme 2).

Alterations by new technology

New technology (Theme 6) is becoming evermore important, both as a means of communication for social (service) innovation and as a fundamental element of service provision. How does this change actor roles (Theme 1) at the internal micro level: i.e., how is the relation between professionals vs. users altered? What effects does it have at the external field level: i.e., is there a complementary/integrative relation vs. a competitive relation between new (technology based) and old services? This includes the question of whether and to what extent technology is relevant to social (person-based) services at all. This connects to the framing of social service innovation (Theme 3).

The challenge of measurement

The measurement of the outcomes, quality and sustainability of services (Theme 7) will always be placed in a tension field between technical accuracy vs. normative directions. It is, as such, directly related to the principles framing social service innovation (Theme 3). Measurement is vital to how organizations and institutions steer, assess and regulate social service innovation (Theme 2), to how it affects users (Theme 1) and to how innovation is governed in relation to political prioritization, benchmarking and similar practices (Theme 4).

Alongside these overarching issues, three of the seven research themes received particular attention during INNOSERV stakeholder consultation phase, and subsequently received the most profound revisions in the iterative evolvement of the research agenda. Although we cannot be conclusive, we suspect that the pronounced interest in these three was due to their broad relevance as well as their inchoate state.

(1) User-centredness

In terms of relevance, as the first theme relates to the target groups of a service, so it touches on the essential traits of service provision. However, the very newness of a user-centred approach means that the realization of this ambition (serving the target group) is deficient and that much room for improvement remains.

(5) Context

The fifth theme touches upon the core challenges in European policy. These lie in bridging a pronounced gap between nation states and between regions or municipalities. One finds these gaps in socio-economic development status, political systems, or cultural values and traditions. Eastern European countries and new member candidates are subject to catalytic change and currently experiencing dynamic development. The state of crisis in some incumbent member states further increases the complexity of this issue and contributes to its lack of resolution.

(7) Outcomes and quality

The seventh theme is connected to social well-being and so to the ultimate rationale for social service provision. It affects constituents both at the European and at the global level and spans all sectors and field borders. The issue of outcomes and quality of services is directly linked to debates on social-welfare, including matters of inclusion, cohesion, productivity and viability – an issue subject to evermore intense debated.

As suggested above, the themes need to be treated in an integrated and not isolated fashion. Nonetheless, these observations can help identify the most powerful levers for bringing greater coherence to the field and study of social service innovation.

1.5 Outlook

The themes and specific issues discussed here together with the video portraits intend to stimulate exchange between researchers, practitioners and policy makers around the emergent field of social service innovation and other related debates. The research agenda, despite the focus on some selected issues, demonstrates the broad range of subjects being spanned by this new thematic focus.

This research agenda furthermore highlights how complex social service innovation is and how it occurs at multiple levels: at the micro level of individual organizations, at the meso level of organizational fields, at the macro level of political regulation, and ultimately at the level of broad social change. Due to this scope, we believe that social service innovation represents a fruitful field for scholarly investigation, spanning disciplinary, research, practice, and policy borders. In this regard, a multiplicity of potential setups and constellations of investigation characterizes its study. Basic and applied research can be combined in its investigation, and focused research projects can be complemented with social platforms or more experimental projects such as incubators, clusters or even network developments. This research agenda raises issues worth further investigation. It indicates the potential relation between the research approach and the primary audience highlighted in the executive summary and supported by the specific research questions accompanying each theme in the comprehensive agenda.

2. Background

2.1 The context for innovation in social services

This research agenda combines 'innovation' and 'social services' to inform and support future research at their intersection and beyond. This research agenda will provide one of several sources of input from social platforms and research projects for European Commission HORIZON 2020 programme.

Social Services across Europe continuously change and develop in response to social challenges and changing social expectations. The pace of change has been increasing, responding in part to the speed of industrial, economic and social change and, in Europe, to the expansion of the EU itself. Change in social services in accession states is particularly fast as a result.

This agenda has been developed by researchers and core interest groups (the 'social platform') and builds on insights provided by users, practitioners, experts and policy-makers. The research used 20 core examples of innovative practice in social services from different parts of Europe (these were presented as short video films, which can be accessed at: www.inno-serv. eu). A draft version of the agenda was presented to international experts and key national and European stakeholders to refine and develop this final research agenda.

INNOSERV is therefore a social platform consisting of experts and key stakeholder agencies from various EU countries. It has itself been innovative in the way that researchers worked together with representatives from various EU wide organizations and more local partners to ensure the relevance of the proposals. The INNOSERV partners are experts within the three core policy fields in social service provision, namely health care, education, and welfare, and the challenges faced by these services. The research agenda sets out a clear picture of how innovation in social services is developing in contemporary society and which are the most relevant issues with regard to its future development.

Clearly there is a link between the development of social services and the introduction and dissemination of innovation, both in how wider society organizes itself and specifically in the response of the range of actors involved in social services. Such development has to be reflected in the wider frame of policy development and related regulatory and governance arrangements, such as 'smart regulation', assessing the impact of policies; and involving citizens more strongly or the generation of self-regulating capacity of societies (OECD 2011 #882: 22f.; 35f.). Social and economic challenges increase the need for societal renewal and

therefore the development of appropriate responses from services supporting and meeting social needs. (Social) innovation is promoted as one device that might enhance such renewal (European Commission 2013 743). Furthermore social services innovation addresses the needs of those who are most disadvantaged in meeting the challenges posed by modern life (e.g. minority groups and people with disabilities) sensitively acknowledging diversity, including ethnicity, religion or gender.

Although this report focuses on a research agenda for innovation in social services it is also, effectively, a report on the key influences in the development of social services as we can currently envision them in the future. Our 'working assumptions' for developing the future agenda are based on key principles in the nature and role of social services in our society. Social service provision has historically been and continues to be associated with societal roles and functions that go beyond service provision. In addition to their service providing role, organizations operating in the field are, for instance, referred to as vanguards in promoting new social practices, as value guardians shaping and preserving social norms and values, and as advocates of minority interests (Anheier 2005 #144: 144ff.)(Kramer 1981 #799: 173ff.; 193ff.; 212ff.).

The INNOSERV platform has based its programme on assumptions regarding the functions of social services in enabling:

- Better outcomes for people
- A better and fairer society overall in particular social services can be practical tools for enabling the implementation of human rights
- A sustainable model for society in response to the changing environments

In this context, the rationales for innovation in social services are to:

- 'Modernize' the delivery of social services using new conceptual tools and technologies
- Enable services to respond to new cultural norms and expectations
- Improve effectiveness and cost effectiveness, using a broad understanding of costs in economic and social terms

The INNOSERV programme sought to link service innovation developments with wider social development. It has therefore attempted to effectively link broader shifts on the macro level to the micro level processes of organizations as managed by leaders, managers, professionals and users. This research agenda therefore takes account of the range and variety of social services, their contextuality and their contribution to society as a whole (Herrmann 2007 #883). The context for innovation is not simply how services are provided but also – and more importantly – the conditions that determine the changing social setting, and which inform the character of innovation.

2.2 Introduction to the research programme

INNOSERV has described and worked with a model for innovation in social services. The definition of social services used in the INNOSERV project draws on the EU's definition of "social services of general interest". This term was developed in the EU-Commission's Green Paper on Services of General Interest (May 2003). It defines social services as:

"statutory and complementary social security schemes, organized in various ways (mutual or occupational organizations), covering the main risks of life, such as those linked to health, ageing, occupational accidents, unemployment, retirement and disability; other essential services provided directly to the person. These services that play a preventive and social cohesion role consist of customized assistance to facilitate social inclusion and safeguard fundamental rights (...) (The SPC 2010, S. 3)"

Social services support a range of differentiated policy areas and can be affected by regulatory frameworks at the national, regional and local level. There is a strong connection between social service innovation and the social innovation strategy in Europe (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce, 2012) as confirmed by recent political statements:

"Social services and their innovation are expected as an inclusive part of this strategy: 'social services are considered drivers of social innovation'." (European Union 2011)

Social service innovation crosses two fields: social innovation and service innovation. These in turn are embedded in the larger frame of social and economic change and are influenced by it just as they are components feeding into it. The drivers and challenges identified in the INNOSERV project work as the motor for stimulating (but also impeding) innovation. It adds the 'social' to services just as it adds the 'formal' or 'organizational' to social innovation. In itself it is determined by concepts, agents and contexts which determine outcomes. All these elements will be addressed in detail in the research agenda.

Naturally different levels of innovation relate to the degree of novelty from minor to more radical changes in how we think. In the larger picture, innovation might possibly even change the 'basis of society', as some researchers have argued (Tidd and Bessant 2009:27).

But to whom is it new? By novelty, we refer to a new service, a new form of delivery, a new form of governance, a new form or resourcing and/or a new form of evaluation (Hawker and Frankland 2012:12-13). We use innovation both in the sense of first use as well as when elements are adopted from elsewhere, or used in new settings. This is increasingly becoming the commonplace use of the term. 'Improved Quality' refers to better methods, types of service delivery, ways of financing, forms of governance or modes of evaluation than that which it replaced; and with no substantial negative side effects. Sustainability refers to the institutionalization of novel practices.

Wider reference frameworks for social services innovation include broader guidelines and frameworks of reference such as human rights related guidelines like the 'UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities' (UN – CRPD)² or other key themes in societal development such as issues of aging, health³ and poverty⁴. At the same time the agenda acknowledges the EU position as the 'innovation union'.⁵ The Lisbon Agenda stresses innovation and knowledge as key future foundations.⁶ The social type of innovation is of particular importance in times of financial distress and crisis, in which social services play a key role in supporting the current and future viability of society.ⁿ It also reflects the 'modernization' of the welfare state as exemplified by new procurement regulations for social services.⁶ For this reason social (services) innovation is relevant to three General Directorates of the EU, namely 'DG Research', 'DG Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion' and 'DG Internal Market and Services'.

The Europe 2020 strategy structural funds will explicitly incorporate social (services) innovation. The strategy postulates ambitious goals, among which are to be found an "[...] employment rate of 75%, reducing early school leaving under 10% and poverty by 20 million people [...]" (European Commission 2013 #743: 48). Innovation in social services that are directly relevant to these goals could be key in achieving these. The European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional and Development Fund (ERDF) will focus special attention on social innovation (Bolling and Nikolin 2013a). In the ERDF social innovation is given an "investment priority" under the research, technology and innovation directive and social enterprises are highlighted as actors fostering social inclusion and combatting poverty. The ESF in turn includes social innovation in all its priority policy fields, such as education or employment. Both are supposed to work in a complementary way (European Commission 2013 743: 49ff.).

The European subsidiarity principle grants local authority and problem solving capacity wherever applicable.⁹ National, regional and local developments will be particularly relevant and a key focus has been the identification of the impact of this.

While the proposed agenda is comprehensive, there are certain themes that we have consciously not addressed or only touched upon peripherally. This is either because of the very minor impact of such issues or other EC funded projects deal with these areas in more depth.

² See http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/crpd/pages/crpdindex.aspx.

³ See http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?section=active-healthy-ageing&pg=about.

⁴ See http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=961&langId=en.

⁵ See http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?pg=intro.

⁶ See http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/general_framework/c10241_en.htm.

⁷ See http://www.social-europe.eu/2012/11/spain-is-experiencing-a-period-of-intense-social-crisis/.

⁸ Proposal for a directive of the European Parliament and the Council on public procurement,

see: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52011PC0896:EN:NOT.

 $^{9 \;} See \; http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/lisbon_treaty/ai0017_en.htm$

- The ImPRovE project has, for instance, particularly addressed the issue of poverty and how social innovation can help tackle it.10 This project explored in depth the underlying causes of this key challenge for social services innovation.
- The LIPSE research project (Learning Innovation in Public Sector Environments)11 identifies drivers and barriers to effective social innovation in the public sector. Through studying social innovation and co-creation practices and processes, LIPSE will create and disseminate essential knowledge about social innovation.
- The WILCO project in turn concentrated on social cohesion in local welfare systems, particularly in cities and how social innovation can be developed in such a setting.12 The WILCO work has therefore highlighted this particular aspect of the context dependency of social service innovation as highlighted in the INNOSERV findings.
- The TEPSIE project13 has taken a broader perspective on social innovation, relating it
 more closely to wider social change than the more formalized environments researched
 through INNOSERV. TEPSIE has also covered areas such as financial markets and wider
 instruments for social innovation.

Some other issues that were raised by stakeholders but have not been investigated in depth through INNOSERV include:

- Reforms and trends in policy, including historic developments across welfare regimes or in social service fields
- encompassing themes like the issue of participatory democracy
- In reviewing transferability between national, regional and local welfare systems, we have not been able to identify how such scaling can be applied in different models
- With regard to norms, social needs and legitimacy, we have not explicitly focused on the concepts of accountability
- While investigating organizational and institutional development, we have not undertaken particular research on the issue of leadership
- In addressing the necessity of shaping education concepts (on various levels) according
 to the requirements and challenges posed by innovation in social services, we do not
 propose particular routes to develop curricula for training.

Our proposals also encompass and range across the services included in our brief and we have not sought to introduce a field specific view in developing the research agenda. The focus of INNOSERV on the service fields of health, welfare services and informal education have been highly beneficial as heuristic categories, for reviewing literature and the selection and

¹⁰ See publications of the ImPRovE project: http://improve-research.eu/?page_id=37.

¹¹ See publications of the LIPSE project: http://www.lipse.org/downloads

¹² See publications of the WILCO project: http://www.wilcoproject.eu/results/project-reports/.

¹³ See publications of the TEPSIE project: http://www.tepsie.eu/index.php/publications.

portrayal of innovative examples. The research agenda, however, aspires to be relevant across service fields and for cross-sector and interdisciplinary investigation. While examples from all three fields are on to outline specific issues, but there is no field-specific differentiation in the research agenda.

A research agenda can assume different forms. There is a lengthy tradition in the social sciences for posing research questions in two different ways, which has implications for the form of the research agenda. The first tradition is 'applied research', which is referred to in contemporary sociology of science as 'modus two research' (Gibbons et al. 1994), a more problem-focused form of research, of helping to solve social and political problems. The other tradition, as identified by Max Weber (1949), is social philosophy, characterized by social scientists thinking about 'the context and the meaning of the ends we desire'. While the first tradition is about engineering and transforming society according to the goals identified in society and politics, the latter is about a critical stance towards the same goals and means pursued. This research agenda draws upon both traditions. In so doing, it qualifies these debates about the social sciences and innovation and indicates the variety of research approaches, including observations, surveys, participatory research and others that will be needed to cover the issues addressed and the range of actors from different backgrounds that will have to be involved.

3. Method

The research process informing the development of this research agenda is based on the triangulation of different kinds of knowledge stemming from different sources and research methods. The INNOSERV project analysed and systematized the theoretical discussions and knowledge on innovation in social services. This theoretical knowledge has been enriched, developed, informed, verified and contrasted through a number of analytical and empirical approaches to innovation in social services. This included a bottom-up process whereby users, practitioners, researchers, policy-makers and other stakeholders gave input based on their knowledge of innovation at a practical level. The theoretical input was informed and revised on the basis of a meta-study of empirical case studies of innovative social services.

3.1 The research process

The research agenda is the product of different kinds of knowledge generated in the INNOSERV project: scientific knowledge generated in the literature reviews in WP1-2, knowledge from stakeholders and experts in WP7-8 about innovation and innovative processes, and the evidence from the 20 selected innovative practices analysed in WP7. This comprehensive but differentiated knowledge was integrated to identify research themes at a joint meeting in the end of June 2013 with the consortium partners. The University of Roskilde team produced a report from the meeting (Appendix 1, deliverable 10.1) and produced a draft research agenda based upon the research themes identified at the meeting. This included a general description of each theme, listed and described subthemes, an outline of the state of the art in each sub-theme; identified research gaps; and an outline of the research question stemming from each sub-theme. This draft was discussed, and agreed upon with the consortium leader (University of Heidelberg). The agenda was then presented and discussed at a number of 'roadshow' events to receive feedback from users and practitioners, policy makers and fellow researchers. The agenda was then revised to produce its final version.

The theoretical work included a comprehensive review of literature within the language areas covered by the national teams of the consortium (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012). It covered trends in social service provision across Europe, as a review of (social) innovation literature as well as clarification of how social service innovation relates to the broader field. The findings from the review were further developed (Hawker and Frankland 2012) in a heuristic model for social service innovation that identified tentative criteria for innovative practices. The process of developing the model also included the identification of trends

and challenges to which innovative practices respond. This was done in order to expand understanding of the relation between societal challenges and changes, and innovative practices. The societal challenges and changes were developed by the national teams using a shared scenario planning method.

In a bottom-up evidence generation process, empirical knowledge on innovative social services was generated from real practice cases identified across different European countries. A novel 'visual sociology'14 approach was used as a means of challenging and underpinning the theoretical work. The approach consisted of creating visual stories through the generation and production of short films - visual sociology defined as 'visual essays' (see Pauwels 2012)15. This focused on twenty social service practices ranging across the theoretical model of criteria for innovative social services (Eurich and Strifler 2012). The selection process for these examples was developed through the application of a snowball sampling process. Firstly, experts in the field were asked to nominate examples they deemed to be innovative. These propositions were complemented by desktop research by the project partners and a screening of, for example, innovation prizes awarded to organizations. This process resulted in a sample of over 750 innovative practices. These were then reduced in number by the national teams through inter-comparison of the examples guided by the theoretical criteria identified. In a second step, cross-national teams within the consortium formed expert groups in health, welfare and informal education services and their various intersections. These expert groups were responsible for ranking the practices in the respective field to identify the two to four most promising examples in each of those fields. A last sample in excess of forty cases was then discussed by all partners to identify the most relevant and exemplary 20 cases of innovative practice. These are explicitly not meant to be 'best' practices, but the 'best showcases' of innovative practices in social service provision in order to get responses to the question what people understand as an innovative social service.

The video films were presented to different actors, (including users, practitioners, policy makers and researchers) at 42 local workshops and two regional workshops across Europe. They were used to generate discussions, enabling the national teams to collect empirically based reactions and reflections on innovation in social services (Pesce and Ispano 2013; Laino and Sütő 2013). The video portrays were used to showcase examples of innovation in social services and thereby to stimulate discussion around the topic. The discussions were structured through guide questions developed by the INNOSERV partners. These questions addressed perceptions of innovativeness and provided prompts to challenge the

^{14 &}quot;Visual sociology today, therefore, is most accurately described – rather than defined – as a broad continuum of interests and applications premised on diverse theoretical foundations, a wide array of research programs, and a varied commitment to sociology as a discipline" (Grady 2006:7); see also Burri (2008).

^{15 &}quot;The visual essay can definitely be considered as one of the most visual forms of visual research, but also as a mode that seems very remote from traditional social scientific practice and hence likely to produce controversy, both at the level of journal boards and organizations measuring academic output" (Pauwels 2012:1; see also some of the work on the ethnographical film as one earlier approach to visual essays (Kaczmarek 2008)).

concept and identify gaps or inconsistencies. These wide ranging and in depth stakeholder consultations have contributed significantly to the development of this research agenda. The respective summary reports are cited throughout the research agenda, in particular when it comes to deriving research gaps and needs for future investigations. More specifically, the workshops produced knowledge in relation to trends in social service delivery, barriers for innovative practices, new technologies and the influence of context. Furthermore, the workshops provided the users and practitioners with the opportunity to voice their views on the needs for future research. This knowledge led to the identification of research needs and trends in social services. Further data collection using the video films was enabled through the use of an online questionnaire, allowing film viewers to comment on the practices they viewed. In this way, the approach included the triangulation of methods in relation to collecting empirical input. In addition the project included opportunities to provide feedback through new social media. This was done using an online questionnaire that served as tool for assessing social service practices.

The visual sociology approach exploring innovative practices within social services were supplemented with theoretically informed case studies of each of the twenty social service practices (Langer, Güntner and Croic 2013). The programmes theoretical modelling was related to the specific social service practices through these in-depth case studies. On the basis of the case studies, a meta-analysis was produced. This analysis explored the analytical categories developed in the earlier work and the patterns across the different case studies. The meta-analysis of the case studies resulted both in a revision of a model developed earlier and in expanding the understanding of the processes of social service innovation. The concept of innovation was originally defined in WP2 (Hawker and Frankland 2012). A revised model (Figure 1) linked prior work but highlighted new aspects of social service innovation, such as the role of 'agents' of innovation. Its applicability was demonstrated in the later work packages. These new insights have been reworked and integrated in the research agendas' themes and research questions.

3.2 Model of innovation

The project partners also worked on a comprehensive and relevant definition of innovation in social services. The following was developed to encompass the key aspects of such innovation:

"In the social services sector, the characteristics of novelty, improvement and sustainability (...) have to apply not only to new products (new social services, new form of delivery services) and new ideas (new social work method, new governance, new organizations, new partnerships) but also involve

- the sphere of social practices and
- the underlying values of these.

The social services sector is centred on people and service delivery." (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:14)

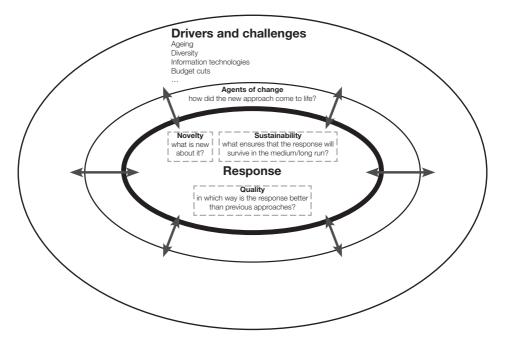
In contrast to innovations in other service fields, innovations in social services must always relate to a normative perspective. This is one of the key characteristics of social innovation. In general, social services innovation can be seen as a response to different drivers and challenges, such as demographic changes, new information technologies, budget cuts and changes in social policy frameworks. Wider social innovation is interlinked with social change. It can be both its cause and its effect (Ziegler 2011). Nevertheless, there is usually no immediate relationship between a specific driver or challenge and a specific social innovation. For example, social budget cuts do not always evoke the same kind of response in the form of a certain social innovation. Even though no direct causality can be found, the different drivers and challenges still impact on and provide an important framework for the development of social innovations. Establishing a better understanding of the underlying linkages between drivers and the specific type of innovation could itself represent a basic research question.

The key characteristics of social innovations are defined as 'novelty', 'quality' and 'sustainability'. The 'novelty' aspect emphasizes what is new about the specific innovation; for example, a new service, a new form of delivery, a new form of governance, a new form of resourcing or a new way of evaluation (Hawker and Frankland 2012:13). The focus on quality is especially important in relation to social services innovations: an innovative approach does not automatically lead to improved quality. In fact, an innovation can lead to increased but undesired choice or loss of performance due to the development process (Hawker and Frankland 2012:18). Additionally, the sustainability aspect also plays an important role. What is done to ensure that the innovation will be sustainable in the long run? This requires that the innovative aspects and ideas should be able to be applied and maintained in everyday practice (Hawker and Frankland 2012:19).

Individual or collective actors at various levels function as agents of change. These actors often see new challenges or trends and respond to them as advocates of new ways of tackling problems and challenges.

Figure 1:

Factors influencing Social Services Innovation



3.3 Formulating the research agenda

The findings from the theoretical analysis and the empirically based work both fed into the formulation of the research agenda, including its seven themes. This way, the theoretical and empirical work complemented each other in the development of the research agenda and the identification of key research themes, gaps and needs and the formulation of specific research questions. The formulation of the research agenda themes was a collective work process performed by the consortium during a 3-day consortium workshop. The aim of this workshop was to develop the content of the research agenda and to prepare the final stage work packages.

The consortium therefore managed a 'cross-work package' comparison of knowledge in order to systematize knowledge and identify findings and gaps, completing a 'knowledge picture' and reviewing this from different perspectives. This is detailed at Appendix 1. This resulted in a draft research agenda, which was then discussed in two international meetings in Brussels (September 2013) and Sofia (October 2013) and further local events (referred to as the 'roadshow') to receive feedback from researchers, key national and

Method

European stakeholders and umbrella organizations. The discussion focusing on the validity, comprehensiveness and feasibility of the proposals (see Bolling and Nikolin 2013a & 2013b for a summary of the main two events). This process was also used to identify whether issues had been missed. The research questions were also further categorized against core stakeholder groups to gather more specific responses from key interests in the agenda. This final version of the research agenda is the product of this process.

4. Seven research themes

Seven research themes have been identified through this comprehensive research process. They are listed and described here. There is no priority in the sequence, but they are outlined in a logical order against three social levels, beginning with individual (user) focused issues and moving via organizationally related matters to broader policy concerns that have broader effects (context, technology, measurement of outcomes and quality). The different themes are connected and overlap with each other.

4.1 User-centred services and approaches

This theme addresses the changing roles of actors in service production and delivery, particularly the increasing importance and centrality of the user. The main outcome is how freedoms and responsibilities are changing for users.

The INNOSERV research continuously highlighted the centrality of users in social services as beneficiaries but also increasingly as champions of change. The rise of consumerism has introduced this new focus to the political agenda. Consumerism positions users as consumers, thereby providing both new choices and channels for complaints. The 'New Public Management' paradigm, which evolved in the 1980s and developed through the 1990s (Hood 1995) promoted the transfer of frameworks, such as those for efficiency and effectiveness, from the commercial sphere to state administration. This has also impacted on the provision of social services. Recipient, user or consumer choice in particular is supposed to be promoted by market-based principles and the establishment of (quasi-)market structures. At the same time these entail 'marketization' and 'privatization' of social services that increase competition and utilize price pressure, leading to 'commoditization' of social care and solidarity. This has not always promoted new practices in service development as the piloting and establishment of new approaches necessitates a fair degree of imagination, flexibility and risk which conflicts with market pressure demands.¹⁶ However this approach has indubitably promoted the articulation of the core function of social services provision as meeting the explicitly expressed demands and needs of users as opposed to, for example, supporting the organisational interests of services providers.

The user focus has also been promoted from quite another direction. The disability and the patient-led movements have had a major impact on the development of social services. The disability movement has argued that the traditional social services have not supported core user interests and values, and that 'recipients' should now be seen as 'participants' and the system

¹⁶ These issues will be discussed in more depth in the theme on governance.

logic should be changed from program-centeredness to more person-centred approaches (A Canadian Approach to Disability 1997). Patient-led movements in the health field have also argued in favour of new practices enabling patients to become involved in decisions about their health, the available options and to participate in the management of their health conditions (Hawker and Frankland 2012:22).

The term 'person-centred' might be understood as an orientation towards human rights, individual freedom, the focus on capabilities rather than disabilities and reflecting the impact of diversity including the aspect of gender for instance. However the INNOSERV brief is focused on innovation in social services and not 'social innovation' more broadly. In the 'service' context, 'users' are main targets of, and actors in, innovation. Reflecting the broad scope of interventions analysed in the project, we have decided against using terms such as 'citizens', 'patients' and 'clients'. All concepts are embedded in frames of meaning and not neutral, which of course also applies to 'users'. Concepts such as 'user involvement', 'user participation', 'user-initiated innovation' and 'user-led innovation' are flourishing. So it is important to develop the understanding of user centrality. User centrality is more ambitious than simply ensuring rights to services and can extend into the accessibility, usability and specific appropriateness of any social service for a particular person or group of users. A key aspect of user centrality is the shift of power to users. Changing roles and logics is no easy task, especially not in a situation marked by increasing complexity of governance - vertically as well as horizontally. This also informs an on-going and wider discussion about the responsibilities of the state, the family and the individual in our changing societies. So although there is political understanding that social services must be reshaped on this theme of user centeredness, important research issues emerge concerning the processes and means to achieve this change, the content of the changes for various actors and roles involved and how skills need to be rethought and taught.

4.1.1 User centrality and the (re)shaping of processes

User centrality puts the user at the centre of the social service to better address her or his unmet needs. The term 'user-centeredness' can be used interchangeably in different contexts. It is linked with different aspects of participation, such as co-creation (involvement in designing the social service), co-determination, but also co-responsibility. User centrality signifies a shift from supply driven to demand driven services.

User involvement is only one, but an important aspect of putting the user at the centre of (innovation in) services. It is supposed to bring better and more efficient services (Agger and Lund 2011) and is as such beneficial to users, policy-makers and citizens. User involvement is a political goal, and many services are being de-institutionalized, personalized and are

embracing new groups. 'User centrality' can be seen as an innovation per se¹⁷, through which research issues concerning the achievement of this political goal, the available means for doing so and the nature of the effects generated. However, social services are provided in different institutional contexts of the state, market and civil society and increasingly in cross-sector cooperation between different policy fields and institutional agents. What is more, 'user centred' can also be understood as potentially having to fit with other innovations introduced into social services. This raises potential issues of conflict when 'user centrality' works within 'innovation' in an organizational context and when 'creativity' becomes a key issue in bureaucracies. This calls for studies of its consequences for predictability, continuity and outcomes for users. The efforts attached to creating such innovation can present a major obstacle in realizing user centrality in practice. This is where we see a strong interconnection of this first theme of the research agenda to the ones focusing on the complexity of governance or the measurement of quality, outcomes or impacts.

State of the art

There is a growing scholarship on user involvement using a variety of concepts and approaches, but little linking innovation and user centrality; although the disability movement itself has been driving cultural change and thereby functioning as a social service innovator (Schalock 2004). A tradition concerning user-led innovation can be distinguished (Kristensen and Voxsted 2009). User-led innovation is not identical to user-initiated innovation. A continuum of user involvement is outlined (Kristensen and Voxsted 2009), ranging from user-initiated innovations to consulting users in decision making and in the evaluation of social services (Vanhove 2012). The concept of 'co-production' (Brandsen and Pestoff 2005) is a core characteristic of social services but has also become increasingly fashionable in policy discussions wherein users become part of the planning process and are shaping the social service in question (Agger and Lund 2011). Co-production refers to the direct involvement of the beneficiaries or users in the provision of services. An illustrative case is the participation and involvement of parents in child-care provision services (Pestoff 1998). These principles are, for example, reflected in the INNOSERV case study and video of 'Mom'artre'. Although this project tries to enable single-parents to manage the difficult balance of ensuring their children are being looked after while they are (often unsocial hours), the project explicitly involves parents and neighbourhoods in community based events and interaction. Another example is 'ELTERN-AG', which enables parents to develop their inherent pedagogic and child rearing expertise by putting them at the centre of the training programme. User centrality is absolutely explicit in the 'Nueva' programme. The name of the initiative: "Nutzer evaluieren" means 'users evaluate'. The organization trains people with disabilities to interview other people with disabilities on how they would assess the quality of their care and work environments. Their views directly influence the assessment and the future development of social service provision.

¹⁷ User centrality is placed at a higher rung on Arnstein's 'ladder of citizen participation' than user involvement (Arnstein 1969).

However, the increased focus on co-production also has a downside. Welfare state services are characterized by a growing tension between emancipation and control as well as individualization and collectivization. Co-production, empowerment, activating users and help to self-help are concepts which emphasize the growing autonomy of users as well as the obligation to be more self-responsible (Heinze 2009; Hartmann 2011; Dahl 2012). The welfare state taps into the individuals' potential and ability to manage their lives. The welfare state changes its purpose, especially in employment services. Instead of protecting against the social risks inherent in the market economy, it creates "the right conditions and attitude for people to adapt to the requirements of an ever-changing economy." (Dahme and Wohlfahrt, 2007). Similar development can also be seen in the health and care sectors, where preventive methods are becoming more widespread and individuals take more responsibility for maintaining good health (Dahme and Wohlfahrt 2007).

Research has generally identified the need for the involvement of users beyond user participation. Users can be in focus in different ways as voters, taxpayers and consumers and at different levels of involvement (Tritter and Mccallum 2006). However, health services research strongly indicates that the user-involvement impact must be evaluated in relation to two dimensions: the practice of healthcare and health outcomes (Tritter and Mccallum 2006). There seem to be many approaches used to reshape services to include the involvement of the user, but little effort made towards mapping of them and their effects. We also know that users increasingly organize themselves (Vanhove 2012), but we do not seem to have knowledge about their impact on reshaping processes within the social services. The increasing mobilization of user interests takes place simultaneously with the 're-domestication' of services (Allen 2012) and a more holistic approach to services (Pesce and Ispano 2013:8). The INNOSERV example 'GPE Mainz' promotes a whole variety of interconnected work integration opportunities in a 'real world' setup. Does this reinforce the centrality of the user?

Research gaps

Stakeholders in our social platform have pointed out several research gaps in this area. Some relate to issues already identified in the previous section, such as identifying levels of user involvement and related outcomes, whereas others are new. The new issues are a road map for implementing user centrality (like the road map for implementing innovation), an investigation of the risk management by the provider in relation to users, and an investigation of how the rights of persons with disabilities are monitored in different institutional systems.

Stakeholders argue that a road map for the implementation of user centrality is missing. This would seem to fall within the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) on social protection and social inclusion and best practices (c.f. Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:44-45). Research investigating individualised funding systems, such as personal budgets, their conditions

and effects, is necessary. Likewise, research about the use of various assessment tools, transparency of allocation and possible negative side-effects of personal budgets, for example, increasing the need for office support for the administrative work resulting from such usercentred services, is needed. Individualized funding systems must also be investigated in relation to whether such systems unintentionally increase the level of isolation.

When users take or share control, they also manage 'risk'. Making users central entails a good deal of risk transfer from professional providers to the users themselves. Such users can of course organize themselves in advocacy groups or associations help in ensuring risk is properly shared, but individuals cannot be protected from increasing individual risk levels as such. Usercentred approaches seek to improve quality by increasing user control of needs identification, service design, implementation, management and monitoring. The ability of users to make decisions regarding services they benefit from is key. But the more a patient, beneficiary or user can direct her medical treatment, determine the deployment of her personal budget or influence the very quality of services provided by her direct involvement or the refusal of the latter, the more will she be responsible for the results. Some users will better be able to manage this risk than others.

At the same time, the administration of 'choice and voice' may produce increased costs of co-ordination that affect total cost savings and the improved effectiveness that are supposed to be beneficial both for the welfare state and users. Thus, the question arises which of these effects is the overriding one and how do the aspects of each of the two rationales efficiency vs. bureaucracy play out in relation to the stimulation of innovation?

Finally, there is little knowledge of the legal or regulative frameworks that are needed to secure user centrality and related current developments in services and how this relates to, for example, the 'UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities' (UN – CRPD)¹⁸.

Research questions:

- What is the relation between user centrality and innovation? And is there a difference in this between preventive and responsive/curative approaches?
- What are the actual effects of user involvement on service outcomes?
- Which approaches are used to reshape services to be more user-centred and what influence do they have on practices?
- How to enable access to social services for those not able to fulfil the new responsibilities transferred to them?
- What implications does the transfer of risk to users have both for users and service providers?
- Is user involvement contributing to new inequalities?

¹⁸ See http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/crpd/pages/crpdindex.aspx.

- What is the role of different forms of advocacy in mainstreaming user centrality and ensuring risk control and equal opportunities? For instance who and how has to be involved to ensure that these aspects are being respected?
- Does user centrality produce more bureaucracy? And how does this play out against rationales of efficiency and effectiveness that are supposed to be one of the benefits of user centrality?
- How do actual trends in service fields reflect regulative guidelines and what is their relation to innovation?

4.1.2 Roles and functions

INNOSERV's analysis of the selected 20 cases identified three clusters of 'agents of innovation/ change'. One of the clusters bringing about innovation was a professional/advocacy alliance between professionals and users (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:39). This cluster brings together their joint expertise and mechanisms for such collaboration. In this context, user centrality is achieved through a collaborative process. The roles, functions of influence of the actors will depend on the phase of innovation in question. Although not universal, it will often be the case that users play a major role in the identification of needs, while the design, approval and standard setting of a service will involve policy makers and service providers as the main actors in the implementation phase.

Professionals, managers and policy-makers are increasingly working with empowered users/ customers (Windrum and Garcia-Goni 2008), this demands teamwork, the involvement of volunteers, cross-sector cooperation and partnerships with new organizations. While enhancing social connections and embedding social service provision more deeply into society, the trends just referred to also result in an increased degree of complexity that might necessitate new forms of co-ordination. These new forms seem to be needed to realize multiple stakeholder involvement and the consideration of a broader range of individual and collective agendas. The emergence of 'hybrid' organizations (Anheier 2011), including social enterprises, which mix traits that were usually considered to be distinctive of one particular sector, can be seen as a result of these trends from the beginning of the 1990s. This contributes to an increasing plurality of actors, roles and functions in such social services, referred to as a new 'welfare mix' (Evers and Laville 2005: 14ff.).

This alters not only the organizational remits and the interconnection between organizations and institutions, but also how employees respond to new organizational processes. The stronger focus on the user means the autonomy of some professionals is reduced, and they are subject to new demands, including demands about continuous adaptability in relation to the individual

¹⁹ Section 5.1 Governance of innovation outlines all three typical forms of alliances driving innovations identified in the INNOSERV project, whereas this section will focus on the one that involves users most directly and explicitly.

needs of the users (Fahnøe 2013). New images of users as experts proliferate, and the impact of these changes for the professionals and care workers without formal qualifications must be thoroughly investigated. While there is a substantial body of knowledge on interaction between professionals and, to some degree volunteers, with users, there is little knowledge on how these new relationships are stimulating innovation.

State of the art

Professional actors could be characterized by their access to specific knowledge (gained through qualification and practice), by their access to and their use of specific methods as well as by their value-based attitude. Expertise implies the compilation and supply of practical knowledge, working knowledge and systematized academic knowledge as well as the supply of methods, standards and concepts considering the application of social services. It also implies professional values and an ethical self-reflection (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:31). This knowledge monopoly is challenged by the political goal of user-centredness. There is some research on how new forms of governance and recent ,modernization' have redefined the professional roles amongst a range of professions, including welfare professionals (Dent and Whitehead 2002; Kuhlman 2004), pointing out the changing boundaries between professions and between professionals and non-professionals. However, much less research seems to deal with professionals supporting user involvement and other innovations. The role of users in this theme seems guite clear: "By making their voices heard and sharing their experience, views and ideas, they aim to ensure that user knowledge becomes part of the evidence base of health and social care policy and practice" 2006 (Branfield and Beresford 2006: Abstract). While the empowerment of users is one core function of welfare professionals, sometimes in opposition to other pressures from the public and the welfare state (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013), it is much less clear how they should seek to do this and where the evidence base for this sort of approach can be found, as well as its impact on their professional behaviour and ethics. There is little research on the effects of greater user involvement care workers, nor is there a good body of knowledge on its effects on different groups within a profession or the relationship between the users and professionals/care workers.

Research gaps

Different research gaps can be identified. One gap relates to the working conditions of care workers and professionals manoeuvring between user involvement, new forms of cooperation (in cross-sector terms and with new partnerships) and innovation. Strongly related to this is a gap concerned with whether new patterns of coordination arise and whether they are accompanied by new roles attributed to the professionals and care workers. Broader related re-orientations in the social sphere, such as the one of social entrepreneurship, are said to be promoting professionalization by some scholars (Loidl and Laskowski 2012), while others would say they rather promote de-professionalization. Shifts in two constituting variables of

professions, i.e. "[...] the knowledge base and the service ideal [...]" (Toren 1975: 328), have been identified as playing a primary role. Both variables are indeed being affected by greater user centrality and the orientation towards innovative practices that deviate from standard procedures. However, effects of these alterations point in opposing directions: on the one hand, the stronger influence of users (and thus a decrease of the service ideal) might decrease professionals' expert status and lead to de-professionalization; on the other hand, the (required) ability to generate innovation and operate in uncertain environments (and thus the development of knowledge beyond standard practice) might contribute to professionalization. There is a need for more systematic analysis in the context of user-led social service innovation.

User-led services introduce new dimensions to these issues. Here, users are supposed to be the innovators, and a strategic research theme becomes how professionals and care workers can facilitate capacity building to enable users to fulfil this new role. If successful, a new problem arises: the fate of such services when the first promoters and leaders leave their position (Pesce and Ispano 2013:11). This is an issue pertaining to the sustainability of innovative social services.

Within the social sciences, there is an increasing awareness of how different dimensions of 'the social' play out at the individual level through the theoretical concept of 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw 1994). This theoretical tradition studies how dimensions such as gender, ethnicity or religion interact in relation to user involvement. This is relevant in relation to the promotion of equality in the European social model and the integration, or lack thereof, of users (or certain groups of users) in social services.

All of these (new) dynamics introduce questions about power-relations. Power, conflict and exclusion are currently underexplored in the context of innovation. Some experts have suggested that "user-centeredness" and "inclusive society" can represent a way disguising old traditions and practices without leading to fundamental changes. The very fact that user-centeredness is now being developed and promoted indicates its absence in the past. Truly inclusive societies would not recognize the need for this and so we have to study innovation in social services from an operational viewpoint and also from a discursive perspective that takes account of agendas, attitudes and behaviours of involved actors.

In other words: How does user-centeredness and innovation alter actor-relationships, the roles and functions of the parties involved in the provision of social services?

Research questions:

- What new forms of coordination does user centrality require within organizations and at the wider level?
- What effect does the user focus and the imperative of innovation have on professional identities? Does it foster professionalization or de-professionalization?

- What do the resulting new practices mean for both professionals and non-professionals and their work conditions?
- How can user led innovations be sustained within and among organizations when the first promoters leave?
- How is power managed as the focus shifts to the user and to being 'inclusive'?
- What distinct effects does the user-centred agenda have from the perspective of gender, class and ethnicity?

4.1.3 Rethinking and developing competences

Finally, innovations with a user focus, or with the user as a main driver, developed within the services must be taken up by institutions which teach professionals. Research needs to identify the new roles that professionals must assume as well as the different ways a reciprocal learning process can be facilitated, for instance where the 'direct experience' of innovative processes can be conveyed to professionals (Pesce and Ispano 2013:11).

Professionals and non-professionals encounter new realities, rethinking and developing new competences as users are empowered and managers are trying to create an innovation-friendly atmosphere (Vanhove 2012). This raises issues in relation to leadership, management methods and learning cultures within and between organizations – and within and between service and policy fields. The main challenge for strategic research is to provide advice on how to lead processes of change focusing on innovation, keeping users involved in these processes and ensuring their centrality. Research on the genesis of new social services for new or hitherto unknown needs is also needed.

State of the art

Expertise in specific fields is affected by user experience and user interests (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:35). Traditional nursing becomes, for example, more focused on rehabilitation. This field-specific knowledge can be gained in different ways and is not necessarily achieved through formalized education. Simultaneously, new social services are targeting specific ethnic and gendered groups. This means that diversity and inequality in the provision of various forms of social services is on the research agenda, although simultaneously introducing old discussions about universal-versus-targeted services. The link between socio-economic status and health is clear, with people from lower economic groups experiencing poorer health and less likely engaging in health promoting behaviours (Hawker and Frankland 2012:21). User involvement means being attentive to the diversity of users and the multiple forms of discrimination that professionals and non-professionals have to address; for example, towards women with disabilities and with a migrant background (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2022:60). The issue is

raised in the literature but there are few answers concerning the type of competences needed – be they inter-cultural competences or general attention to diversity and different needs. Concerning research gaps, none were identified in the focus groups conducted in the various countries and the regional workshops.

Research gaps

The stimulation of innovation in social mission driven organizations is being taken up in education. For instance there are an ever-increasing number of degree programmes that focus on social innovation or social entrepreneurship in academic institutions around the world. These are not only of value to future entrepreneurs but may also support intrapreneurial activity in larger and long-established welfare providers by employees, executives or leaders. This trend has had less impact on social care profession training or university programmes in social work, although these trends will have a major impact for such staff. The impact of such programmes should also be evaluated and researched, especially as innovation in social service environments is often more complex than in other environments. Therefore, specialized educational programs are necessary that live up to the requirement of promoting the right skills to cope with this complexity. For instance there is only little research from an education perspective on how curricula would have to be designed to effectively react to the current move towards social service innovation and how this is actually being dealt with in practice.

Research questions

- How does the shift towards user-centred social service innovation affect how professionals are taught their profession, i.e. in relation to the education system?
- What new competences are needed to support user centrality at the various levels of an organization and in and across social service fields?
- What new forms of expertise related to social service fields do we need and how can we understand these, e. g., is there a gap in competences for professionals and managers manoeuvring in more complex environments?

4.2 Innovations and organizational and institutional change

Institutions matter.²⁰ An institution is a collective body with a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its surroundings and with a collection of routines and structures that define and defend values, norms, interests, identities and beliefs (March and Olsen 1989). Institutions set the framework

²⁰ We are using the concept of 'institution' to describe rule setting bodies that put formal or informal constraints and monitor operations of organizations within, e. g. social service markets. Both institutions and organizations play a pivotal but distinct role for social service organization. The current blurring of boundaries between spheres and sectors, however, creates new and larger areas of overlap in the competences and factual effects of these two types. 'Institutional logics' in turn refer to the rationales and traits of behaviour of actors and can thus be located both in institutions and organizations. Finally, 'institutionalization' which often refers to the organizational embodiment of an idea or prompt is not applied here to avoid confusion.

for organizations, in our case social service providers, to operate in. New approaches to 'welfare mix' and 'hybridity' mean the borders between both are in flux. This means that the sphere of influence of institutions, usually treated as the rule-setters and regulators and organizations are cut across. This is particularly the case where organizations, such as associations, advocacy groups or service providers, are involved in the development of service standards and political regulations surrounding help for people with disabilities. The INNOSERV example 'CIL' (Centre for Independent Living) shows the links here. User organization received a voice and became recognized through legislation. There was user involvement at all stages in the decision-making process: from getting the issue onto the political agenda, to suggesting a proposal in the parliament, to the implementation of the legislation.

Any idea or entrepreneurial activity takes place in an institutional environment; as such, institutions are crucial for shaping innovation. The impact of institutions can therefore not be underestimated in transforming ideas into an innovation characterized by newness, quality and sustainability. Although innovation can take place in a particular institution or organization as well as in inter-institutional relations (Hawker and Frankland 2012), innovations are also situated in a larger context. This larger context has recently been characterized as four framework conditions (Schmitz et al. 2013):

- (1) the institutional framework just referred to as the sphere of formal or informal rule-setting;
- (2) the political framework as a place where agendas and policy are being discussed and negotiated and support programmes being initiated;
- (3) the societal climate framework as a sphere of broader discourse, values and convictions
- (4) the resources framework comprised of a diverse set of resources ranging from finance to volunteer engagement.

On the one hand, this larger context regulates the actors in the field in direct and indirect ways; on the other, this larger context is also a product of the interaction between institutions and organizations. The greater issue of context is dealt with in the themes 'governance of innovation' and 'local and regional context'.

The organizations involved in social service innovation might be small, medium or large-scale, and they might be hybrids combining different institutional logics to tackle the interrelatedness of needs. Some organizations connect and cooperate with other organizations in partnerships or networks. Every organization is characterized by routines and consequently resilience, perhaps even resistance, to change; simultaneously, the organization is involved in an on-going process of adjusting to the environment. This research theme is about engineering change in organizations about innovation and sub-issues dealing with resources, patterns of change, agents of change, inter-organizational relations and the management of development.

4.2.1 Resources and social services

Resources, such as human and financial resources, are important for the continuity of social services, just as creativity and risk affinity are important for the genesis, implementation and manifestation of innovation.

Through our case studies, we have seen how organizations increasingly mix resources, especially financial ones. The diversification of resources is often characterized by combining private funding with users or volunteers as a resource. We have also noted that many innovations are established as short term projects and therefore are not necessarily sustainable.

State of the art

The resource system is one of the four framework conditions introduced above. According to a widely used model, the innovation process is placed in the interaction between:

"[...] the resource system, knowledge purveyors and change agency on one hand, and the user system on the other hand. The user system is, during the design and implementation stages of the innovation, linked to the resource system and the change agency by e.g. shared meanings and mission, effective knowledge transfer, user involvement in specification, communication and information, user orientation, product augmentation and project management support." (Keller et al. 2010:1)

Institutional theory sees organizations and institutions as adapting to their environment in order to survive. Adaptation is often not immediate, as new social needs will change more quickly than the organization can respond to them (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:14). Gaps between the provision of social services and needs emerge. Identifying a need for innovation demands attention to users and potential users, but such attention is a scarce resource. Resources such as the capacity (and willingness) to take risks and carry out new ideas in practice (Laino and Sütó 2013) are also important.

Apart from the human resources mentioned, financial resources also play a key role in the social services and in innovations. We increasingly see the involvement of private investors, the use of special funds, user payment and the hybridization of resources (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012:56). In the focus groups with users, practitioners and international experts, various crucial resources were listed, including skills and financial resources (Laino and Sütó 2013). Problems concerning insufficient coordination skills were identified (Pesce and Ispano 2013:15) as well as problems with continuation after project funding runs out. These issues relate to organizational and institutional adaption and risk taking, financial and non-financial resources, and there are gaps in our knowledge of the effects of these factors.

Finally, innovations are found to often take place as short-lived, project-based innovation. This was considered a problem by stakeholder groups consulted by the INNOSERV project, due to problems of sustainability and transfer to other settings (Laino and Sütó 2013:7). Participants believed pilot projects are important for spreading innovations but believed that more research in this area was necessary to ensure sustainability.

Research gaps

As with risk transfer from service providers to users, risk is a significant issue with regard to organizational and institutional development in social services innovation. The ability to take risks is an important innovation enabler but can be of major concern to actors and constituents. While organizational failure in experimentation and testing out new approaches will not cause much damage to constituents beyond organizational borders in the commercial sphere, social service users may be put in danger in such circumstances. Thus, there will be much greater caution in taking such risks. Social service organizations are therefore often accused of being too conservative with regard to innovation because of this. While this has to be respected, and also must be ensured by institutional standards and regulations, there needs to be a balance which enables organizations to manage such risks and enable innovation to develop. It is not yet well understood how such balances can be managed.

Institutions also have to make sure that the rationale for innovation has direct operational relevance and is feasible. Public funding mechanisms do not often encourage opening opportunity for pioneering new approaches or the further development of existing services. One important factor is the "pillarization" or compartmentalization of services and their funding streams (this is discussed in further detail with regard to governance issues below). Developing services which integrate funding across areas can be inhibited in this way (Crepaldi, de Rosa, Pesce 2012:49, 80), although this has been found to be a positive opportunity for innovation in social services by the INNOSERV project.

Different strategies can be applied to tackle this problem. One option is to embed an innovation clause in procurement and commissioning that rewards organizations that innovate. This may not only support organizational orientation towards innovation but enable more positive institutional regulation and monitoring. It might also ease the potential conflict between maintaining standard service provision and the fostering of innovative approaches. It would also help successful pilot projects to be spread, scaled and support continuity. On the other hand, this would be of little use to smaller social entrepreneurial organizations that are unable to bid for social service contracts and have to build their innovative ideas outside commissioned services. Dedicated social innovation funds might be of more use here.²¹ In any case it seems

²¹ Which sort of finance would be most beneficial is still unclear, but the TEPSIE project gives first insights (Glänzel et al. 2013).

necessary to differentiate between the resource needs of larger and smaller organizations in the field (Krlev 2013). How exactly these would best be served is still to be determined.

The same issues arise in non-financial forms of support and how these could support the stimulation of social services innovation. Some first insights into how these could be addressed are given in the TEPSIE report on capitalising social innovators (Glänzel et al. 2013.

Research questions

- Which combinations of resources are vital for fostering social service innovation?
- How do organizations and institutions mobilize resources for use in innovation? And what are the effects of the different resource streams?
- How can risk be managed in organizations and by institutional regulations while stimulating innovation?
- How does risk and its management affect managers, professionals and users?
- How can public funding better serve the requirements of different types of social service providers in producing innovation?
- How can the tensions between short term support for innovation and sustainability and continuity be resolved? This relates both to the introduction of new innovation while maintaining existing services as well as how new and proven innovation can become regular practice (also relevant for the next section)

4.2.2 Patterns of change

Two decades of research have taught us that engineering institutional and organizational change is difficult and the results unpredictable. Institutions have their own routines and logics, as Lipsky's study of street level bureaucrats has already illustrated (2010[1980]), and so do organizations. Bureaucrats resisted change and found new ways of tackling pressures from managers and users. Understanding this autonomy and inventiveness is crucial when trying to change institutions and engineer innovation. While every change is unique, social scientists often try to uncover patterns of change and likely patterns of resistance. This is in order to hermeneutically understand the forces driving resistance and how the potential resistance can be turned into creativity.

State of the art

Different kinds of change take place in institutions: engineered and non-engineered change. The latter, non-engineered change, is often through small process adjustments; adjustments that are part of the scope of actions permitted by professional discretion and responding to the need for flexibility, as routine responses are insufficient. This continuous modification could

be seen as a basis for innovation (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:27-28) if supported by the institutional regulations and organizational values and management. This describes a different form of innovation than the more traditional, project-based innovation. Discontent with the status quo or with attempts to engineer particular changes within organizations could also be used more creatively. Using discontent as a driver for change and improvement would demand more systematic research into engineering institutional and organizational change and understanding the role of discontent in management theory. Innovation often takes place through the establishment of a new organization (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:34). Research does not often promote visible innovations within large-scale organizations except in public organizations. This could either be due to a lack of innovations within large-scale organizations or a bias in research. We cannot be sure which option is true, and more research investigating innovation development in large-scale organizations within social services would be welcome.

First insights are being provided by a study by the Centre for Social Investment of social innovation mechanisms within five of the six major German Welfare Associations (publication forthcoming). It shows that there are conflicting attitudes within these organizations as to whether innovation is an organic process that challenges controllability or whether it can be managed (at least to a certain extent). In addition, and related to this issue, the study shows that the organizational complexity and diversity of these organizations necessitates a very flexible approach to innovation management, encouraging intrapreneurial action across organizational borders and sections rather than the more formalized procedures and structures that are found in commercial organizations.

Research gaps

The focus groups found that innovations are typically found in project form. There seems to be a lack of applied research investigating the process of implementing successful pilot projects on a broader basis. Another research gap concerns innovations in large-scale institutions. We lack reliable findings pertaining to the relationship between organizational forms, organization-institution relations and the degree of innovation. Finally the investigation of change is often limited to the organizational or institutional level, while broader societal discourses are being neglected.

Research questions

- How do influences from societal framework conditions (legislation, resources, societal climate and policy discourse) translate into innovation in service provision?
- Which institutional or organizational forms best promote social service innovation and what does the interplay look like?
- What is the influence of the organization size on innovative capacity?
- What role does intrapreneurial action in large-scale organizations play in the generation of social service innovation?

4.2.3 Agents of change and the innovation process (the internal perspective)

Previous sub-themes have dealt with resources and patterns of change. This section focuses on the agents of change with regard to 'who and how it is introduced'. As individual change agents are rare, innovations are often driven by different kinds of alliances.

State of the art

Neo-institutional theory has reintroduced institutions and their importance and placed much greater emphasis on 'agency' as important for the reproduction – and change – of organizations than did its predecessors in the 1920–30s. In INNOSERV's research, agents of change – the 'who' – was often more than one agent (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:28), and using the insights of science and technology studies, agents need not even be human. Within the literature, professionals and professional networks are seen to be resisting change (Ferlie et al. 2005), but INNOSERV's research shows the opposite. Here, professionals are significant agents of change in coalitions with users (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013). More research is needed on the role of professionals resisting or promoting change as agents of change, investigating the role of different kinds of professionals involved in, for example, oversight, policy, management, legislation and regulation as well as those involved in the direct delivery of welfare services. The likelihood of this kind of alliance and two alternatives to be discussed in section 5.1 and their potential of success is also a research issue – in order to understand their role in innovative processes.

Change is difficult to achieve and often relies upon specific agents of change. But not only is change difficult, it must also fit the existing values and norms within particular organizational and institutional entities. This path dependency (Mahoney 2000) can also be labelled 'contextual fit', where a new method, practice, paradigm or way of delivery must be adapted to the given entity. Indeed the normative dimension plays a pivotal role in social service innovation or social innovation more broadly. This does not only have implications for the actions of the change agents involved, but for how social innovation is conceived. The normative framework pressures and the assessment of the outcomes of services (relevant to the seventh theme of this research agenda on quality and measurement) have recently been detailed in the Blueprint on Social Innovation Metrics developed by the TEPSIE project (Bund et al. 2013).

Research gaps

International experts indicated that innovation usually took place through incremental rather than disruptive processes (Laino and Sütó 2013) and that incremental changes often have a greater and more lasting impact. This is similar to that which is discussed in relation to the continuous 'adjustments' in institutions and organizations and how they are related to issues of path dependency and 'contextual fit'. The recurring issue is of whether and how the

adjustments/incremental changes can be turned into innovations. At one of the international expert meetings, experts were reflecting on the processes leading to the promotion of some innovations and the abandonment of others (Laino and Sütó 2013:7). A central aspect in all of this is how such judgements are made and who is responsible for making them.

The investigation by the Centre for Social Investment on the major German Welfare Associations mentioned above (publication forthcoming) suggests that most prompts are being articulated at the operational level and thus by the people directly involved in service provision. Many of these prompts result from interaction with users. At other times organizations have been quick to pick up on policy programmes and initiatives and developed innovative responses to these, yet the study has also identified innovative initiatives that have been developed in direct conflict with the policy agenda. Middle managers appear to have played more prominent roles in these processes than chief executives. The latter have rather been crucial for spreading tested and approved models or initiating and directing radical organizational change. It is not well understood how the interplay of individual actors in producing social service innovation functions. This links to the 'framing of innovations' as the focus of the next theme, also in relation to governance as elaborated in theme 5. Organizational and institutional development affects what kind of innovation is needed as well as sustainability. More research on these internal processes is needed.

Research questions

- Who are the agents of change within organizations and how do they work together?
- What determines the contextual fit of innovations? And how do innovations play out in different types of institutions or organizations?
- How can incubation of innovation by individual agents of change be facilitated?

4.2.4 Agents of change and the innovation process (the external perspective)

It has become evident that the interaction of agents contributing to change and innovation within entities is a contested area and not yet well understood. These concerns also apply to the effects which external actor frameworks have in enabling or impeding innovation. Therefore we now move from the discussion of single entities to the relationship between several organizations and/or institutions and their importance in relation to the creation and transfer of innovation. Such relationships reflect programmatic interests and a competitive environment. INNOSERV notes the multiplicity of organizational and institutional groupings which generates a complex landscape in providing services and for cooperating with other players.

State of the art

Social services are characterized by unique features. Researchers argue that, in contrast to innovation in the technological sector, innovation in the social services is even more interactive and potentially more complex. It utilizes connectivity and interdependencies, cooperation, sharing information and creating trust (Jalonen and Juntunen 2011). While increasing marketization and privatization might enable the formation of new and diverse actors, this can reduce trust levels between organizations and institutions in the marketplace. What we do know is that there is a tendency for a growing number of welfare services to be provided through cooperation between the public and private sectors (mainly by the third sector) and between different groups of actors within public organizations (Jalonen and Juntunen 2011; Sørensen and Torfing 2011a). However, these are usually not in competition for customers.

New types and new forms of cooperation are emerging; for example, hybrid organizational or institutional arrangements (Billis 2010), which might have the character of partnerships and networks. Not only can the new forms of cooperation function as incubators for innovation, they can also be important for becoming aware of innovations and the transfer of innovations between actors. Indeed it is regularly suggested that social innovation is generated at the intersection of sectors and in multi-stakeholder groupings (The Young Foundation 2012: 21; Nicholls and Murdock 2012: 3). The interactive dimension is fundamental if innovations are to spread and transfer to new contexts. This raises an important research issue about the transferability between organizational and institutional spheres, where competition and institutional interests might obstruct the transfer of innovations.

Research gaps

The research review casts light on two important gaps. The first gap concerns how to circumvent distrust between private organizations in the market, where competition becomes a barrier to knowledge sharing and transparent communications. Another gap concerns the oft-repeated idea about an 'innovation deficit' within social services (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012), which has not been documented in relation to different welfare regimes and national cultures. A third gap relates to quasi-markets, their rules and characteristics in relation to innovation.

Another major question refers to the discussion surrounding the impact, roles and functions of hybrid organizations (for instance social entrepreneurship) versus the more traditional providers of social services. Social entrepreneurship is often linked to start-up and thus entrepreneurship more broadly. However, it is far from clear whether there is a relationship between growth rates in entrepreneurial activity and innovation in social services. While a large part of the discussion focuses on which is better at promoting innovation, an increasing number of studies outline the synergetic effects that might result from the cooperation of new and traditional actors (Jansen, Heinze and Beckmann 2013). For instance greater flexibility on the one hand might be

beneficial in producing innovative prompts, but established networks, resource endowments and experience might be needed to spread innovations. Thus, while social entrepreneurial start-ups might be in a vanguard position with regard to innovation in some cases, they are not necessarily large. But how exactly can a mutually beneficial interplay of actors operate?

Finally we have to acknowledge that social service innovation can be driven by informal individual actors or groups of actors, such as social movements. Some of these are studied at their intersection with service provision under the umbrella term of 'hybridity' (Hasenfeld and Gidron 2005). Other initiatives might be much less formally organized. Nonetheless, these formations or groups should not be neglected for their contribution to innovation. Advocacy for instance can be a powerful means of social (service) innovation.

Discovery in this area should not just come from success cases. Organizational failures (or failures of informal groups) always represent good opportunities for understanding the promotional or blocking features of innovation. Another role for failure in understanding innovation is where existing organizational failing is being used to de-legitimize existing institutional arrangements and thereby promote new or innovative solutions (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Creed et al., 2002; Déjean et al., 2004; Demil and Bensédrine, 2005).

Research questions

- Who are the agents of change across organizations or informal groups and how do they work together? (linked to the question from the internal perspective)
- How can incubation of innovation by organizational or institutional agents of change be facilitated? (linked to the question from the internal perspective)
- What are the structural determinants that make certain actor groupings more effective with regard to innovation in some service fields or some service aspects than in others?
- How can the transfer of innovations between competing organizations within the social services market be enabled?

4.2.5 Management and spread of innovation

The management of innovation takes place both inside the organization or institution and in relation to its environment, including other actors, networks etc. Leaders are important facilitators of change and of creating an innovation-friendly environment. Management takes place in different settings, for example supporting volunteers is different to managing a public institution. Management is under increasing pressure to deliver outcomes in an increasingly competitive environment. This is true for both market-based firms as well as for the public organizations working under pseudo-market conditions in health and evidence-based

evaluations more generally. Management must perform in relation to user satisfaction, profits, and innovativeness and some managers must also adhere to the political aims of the service. Key issues about how to engineer change towards a more innovation-friendly organizational culture are on the agenda; more specifically, whether new management styles and techniques are needed.

The other important organizational issue is how social service innovations can be implemented and spread. There are many examples of how innovation in any context fails to spread and there is a substantial literature on, for example, the failure of industrial organizations to adopt effective innovations in manufacturing or service organization. In social services contexts these factors are complicated by the range of actors involved in planning, supporting and delivering social services including policy makers, leaders and managers, any staff and training organizations as well as widely dispersed and often un-empowered beneficiaries or users. Rogers (1995) first explicated a conceptual framework for the diffusion of innovations and Greenhalgh's literature review (2004) provides an overview of the issues as they operate in health services. The author described a complex model for diffusion and the interactions between the 'innovation' and for instance (1) adoption by individuals; (2) assimilation by the system; (3) dissemination and (4) implementation and routinization.

These investigations have contributed to the development of a field of research known as 'implementation science' in health service settings to address the well documented problems in adopting change and innovation in such environments. May (2013) has also developed a sociological perspective on how innovations become 'normalized' in health service settings in his development of a 'general theory of implementation'. Such analyses and approaches may have currency in the wider context of social services, however the way that social services innovations 'travel' is a major challenge in accelerating the uptake, application and further development of innovations in social services contexts.²²

State of the art

Managers lead systematic changes within an organization. But traditional, hierarchical, top-down management can hinder innovation, and more inclusive models will be needed to provide a platform for innovation. Innovation can be fostered if teamwork, leadership and networking are present together with learning and cooperation (Hermans and Vranken 2010).

With the increasing diversity of organizational and institutional forms and their inter-relationships, new stakeholders become involved in the social services. We know little about the impact of

²² Please note that the aspect of diffusion at the organizational level and the structures and practices involved are distinct from the spreading of social service innovation, e. g. across local contexts to be discussed in section 4.5. They are also distinct from the discussion of the diffusion of technologies in section 4.7, which applies a more systemic level across organizations and fields of activity.

these forms of cooperation on the form of management style (Hawker and Frankland 2012:22). A key issue though is whether innovation should or can be managed in particular in view of the somewhat higher complexity of this task in the social as compared to the commercial arena (an assumption which itself requires further investigation). Both the aspect of increased complexity and the limited financial resources available to social sector organizations can restrict innovative capacity. For instance a social organization cannot afford to undertake as many trials as pharmaceutical companies. This is in addition to the questions of how risk can be managed in any 'experimentation' with vulnerable people. Therefore it seems that a 'feel' for the situation and more tacit (Polanyi 1966 #803) than codified and formalized knowledge will be necessary to foster innovation. The same is likely to apply with regard to innovation from outside the organization that is being picked-up and implemented. That is why it seems more fruitful to consider social service innovation from an intrapreneurial rather than from a managerial perspective.

Research gaps

Key areas that need to be investigated can be identified, however this is a very new area of exploration. For instance, how can an innovation-friendly atmosphere be achieved and what are the critical aspects if this is to produce social service innovation? Changing management styles could be one of the keys to innovation. Questions such as: What is the direction of managerial change necessary for stimulating innovation? What is the role of more flexible and less organized actions taking place within organizations? And can these actions be steered at all? are yet to be investigated more deeply. Although there are a lot of insights into stakeholder-theory (Freeman 2010) and how these actors interact, there is a lack of knowledge about how their interactions relate to the stimulation of innovation in a social service setup.

Finally, how are creativity and change combined with continuity? Innovations have to be adopted and 'scaled' (The Young Foundation 2012: 33ff.) to deliver systemic change. This entails continuity and standardization to build long term and viable systems and support new innovations. However, studies on innovation and its management do not address the tensions this dual requirement can produce. With regard to the organizational and institutional level it will be important to move from innovation as an ideology to the investigation of innovation as a process (Seelos and Mair 2012) – with all the obstacles, challenges and contradictions this brings along.

Research questions

- How are management practices altered by innovation in social services?
- What kind of management style is needed to promote innovation?
- What is the relation between management and intrapreneurship in social service innovation?

- How can innovations in social services be spread, diffused and adopted and adapted more readily within social services systems?
- How are creativity and change to be combined with continuity of services?

4.3 Framing social services in relation to innovation

A major 'reframing' of the social services has taken place in recent decades - reframing the service sector, its values, logics and the providers as a result of professionalism, user participation, NPM and post-NPM (Christensen 2012), all of which (except the last) have been discussed here. Some of these developments have been contradictory. Professionalization, for instance, places the definitional power of problems, needs and services in professional organizations or institutions. Conversely, interest groups, such as the independent living movement, have influenced policy, the providers and the academic world by reframing the concepts of disability and needs (Langer 2013). Also, whereas NPM has stressed marketization and new managerial ideals, post-NPM has focused on cross-sector coordination, networks and partnerships. In the past we have used the terms 'citizens' and 'professionals'; now, we increasingly talk about 'customers', 'users', 'providers' and 'practitioners' as a result of the reframing of role identities. Our vocabulary changes with the new logics and new structures in which the social services are embedded. At the EU level, a new, joint strategy, Europe 2020, has been identified, calling for a 'smart, sustainable and inclusive approach' where 'innovation' plays a key role. The 'innovative union' is one of seven flagship initiatives, and 'innovation' has come to be seen as a major part of the solution to the contemporary problems in the EU.²³

In this research theme, the focus is on 'innovation' as an object of investigation. More specifically, the focus on the understandings, origins and translations of 'innovation' in politics and in the social services, including how new problems and new solutions are defined. Politics provides the continuous backcloth with regard to the needs, problems and an attempt to find 'administrable' solutions (Edelman 1988; Fraser 1990; Bacchi 2009). This involves conflicts and struggles about how to construct the social (and political) problems and their solution(s). A major theme emerges about the 'how' and 'who' defines what is necessary in the social services – and the kind of needs and problems that are identified. This topic deals with issues of legitimation, public opinion and agenda-setting (and thereby partly relates to the previous theme). The shape and type of social services as well as their delivery must be seen as legitimate by a complex range of stakeholders, involving users as judging the effectiveness of services. The kinds of social services emerging are related to accepted 'pictures', 'opinions' and accepted interpretations in the public sphere. Policy making in the field of social services

emerges as a complex process involving multiple stakeholders setting an agenda. With this in mind, innovation is not a stable idea, as it can change as it is contested.

The growing importance ascribed to 'innovation' raises more basic research questions concerning its 'mythological' status and as part of our continuous re-invention of ourselves (Vaaben 2013). A description of how the social processes through which 'innovation' has become the solution to a range of social and political problems is needed; including the investigation of how the relationship between this post-NPM governance with 'innovation' and the former governance of NPM unfolds. Likewise, the relationship between 'innovation' and the political discourses in various national contexts is of interest, for example, the interaction of rapid pace of social change in Eastern Europe with 'innovation' as a key political goal (this will be addressed through a separate theme on regional and local contexts). This means an investigation of the translation of key notions into a particular context, either as a country or a specific policy field with its own, existing logic. The different fields of welfare, health and education seem to be characterized by particular logics and development, as indicated by the description of the development from acute to chronic care in the health services (Hawker and Frankland 2012). This would imply studying the interaction of major societal redefinitions, such as 'innovation', with more fundamental redefinitions within specific fields; for example, the shift from rehabilitation to inclusion with respect to disabilities. It also means studying the interaction between new, key principles, such as human rights, inclusion, activation and diversity (just to mention a few) and the new 'innovation' paradigm. From a more applied social science perspective, research into this theme is of interest if policy makers want to avoid 'innovation for the sake of innovation', where innovation becomes devoid of real content and is reduced to an empty gesture.

4.3.1 Definition of social and political problems, needs and embedded values

Within the humanities and social sciences, a linguistic turn has taken place in the last 50 years, attuning us to the importance of language and the meaning of concepts (Wittgenstein 1969; Foucault 1978; Lyotard 1984; Bacchi 2009). Instead of understanding social and political 'problems' as being 'out there', they are seen as constructed in politics and part of political struggles about meaning and key words. In this way, 'innovation' becomes part of a particular, dominant discourse (a horizon of understanding) and it becomes interesting to study it as a discourse itself; for example, how it frames problems and solutions within the social services. If 'innovation' has become a major, transnational discourse, it becomes interesting to study the relationship between this discourse and more national understandings. There are already indications that this larger research question yields interesting insights in relation to a continuum of different strategies in the EU countries. One example is the 'care squeeze'

that seems to be tackled very differently in different welfare regimes in relation to innovation. Whereas some countries stress 'rehabilitation' and 'welfare technology', others articulate the market and migration as solutions. Why is this so? We need knowledge about the linkages created between a dominant innovation discourse and more national and/or field-specific understandings and how this translation deems some changes as innovative and others not. Discourses are not exclusively a question of a particular meaning; rather, they also promote, neglect or dismiss some values.

State of the art

The theme of framing social services in relation to innovation came up in the discussions with users, practitioners and in the analysis of empirical data. The literature reviews of the INNOSERV project give us valuable information about various developments within the three fields of activity, such as from health to care (Hawker and Frankland 2012) and from acute to chronic care (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012).

However, there are also more subtle changes in how social service innovation is discussed and understood. This does not only refer to policy discourse, but also to broader societal perceptions. While social perceptions can float more freely, they are harder to capture. Policy discourse in turn is shaped by the challenge of balancing majority interests as guided by the median-voter theorem (see Black 1948; Downs 1957) and the promotion of minority interests.

A focus on minority groups is prevalent in both Hungarian INNOSERV case studies, which explicitly focus on providing support for Roma people and thus take specific account of ethnicity. 'Realpearl' does so via art education for Roma children, 'Katymar' provides community development for unemployed Roma families. While the first project has emerged as a civic initiative, the latter has been promoted by local government and the municipality. Insights into both areas (societal climate and policy agendas) with regard to social service innovation may be enhanced by discourse analyses of media coverage, data from opinion polls or policy documents and statements. The two examples furthermore nicely illustrate how aspects of discourse are translated into organizational and institutional practices which translate into service provision.

Social needs are seen as a key anchor for framing social (service) innovations (The Young Foundation 2012: 18). Currently this perspective is underdeveloped and valid data is yet to be established to shed light on this perspective. A "needs mapping" might be beneficial for capturing the fields and aspects where (innovative) services are most needed and reference points for these services to act upon (Bund et al. 2013:41).

Note that the issue of "needs mapping" might be a controversial subject in itself as there will be a political struggle about how and which needs to define. From a political science perspective

one might argue that the definition of which needs and how they should be assessed will be the result of a power struggle between involved constituents and stakeholder groups and thereby a result of discourse and debate and not a genuine picture of reality.

Nonetheless, investment seems to be needed in monitoring changes in society to even begin identifying fast changing needs and therefore opportunities for innovation. This is of course linked to the theme on user-centeredness. A better understanding of actual needs of key groups will determine the work of a responsive social service, including the de-construction or reconstruction of existing services. It could also help close the gap between changing social needs and the time-lag in organizational and institutional reactions (as discussed in chapter 4.2.1) as a key problem in how organizations respond to broader social change. The need for a 'pre innovation' investment in evaluating social needs is a pre-requisite for implementing innovative solutions.

Research gaps

The definition of social needs and legitimation of service policy is context-bound. The social values related to social services also vary. By comparing innovative practices, we are able to identify some research gaps. One innovative practice, the Centre for Independent Living, is about changing how decision-making and the implementation of new policies for people with disabilities is taking place and changing the values and understandings of people with disabilities. It is not only a good example of how rule setting competencies might shift from institutions to organizations, but also for the broader effects on discourses as a potential route to systemic change. In this innovative case, self-determination, assistance, the participation of users and inclusion were the leading ideas framing policy and governance. However, framing new social services in fragile states characterized by a transitional economy is one thing; attempting to reframe services and values in existing conservative welfare regimes such as Germany or France is something radically different.

Research could identify knowledge of the influence of ideas about self-determination and participation in the definition of social problems, needs and solutions together with the importance and agenda-setting role of new and old stakeholders in the complex processes through which social needs are defined.

Research questions

- How to capture needs and discourses as underlying foundations of social service innovation?
- What is the role of legitimacy in the social services and how is it altered by the element of innovation?
- What is the role of context in relation to the definition of needs and the kinds of legitimation processes taking place?

4.3.2 The role of key principles in framing social services

Social services are always framed by one discourse or another. However, we now witness more transnational values as human rights and gender equality become key principles in social services. These go beyond past understandings of actual needs, societal values or discourses. They represent more or less formal institutional restraints (note the link to theme 2). The UNCRPD has become a key reference point, and the EU has adopted gender mainstreaming (Council of Europe 1998). Other key principles include: The Partnership on Active and Healthy Ageing or The European Platform against Poverty and Social Exclusion.²⁴ Other frameworks of reference would be the human rights declaration more broadly or specific guidelines for appropriate organizational behaviour, e. g. specified in the principles of "good governance" (which of course also play into the next theme) and their relation to innovation.

One possible object of investigation could be to identify the key principles framing the social services in the EU and beyond and to analyse their role in determining the identities and ideals of good service. To a certain extent this investigation would incorporate an explicitly legal perspective that deals with the formal interpretation and determination of claims and mechanisms to enforce them. In the context of a wide variety of reference documents for social services in the fields of education, welfare and health it is also of interest to identify whether competing principles are struggling to gain dominance (on the national or international level as well as their interplay) – and if so, how the competition between different frames of reference ends.

State of the art

In our previous work, four principles embodying important values guiding innovation have been identified: 'individualization', 'inclusion', 'informalization' and 'influencing public opinion' (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:22-25). A prominent principle seems to be 'individualization', which refers to tailoring services specifically to a person, i.e. being more responsive to individual life situations related to particular aspects such as culture, ethnicity, religion or gender. However, this often requires a greater degree of personal responsibility, referred to as 'self-responsibilising'. It shifts risk towards the user when more tasks are transferred to them (an issue previously discussed). This should also include previously excluded groups, such as minority groups and migrating domestic workers. The informalization of social services also references the needs to ensure the inclusion of groups that do not normally get in touch with the regular social service system. Examples of this are a mobile health care service for female migrants in prostitution who are being trafficked, improving parenting skills for single parents through empowerment and self-help network structures or community based health

²⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?section=active-healthy-ageing&pg=about; http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catld=961&langld=en

²⁵ For instance : http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNPAN/UNPAN011842.pdf

programmes (INNOSERV examples 'Centre against human trafficking', 'ELTERN-AG', 'Santé Communitaires Séclin'). The final principle was 'influencing public opinion', which is linked to reducing discrimination and stigmatization – and creating recognition of the groups in question (e.g. mentally disabled or the chronically ill). However, more research is required to determine the status of these principles in different fields and their relationship to other values, such as 'diversity', 'activation' – a dominant principle within the labour market but also in the care sector (INNOSERV example 'VITALITY for the whole life' that aims at stimulating active life styles and self-help strategies for the elderly),– and the focus upon capacity building, empowerment and resources within the broader field of welfare.

Research gaps

Our focus group interviews with users, practitioners and experts have led to the identification of two research gaps: One is a lack of knowledge about how the policy goals of 'inclusion' and 'innovation' relate to each other and whether different countries have different strategies for making them mutually reinforcing, prioritising one at the expense of the other, or integrating both. Various political aims and rules seem to be in continuous tension and result in contradictory objectives within the social services (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012:98). This can be seen when the UN – CRPD has to be implemented alongside other policy aims, such as cost effectiveness or when innovation is to be fostered alongside a 'rule-oriented' delivery of social services. The different goals of these broader agendas may conflict and limit the development of innovation.

The other research gap refers to the EU and its understanding of 'innovation'. In the expert consultation by the INNOSERV project it was argued that there was an uneven framework concerning innovation at the EU level (Pesce and Ispano 2013:11). There seems to be an experience of the EU as having multiple and competing understandings of the function of 'innovation' (Laino and Sütó 2013:7), and it would be helpful to have greater clarity as to how innovation ideas should be developed across the EU. For instance a major issue is whether social (service) innovation is about doing "more with less" and thus a way of positively reframing budget cuts or whether it is about "better" outcomes.

Research questions

- What is the (reciprocal) relation between innovations, the demands articulated by key principle frameworks (e. g., on disability, aging and health, combating poverty) and other policy principles (such as efficiency)?
- Does the EU embody and voice multiple understandings of 'innovation' and what conflicts might this produce?

4.4 The governance of social service innovation

'Innovation' has become a key term in political discourse since the Lisbon Summit in 2000 under the title "Towards a Europe of Innovation and Knowledge". Innovation has also gained prominence within the social sciences more generally (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2013:21). This theme deals broadly with the governance–innovation relationship: how 'innovation' can be pursued politically and how governance constitutes a context for 'innovation'. This theme will cover the area of macro level issues of governance rather than organizational issues covered elsewhere in the report.

The provision of social services is part of a complex system involving several levels of governance, new forms of provider organizations and new forms of governance – and simultaneously fitting services into the existing – and different national – institutions and political aims. Naturally, in the long run, social service innovation can also change the aims and system of provision. The various levels of governance span UN conventions, EU directives and best practices, national legislation and decisions by local authorities. For state-provided or financed social services, the aims might be as diverse as implementing the rule of law, efficiency (goal achievement, such as prevention, rehabilitation, inclusion and empowerment) and cost effectiveness. Social services are provided by the state, the market, civil society and by new types of organization.

The various governing bodies, such as supranational (e.g. EU), nation states and local authorities, govern some of the conditions for innovation generally (Leys 2009), whether privately provided services on the market and/or in cooperation with civil society or publicly provided services. Governance seems to be promoted through various developments in service policy, such as privatization and pluralization. Multi-level governance is also seen to reduce the influence of the nation-state (Heywood 2002) through the transfer of responsibility to supranational bodies and local authorities.

New forms of governance, such as networks and partnerships, are added to the existing forms of governance, including bureaucracy and New Public Management (NPM) (Christensen 2012). This implies that street level workers are relating to co-existing norms and the values of the bureaucratic organization, the market, and civil society, which results in hybridity. Public organizations become increasingly complex (Christensen 2012) and nation-states are simultaneously changing in various ways. Nation-states (and the EU) increasingly view themselves as being in competition with the rest of the world (Cerny 2007; Pedersen 2011) on knowledge, productivity and the efficiency of products and social services. Simultaneously, states participate more (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:36), governing in new ways by enabling citizens and facilitating new networks and forms of organization (Christensen 2012).

Local network governance for instance is sometimes facilitated by the state, sometimes developed from below (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:37). New forms of governance arise whereby governments are (only one) part of the governance of innovation of social services. Despite similar developments, however, there are also significant differences between the EU member states. While some nation states are moving from charity to rights, others move from discretion to rights.

The analytical and empirical work enables the identification of differences between the EU nation-states in their legislative framework and capabilities to enhance innovation. Whereas some states have a strong emphasis on innovative policies and target resources for them, other countries have chosen to prioritize different policy aims. States may also have different strategies to meet new or unfulfilled needs. And finally, counter-strategies from below develop in response to state negligence or legislation; for example, through innovative services. One INNOSERV example is 'Place de Bleu' which creates employment opportunities for migrant women, another is 'Humanitas Financial Home Administration Programme', which prevents poverty and exclusion by providing help to people in (financial) distress before public programmes come into play. It appears as though current social policies either ignore the need for social services or introduce new legislation with negative effects for some groups that prompts social entrepreneurs to respond to an unmet need.

Innovation is a 'context dependent novelty in action' (Crepaldi, de Rosa and Pesce 2012:98). The context refers to the legal and political system, the organization(s) in question and the management in the organization (structures, cultures and values). For context can be both the nation-state on different levels (and welfare regimes from state to municipality) and the specific institutional and organizational context. In state organizations, this means that innovative, creative processes (for doing something differently) will – at least ideally – have to relate to bureaucratic rules and processes. In addition, within firms innovation and employees will have – at least ideally – to relate to the quest for survival and profit. Thus far, we have found that the innovative changes are incremental rather than disruptive. This fits with existing knowledge within organizational and institutional change; that is, that any change must fit into the existing institution, thereby creating path dependency (March and Olsson 1989; Mahoney 2000).

We have divided this theme of the governance of innovation into three sub-themes: Privatization, marketization and standardization; Governance in different political systems characterized by multi-level governance; and innovation and pillarization.

4.4.1 Privatization, marketization and standardization

Innovation competes with other issues in strategic thinking, policy development and agenda-setting. Alternative political strategies and programmes exist, such as marketization and standardization. In the last three decades, NPM has been influential in the reorganization of the state and state organizations promising better and cheaper services through the use of marketization, privatization and semi-marketization within the state.²⁸ Marketization – and with it, consumerism – can lead to an empowered customer as discussed in the theme on usercentred services (see also Crepaldi, Rosa and Pesce 2012:87), but also creates new identities and expectations. In itself it represents a controversial subject. For instance for a person to become a customer with effective agency, she or he has to be empowered in the first place. Even in long-established welfare providers, there are conflicting attitudes about the favourable or negative effects that competition and the move towards markets can produce.

Simultaneous standardization stemming from EU legislation, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) and its best practices, national legislation and more indirectly from the side effect of marketization in the Nordic countries (Dahl and Rasmussen 2012), minimizes differences and diversity in national systems.²⁹ This might be a problem when innovation is supposed to respond to a diverse set of needs, which might not only differ from nation state to nation state, but also locally, which is the main reason for developing a separate theme on the issue. Moreover, all of these political programs are more or less accompanied by pressure for cost containment and budget cuts. Within the EU, however, local differences in national states and at the sub-nation-state level are driven through the subsidiarity principle. Some have termed this 'the principle of double subsidiarity' (Nouisianen 2012). At least context sensitivity is being shown in this regard.

State of the art

Research on innovation predominantly takes place within a national context, often studying a single case of innovation or analysing comparable cases while minding the creation process and the effects of innovation. The literature frequently assumes an innovation deficit within the public service. Little attention seems devoted to the interplay between marketization, standardization and the subsidiarity principle in relation to how and where innovation unfolds. Nor does the research investigate the more specific innovation—marketization relationship nor the relationship between standardization and innovation. Marketization can create markets for social services, such as those we have seen emerging in elderly and child care (Meagher and Szebehely 2010).

²⁸ Marketization' describes the process whereby the provision of a social service moves from the state to the market or non-profit sector, but where the funding remains public. In this sense the state is the funder purchasing services from a variety of providers (Le Grand 1991). In contrast, the funding is mainly private in privatization.

²⁹ Standardization here refers to a unified set of standards for social services in the EU. However 'standardization' as also applies at the organizational level with regard to introducing innovation into standard (continuous) service provision or the transition from innovation to standard practice.

New forms of organizations include social entrepreneurial activity and the umbrella concept of hybridity. We also identified the pluralization of service providers with a great degree of variation and the development of regulation on decentralized networks. These new forms of organization and indeed governance are often less bureaucratic than their predecessors. However, there does not seem to be any research investigating how the new forms of organizations innovating social services meet the challenge of standardization; or for that matter, how these hybrid organizations can compete and stay in business when they compete with market-based firms.

We have identified different levels of innovation: legislative, including public policy, organizational, interactional, professional, user-level, financial and evaluative level (Crepaldi, Rosa and Pesce 2012:99-100). There seems to be a lack of research on how the different levels of innovation are triggered or hindered by and/or related to marketization and standardization processes and what implications these have on field level governance through policy makers and organizational governance.

In line with the subsidiarity principle, major differences exist between the various EU states. Different countries have different governance and welfare systems and develop along different trajectories, such as the development from institutional to community care in some countries (Vanhove 2012) and in others from family to institutionalized care (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:14), (although that may not accord with the UN – CRPD). However, there are also cases which mix approaches. The INNOSERV example 'Ammerudhjemmet' for instance showcases how innovation in residential care can develop. In this case, a care home is opened up to the local community to make a residential care environment also a place for communal activity. It has to be noted that international conventions are subject to ratification, and interpretation at various levels (e. g., nation- and sub-national). In principle they do not have the same legal status as legislation from the nation-state and directives from the EU. Sometimes they might even be in conflict with each other.

It is becoming evident that even national systems are heterogeneous due to incremental changes with different and uncoordinated approaches. On the one hand, this constitutes a barrier for standardization; on the other, it constitutes a resource for innovation where organizations and practices developed within one context can travel – and perhaps be modified – into a different context and constitute an innovation.

Research gaps

A research gap relates to the relationship between innovation, marketization, privatization and standardization. Standardization on the European level might ensure the rights of citizens and quality; at the same time, however, it possibly constrains choice and diversity between

different contexts. Likewise, marketization might render social services more cost-effective but at the same time compromise quality. The increased contracting out of services to the private sector raises the issue of how innovation can ensure quality and sustainability (which is of central importance in the seventh theme on measuring quality and outcomes of social service innovation).

Member State governments have established social markets marked by competition between providers for high quality and innovative services. At the EU level, social services must operate under EU rules with respect to competition and the internal market. EU public procurement law sets out the rules under which these types of contracts must be tendered and awarded. Public procurement rules, as an integral part of the Internal Market, play an important role in ensuring the quality, accessibility and affordability of social services as well as good quality employment in the sector and sustainable resource management. The EU is therefore to adopt a directive that will probably enter into force in 2014, which modernizes procurement rules with a new directive.30 Last year, the text was discussed by the European Parliament and Council. The new proposed directive recognizes the "specific characteristics" of social services of general interest and applies a "specific regime" to the regular procurement procedures for social services. Moreover, it provides simplified and more flexible rules and procedures and substitutes the lowest price criteria with the "most advantageous economic tender" criteria. However, some articles are open to interpretation, and it is unclear how far the new directive will ensure that social services are awarded according to quality criteria and not only on a cost basis. A lot will depend on how member states are going to implement the directive.

It is unlikely the regulations will be changed to favour a social innovation clause to support more public funding for innovation approaches as discussed earlier. Innovative services often challenge established regulation and standards but nevertheless, at the same time, seek to set new definitions and standards for what constitutes good practice going forward.

Another research gap relates to the relationship between 'innovation' and other political goals (please note the connection to a comparative analysis between innovation and key principles in the section 4.3 'framing social services'). Cost efficiency is possible. Marketization involves competition. There appears to be a gap concerning the role of competition in relation to innovation; that is, whether it constitutes a barrier or a facilitator. Some researchers have found that financial scarcity is a driver for innovation (Sørensen and Torfing 2011b). This obviously requires further investigation and financial resources related to other forms of resources (e.g. human or technical resources). In relation to this, a more specific research question relates to the on-going economic crisis and its general impact on innovation, both with respect to government priorities and to the rest of society. In addition to its effect on the emergence

³⁰ Proposal for a directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on public procurement Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52011PC0896:EN:NOT

of innovation, we lack knowledge about competition, whether it has become a barrier to knowledge sharing and transparent communication between organizations – and thereby for the transfer of innovations (Laino and Sütó 2013:9).

Research questions

- How do marketization, privatization and standardization play out against or with innovation?
- Which market conditions for social services hinder or promote innovation?
- What is the relationship between innovation policies of innovation and the subsidiarity principle?
- What effect can reforms in public procurement and commissioning have on social service innovation?
- How is the new EU directive about public procurement implemented in various member states? And what are its effects in relation to novelty, quality and sustainability?
- How can the tensions be resolved between innovation as deviation and the desire to steer and streamline it?

4.4.2 Innovation in social services in different political systems – an issue of multilevel governance

An increasing number of scholars have converged around the notion of the EU as a system of 'multilevel governance' (Benz 2007). The concept takes us beyond the simple dichotomy between unconstrained national sovereignty and an all-powerful European super state. Authority in the EU is neither completely monopolized by Member State governments nor by EU institutions, instead being shared between them. This also involves some degree of tension or 'misfit' between European-level and domestic-level policies (Börzel and Risse 2000). The EU becomes an organization in which the central state executives do not do all of the governing, sharing and contesting responsibility and authority with other actors, supranational and subnational alike (Bacche and Flinders 2004). This division of authority increases the need for coordination, both in relation to policy aims, responsibility and financial responsibility/funding.31 Beginning the analysis in the 1990s with the assumption of different 'regime types', there are differences across the EU in the roles for states and markets. There are country-specific contexts with high levels of outward migration, resulting in a damaged social infrastructure, thereby creating new needs for social services. Different governance systems exist that stress and enable innovation to varying degrees. Currently, we are witnessing an 'extreme form of innovation adoption' in Eastern European countries and a rapid pace of change (Hawker and

³¹ In its basic structure and content, this part of this section on multi-level governance has been drawn from a work-in-progress paper co-authored by Spanger, Peterson and Dahl (2013).

Frankland 2012:7), although innovation in this part of the EU seems to be highly dependent upon international and EU economic resources (Laino and Sütó 2013).

In the western part of the EU, a systemic shift away from the representative channel of decision making has been taking place over the last five decades. Similar developments are now happening in parts of decision-making processes in social services in Eastern Europe. Due to the nation-state building and fragile states, the social partners have been able to achieve more structural changes and have an impact on the whole system. Participatory democratic thinking, the EU partnership principle and networks are the most important avenues of this new form of new governance. The partnership principle was introduced in 1988 as one of the four fundamental principles governing the Structural Funds. This principle aims at achieving the closest possible cooperation in each Member State between the Commission and the relevant authorities and social partners at the local level in all of the phases of the Structural Funds, from preparation to implementation. In recent years, partnership often extends beyond the remit of Structural Fund activities and is in many instances a resource for regional and local development and for innovations in social policy and the social service sector. Regional and local authorities in Member States have increasingly developed formal or informal mechanisms for program management and monitoring involving social partners, NGOs and users. Users or target groups are to have absolute priority in making services responsive to specific social needs. Access to funding in the context of these moves will by simplified significantly (European Commission 2013 #743: 50). Social policy reforms will furthermore explicitly target early childhood education or care for vulnerable people (European Commission 2013 #743: 56).

The existence of multi-level governance and different national systems with different capacities creates a difficult issue concerning the funding of innovations. Our examples illustrate different ways of funding innovation: EU funds, national, public funds (subsidies), private funding, direct selling (e.g. 'Place de Bleu' and 'Real Pearl'), commercial sponsoring, user payments/contributions and use of volunteers ('Irre Menschlich' and 'Abitare Solidale') (Hawker and Frankland 2012). Research focusing on alternative funding or the pooling of resources between different fields is therefore required.

State of the art

The current research on social services has an insufficient focus on multilevel governance, and the opportunities and problems it can pose for innovations to develop and be transferred between different contexts and levels. On the other hand, there is strong acknowledgement of the new forms of organizations and that there is a 'constant character of modification' in social services. Social services are not static, meaning that a contextual analysis is necessary both in relation to politics, the welfare system and the organizational context (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:28). This investigation can then be linked to governance issues within organizations, which

are closely linked to the analysis of management or intrapreneurship and rapid organizational as well as institutional change discussed earlier.

What we know so far is that social services are embedded in different policy frameworks (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:10) and that they are not necessarily coordinated between policy or service fields nor between different levels of governance. New needs arise, and unmet needs are sometimes met by new (hybrid) organizations, such as social entrepreneurs, in the field (Vanhove 2012).

Research gaps

From our research in INNOSERV, we know that there is no single driver that triggers innovation; rather, it is the result of a combination of hard and soft drivers and challenges that meet and 'creates a situation that calls for change' (Langer, Güntner and Croic 2013:21). In a meta-analysis of the selected innovative cases, three different kinds of clusters of innovation have been identified as the most important agents of change and more important than the role of drivers, such as global social economic challenges (Langer, Güntner and Croic 2013:39-41). These clusters of innovative alliances give a first image of how different bodies in the governance processes work together in order to realize new or better services.

One cluster, labelled the 'non-profit public alliance', is characterized by stable cooperation and planning with consensus in interests with a public governmental organization with one or more private service providers. This governance form is characterized by a project orientation, planning together, and is being financed through public funding, such as 'Abitare Solidale' (an inter- and intra-generational cohabitation project tackling a variety of social life challenges) and 'Early supported discharge after stroke' (an example to the shift from hospital to home-based care). The professional expertise of different occupations is brought together in such projects, often built around a pilot project.

Another alliance is the 'professional advocacy' alliance between actors, such as volunteers and users, often seen as a counter model to the non-profit public alliance. This second alliance is characterized by governance outside planning and cooperation with public quasi-governmental organizations and without public funding. This alliance brings the expertise and experience from professionals and users together, as seen in 'Irre Menschlich' (an initiative that involves a multitude of stakeholders to change societal perceptions about mental illness), 'nueva' (a method that enables users to evaluate and thereby improve services by active engagement) and 'Sante Communitaire Seclin' (a community health initiative). This is done to give user groups a voice or cover certain needs and interests. There is always a 'political turn' in such alliances; the governance is network-based but intends to influence policy and service regulations.

The third alliance is 'public initiatives', where innovation is brought forward by policy makers or agents of change within the organization in question. These alliances are financed by public resources, either directly or indirectly, and deploy a cross-sector approach to reach the marginalized. These alliances represent a governmental governance approach. Traces of it may be seen in the community development project 'Katymar'.

Based upon a restricted empirical material, research must document whether such different alliances actually exist and the impact they have on innovations, the degree of innovation and their conditions and relations in different welfare regimes and forms of governance.

Apart from this there are significant differences between Member States in terms of how the partners participate in the different stages in the programming cycle. Some partners, such as civil society organizations and users, are not involved on an equal footing with other stakeholders (i.e. trade unions and local authorities). It is important to analyse the implementation of the partnership principle in the Member States, for the current EU Structural Funds period as well as the implementation of the principle itself in the new regulation for the next programming period (2014-20).

Research questions

- How can multi-level and other forms of governance analysis be employed to develop our understanding of governance issues in the context of social service innovation?
- Can different types of alliances be identified promoting innovations? And what are their characteristics with regard to innovation and how can their role be enhanced?
- Do the different national contexts constitute barriers or opportunities for the transfer of innovation? And if so, are the cultural, conceptual, legal and structural aspects the most important ones? (c.f. the following theme on the influence of context)
- How can the participation of particular stakeholders in social service innovation be improved?

4.4.3 Service pillarization and the cross-sector approach

Marketization and privatization as a part of NPM was introduced to create better, more costeffective services. One unintended consequence of NPM – together with professionalization and standardization – has been pillarization, whereby social services are becoming 'silos' of self-centred authority and practices. Pillarization stems from splitting up into single purpose organizations (or organizational unities) and the performance management introduced (Christensen 2012:5), producing fragmentation and 'islands' of authority. Pillarization has increased the need for horizontal coordination and collaboration (Torfing and Sørensen 2011) as well as cross-sector innovation. The collaboration across organizational and institutional boundaries offers a means to overcome these problems, for example, breaking policy deadlocks and improving public service. The post-NPM reform wave can be seen as a response to this particular, negative effect of NPM. Post-NPM reforms are inter-organizationally oriented, stress horizontal coordination and seek compromises with multiple stakeholders through networks and partnerships (Christensen 2012). However, the emergence of 'wicked' problems (Beinecke 2009), such as social problems cutting across traditional boundaries of social, health, migration and crime policy (e.g.trafficking) also demand innovation between different policy and service fields in terms of solving or reducing the problem in question. 'Pillarization' has been touched upon in the section of resourcing for social service innovation as it affects funding streams. Here it will be analysed more generally with regard to its negative effects on social service innovation.

State of the art

In our original sampling of approximately 200 cases across Europe and in our selected 20 cases, we noticed a tendency for cooperation between the welfare, health and informal education sectors (Vanhove 2012). Post-NPM is being implemented, and the complexity of modern, social problems also inform 'wicked problems'. An integrated solution to several problems seemed to become more frequent (Pesce and Ispano 2013:8), as observed in the 'Real Pearl' example (a culturally sensitive approach to supporting children from Roma families by art education). Another INNOSERV example in this area is 'Light Residential' that focuses on combining housing, health and social service provision for mental health rehabilitation. However, our research also indicated that cross-sector cooperation within the field of welfare was more prevalent than in the health and education fields. In our selected cases, we observed different kinds of cooperation aimed at overcoming different kinds of pillarization: service sector pillars, policy field, organizational, professional and knowledge pillars.

Research gaps

Pillarization creates problems in raising funding streams for such kinds of activity and results in a fundamental conflict in terms of governance. Organizations like 'Realpearl' face clashes in the competencies, responsibilities and authority of public administrative bodies at the local, regional and national level. As long as policy fields and their respective ministries and regulatory bodies remain uni-dimensional, multi-dimensional responses to (new) social needs will find it harder to succeed as communication, co-ordination and regulation is more challenging in such environments. It is a key challenge to explore how governance structures and practices can be organized to respond to the cross-sector, cross-field and cross-issue approaches in social service innovation.

Another important research question concerns cross-sector cooperation and its effects on users in relation to quality and the inclusion of different kinds of users differentiated along dimensions of gender, class, disability and ethnicity. Cross-sector cooperation can create targeted and successful social services, but one issue concerns the size of the target group. Secondly, cross-sector cooperation and its effects on professionals could also be an issue for further investigation, both concerning the relationship between different kinds of professionals (old and new alike) and its impact on work conditions. In some countries, welfare professionals are increasingly experiencing stress and burn-out (Thunman 2013), and investigations addressing whether this new form of cooperation adds to or reduces the levels of stress experienced could constitute a relevant field of research.

Research questions

- How does pillarization negatively affect social service innovation? (linked to the funding issue in the institutional and organizational development theme)
- How can governance structures and practices be designed to respond to the crosscutting nature of social service innovation?
- Which effects do cross-sector services have on the inclusion of diversity in stakeholder groups (how does it relate to aspects of gender, class, disability or ethnicity?
- How does the increasing complexity of cross-cutting services affect working conditions?

4.5 The influence of national, regional and local contexts

The EU Member States are diverse, characterized by specific social, welfare and education systems. Organizational and institutional frameworks differ across these and some systems might be more innovative than others. Two major ways have been used to differentiate welfare states in relation to their social sectors. First, Esping-Andersen's "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism" (1990) classified the European welfare state into three ideal-type regimes: liberal, conservative/corporatist and social democratic welfare regimes. The classification applies the two parameters 'decommodification' (i.e the extent to which social security a virtue rather than a commodity that can be traded) and 'stratification' (how strongly is a society divided into classes). Deacon (1993) extended these three regimes with the 'post-communist conservative corporatist' welfare regime, which includes the countries of Central-Eastern Europe.

The second is the "Social Origins Theory" (Salamon and Anheier 1998), which analyzes the relation of social welfare spending of a state to the size of the nonprofit sector to classify welfare states. A third conception has gained influence in the commercial, but also in the social sector, the "Varieties of Capitalism Concept" (Hall and Solskice 2001). It applies a continuum that ranges from the dominance of institutional or state influence on the one side to the dominance

of organizational or market influence on the other to classify the socio-economic constellation of countries. The first one is supposed to produce rather incremental innovation, the latter radical innovation.

Although these typologies only capture a fraction of the diversity distinguishing the individual European countries, they nonetheless accentuate the differences between the EU Member States across service fields. Social services have a firm place in all European welfare systems, but they reflect national, regional and local traditions and are provided by a broad range of public and private actors. Social services are embedded in cultural and policy frameworks, and thus tailored towards certain contexts (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:76; Langer; Güntner and Crcic 2013:10). Innovation must fit within different service frameworks (Hawker and Frankland 2012:14). As the Study on Social and Health Services of General Interest in the European Union (EC 2006) points out, "social services cannot be implemented in a standard manner as most of them need to be adapted to individual situations and needs" (p. 21) and in that way have to take into account particular life situations of individuals that are affected by culture, ethnicity or gender. The regulatory framework governing service provision, the financing of these services as well as their evaluation must be considered when innovations are transferred to another context (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:18).

From an EU perspective, this theme relates to the challenge to disseminate good practices and standardization at the European level, use competition and open market approaches in social services, and to respect the cultural, historical, economic and legislative framework of each country, embedded in the principle of subsidiarity (Pesce and Ispano 2013:15). Defined in Article 5 of the Treaty on the European Union, the principle emphasises that the EU does not take action unless it is it is able to act more effectively than its Member States. The principle of subsidiarity is based on the idea that decisions must be taken as closely as possible to the individual citizen; hence, it aims at action being taken at the local level.³²

In addition to different frameworks, the EU Member States face external challenges to different degrees. The global financial and euro-zone debt crisis has impacted on EU Member States and local authorities across Europe. It has resulted in considerable financial pressure on the health, education and welfare sectors in every European country (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:25; Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:20). However, while the economic crisis has forced all of the European countries to cut their spending on social services, it has developed differently in the EU Member States. The Southern and Eastern European countries have been forced to make severe cuts to their social and health services (Ferge and Darvas 2012).³³ The demographic shifts in Europe also affect some countries more than others, as they are confronted by an ageing society and prospects for a shrinking workforce. Again, the Southern

³² http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/lisbon_treaty/ai0017_en.htm

³³ See also http://www.social-europe.eu/2012/11/spain-is-experiencing-a-period-of-intense-social-crisis/

and Eastern European countries are particularly faced by these challenges.

Contextual differences are not limited to differences between countries, as they can also be observed between regions and municipalities within the same country. "Regional innovation systems" theory claims that certain regions are more innovative than others due to their access to knowledge, a network of cooperating organizations, a skilled workforce and/or financial resources (Doloreux and Parto 2005). This reflects how the differences between rural and urban areas address the innovation process. Some researchers view the city as the primary site of innovation processes (Crevoisier and Camagni 2001; Simmie 2001). However, rural areas often face different challenges than urban areas (e.g. poorer access to health services (Hartley 2004), higher unemployment, emigration of skilled workers and a higher percentage of elderly (ESPON 2013)). Although these challenges place further pressure on rural regions, they can lead to innovation (Mahroum et al. 2007; ECORYS Nederland BV 2010). In addition to this context-specific view on innovation, a similar debate has emerged with regard to local and regional diversity in welfare frameworks. Most recently a more nuanced understanding of these has been developed to which the term 'local welfare states' is being applied (for a review of its discussion see Andreotti, Mignioni and Polizzi 2012). The concept triggers a shift of focus away from the level of the nation state. It acknowledges the increasing diversity of welfare landscapes (c.f. the idea of 'welfare mix' introduced earlier) and capacities within one country. This concept will be of special importance to the analysis of the local and regional context.

We have deliberately chosen to apply the terminology of national, regional and local contexts. These are constituted by structural variables such as infrastructure, policies or the way civil society is structured as well as subtler elements such as culture, norms and behaviour. Therefore our investigation includes what might be referred to as 'social contexts' but also moves beyond these. A key issue is to understand services as integrated into the context in which they are promoted, and to analyse them as embedded in that context (c.f. the discussion of social entrepreneurship in local communities by Seelos, Mair and Dacin 2011). Services cannot be treated as separate and independent 'black boxes' as in technology, where technological tools are designed to be as independent as possible thus applicable anywhere. In this theme, three sub-issues are described: the meaning of cultural factors as barriers and facilitators, the capacity of systems and their influence on innovation and the transferability of innovative practices.

4.5.1 Cultural factors as barriers and facilitators

Cultural factors can act as barriers to or facilitators of innovation. 'Innovative culture' is used frequently in innovation theory but never clearly defined. Wieland (2006) describes an innovative culture as being based on: "technological visions, research traditions and value systems

etc.", which are shared by those involved in innovation process. Such a culture influences the perception of challenges and serves as a reservoir for ideas and strategies to solve them. Ulijn, Nagel and Tan (2001) conceive innovative culture as the outcome of the interaction between professional culture, corporate culture and national culture. The concept of innovative culture explains how different cultural backgrounds influence the innovation process. This is reflected in the findings of the local workshops, where the perceptions of innovation in social services vary at the European level. Services that were considered innovative in one country were not deemed to be so in others (Pesce and Ispano 2013:7). Indeed the assessment of innovation varies greatly from country to country. The variation is actually quite marked – even between policy and service fields within a given country. The differences are not between the more or less economically developed countries, but major differences are observed within each country (Pesce and Ispano 2013:11) due to asymmetric developments and the important role of agents of change.

In the health, care and education sectors, it is important that innovative practices accord with the cultural norms and perception of the target groups. "Significant cultural differences exist between ethnic and cultural minority groups but also between social classes, between metropolitan areas, and between rural and urban areas" (The Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2006:19). In addition to these aspects, further dimensions, such as religion or gender have to be taken into account. Contextual factors either help or hinder the promotion of new practices (The Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2006:19).

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Herbig and Dunphy (1998:14) emphasize the significance of culture for the adoption of innovations.

"Existing cultural conditions determine whether, when, how and in what form a new innovation will be adopted. If the behaviour, ideas and material apparatus which must accompany the use of innovation can affect improvements along lines already laid down in the culture, the possibilities of acceptance are much greater."

It is not only important to know how innovation is interpreted within cultural contexts but it is vital to trace how culture affects social service provision more generally. Users, practitioners and experts in the INNOSERV workshops also noted different ways the same cultural concepts are understood in various parts of Europe. Concepts such as 'family' and 'home' are examples of understandings that may limit the transfer of core principles of service provision from one context to another. In some countries, the family is perceived as requiring protection, whereas the family is not seen as a threatened entity in other countries. Similarly, 'home' is seen very differently in relation to social services. In some countries, social services taking place in the home are seen as a quality per se, whereas this is seen as an intrusion in other countries (Pesce and Ispano 2013:12).

For example family support of relatives in Eastern Europe is normal and provision by social services is still exceptional. Eastern European social service innovation could depend much more in the informal processes referred to in the section on agents of change. In this regard local democratic organizations, community projects, cultural centres, clubs or the revitalization and reinvention (or rather re-innovation) of traditions such solidarity networks, or neighborhood assistance might play a much more important role in Eastern Europe (Bolling and Nikolin 2013b) than in Western Europe. However, innovative impulses stemming from these cultural origins can stimulate innovation in Western countries. Indeed, we find a stronger emphasis in innovation in the 'home' sphere and a shift from inpatient care to ambulant forms of service provision also in Western European countries (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:42). The INNOSERV example 'Early supported discharge after stroke' is an illustration of this.

The modes of service provision affected by culture, the perception of certain groups and understandings of health also generally vary between different societies. These differences became evident in our local workshops, especially with respect to the elderly and the mentally and physically disabled. While the prevalent perception in some countries is that these groups need to be cared for and kept isolated from society, other countries seek to include these groups and to enable them to contribute to society (Pesce and Ispano 2013:13). The perception of health can be narrow, as in merely referring to the absence of disease, but can also be more extensive, for example, taking well-being and happiness into account. Such differences are important, because they influence the identification of needs and social problems. Innovative welfare services are often a reaction to these new social problems (Bäcker et al. 2010:508).

Research gap

The cultural context can have a positive or negative effect on the creation of innovation. It is therefore important to understand culture as a factor which is neither static nor homogenous. The perceptions of family, health, home and so forth in a culture can change over time, and different perceptions can also co-exist at the same time.

With regard to adapting or implementing innovations from other countries, culture was mainly identified as a barrier in INNOSERV's local workshops. In order to overcome this barrier, services must be consistent with the characteristics of the local culture (Pesce and Ispano 2013:12).

Investigation is necessary into how different perceptions influence the adaption of innovation. Likewise, there is a need to explore which cultural attributes affect the creation and implementation of innovations (e.g. greater individualism, willingness to take risks, readiness to accept change, long-term orientation and the value of education are all attributes which can contribute to facilitating innovation in a culture, just as they can be valuable in an organization).

More attention could also be paid to how rural and urban environments behave with regard to social service innovation. Although there are a large number of structural features that make a difference, it is also more general attitudes (e. g., with regard to religion or gender), lifestyles and individual needs of people that differ between them. In this context it is surprising that the literature review did not find much research that discussed the importance of the immediate environment (rural /urban) in generating innovation (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:34). This is especially interesting, as challenges and problem definitions might differ in rural and urban areas; heavily determined by cultural components. One major exception taking local welfare systems explicitly into account is research performed by WILCO.³⁴ The research of this project has targeted welfare innovations in the specific environment of cities and their contribution to social cohesion. The investigation has focused on structural components and practices and not necessarily on culture. Also, there was no explicit comparison between urban and rural climates and the differences in innovation these might provoke. Nonetheless, the WILCO project has established fruitful ground for future investigations in this direction.

Another question is how cultural differences will develop in Europe. The issue about convergence and divergence is inconclusive. Pavolini and Ranci (2008) used the development of the elderly care sector in Europe as an example and have demonstrated an increased marketization in all welfare regimes. Furthermore, they identified a tendency among the welfare regimes that primarily rely on informal care to increase their professional care services to support families in their care giving and a tendency to provide more attention to the family care giving capacity in formal care regimes (Pavolini and Ranci 2008:257-258). That might point to convergence. In their recent work the authors do however argue that Europe is diverging into two very different long-term care systems (Ranci and Pavolini, 2013:50). Yet somewhat in contrast to all of this is what is proposed by the term 'local welfare systems' or the issue of diversity when comparing rural and urban environments. These issues have to be studied more explicitly with regard to the context dependence of social service innovation.

Research questions

- How can social service innovation be (1) interpreted in and (2) enhanced by different national, regional or local cultures?
- Are there generic focuses on social service innovation (e. g., supporting existing family/ care models, or is innovation going to need to help address rapid social and economic challenges in cultures across Europe in different ways)?
- Are we witnessing a convergence or a divergence of contexts for social service provision and do these trends different depending on the level of analysis?

4.5.2 Capacity of systems

The capacity of a welfare system to face challenges in the welfare, health and education sectors depends on a number of different factors. The two main factors discussed in this sub-issue are the financial and human resources a country has at its disposal. These resources vary considerably between the EU Member States. On average, the health, education and social protection functions make up 2/3 of the total general government expenditures in the Member States. The percentage is lowest in the twelve Member States that joined the EU most recently and highest in central Europe (Netherlands, France, Germany) and the Nordic region (Freysson and Wahrig 2013). The per capita social benefits reveal a similar picture: central and northern Europe have significantly higher social benefits (i.e. transfers in cash or in kind) per capita than Southern and Eastern Europe (EuroStat 2013). In addition to the financial resources, workforce availability is also an important factor. Workforce availability relates to two aspects: the amount of workforce available now and in the future and the educational background of the workforce.

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Statistics indicate that the countries are not equally equipped to deal with the future challenges in the social, health and education sectors. Due to demographic changes, many European countries suffer a lack of qualified personnel, especially in the elderly care sector. The low birth rates in most European countries will further exacerbate this problem in the near future (Dubois, McKee and Rechel 2006:11; Colombo et al. 2011:159-160). Self-sufficiency in health professions will decline in Europe. In recent years, many European countries have already recruited staff from outside their borders (Dubois, McKee and Rechel 2006:4-11). While this import of care personnel sustains the care services in the receiving country, it can lead to a "care drain" in the sending country. Care drain describes a trend referring to the loss of informal and formal care resources in the home country of care-work migrants (Hochschild 2002:17).

This aggravates the work environment in social services further, especially in Eastern European countries. In order for innovations to be developed, but also taken up and used, there needs to be real and accepted awareness and knowledge of changes in society. Changes take place very quickly in Eastern Europe (also with regard to the adoption of international key principles discussed earlier). The social care workforce there is however exceptionally vulnerable and very low paid and often comes from marginalized groups (Bolling and Nikolin 2013b). Thus, in order to build systemic capacity, investments in work force, particularly in skills, will be needed. These 'investment opportunities' might represent room for innovation per se. It seems that working with community leaders will be important just as co-operative approaches between partners appear more promising than top-down directives.

The educational backgrounds and curricula for different professions in the welfare state (careworkers, teachers and nurses) vary between the Member States. The form of education often affects the creation of innovation as well as the implementation of good practice. Interdisciplinary learning methods foster collaboration between different professionals in providing social services (Greiner and Knebel 2003). Furthermore, an innovative curriculum design could better prepare graduates for new and enhanced roles, such as focusing on rehabilitation in care services and/or using better teaching methods (Dubois, McKee and Rechel 2006:12). The establishment of the 'European Care Certificate' as one of the selected INNOSERV examples outlines how coordinated international efforts of standard setting can enhance the quality of services and could promote further innovation for some countries while it might potentially lower innovations for others.

Apart from these more specific aspects, the general state of welfare provision and policy will have a major influence on the capacity of systems to develop it. In the stakeholder consultations it was noted that there is some reluctance of users of social services to engage with the government in Eastern Europe as there is often a negative image of users as 'cost factors' rather than legitimate recipients of support. It is therefore suggested that social service innovation will not happen through top-down development but mostly 'sideways' transfer (Bolling and Nikolin 2013b).

This idea of 'sideways' innovation is defined by the 'horizontal' co-operation of actors and also to more informal and flexible processes in the interpretation of regulations. It also embodies the idea that systems may need to 'absorb' ideas from other systems (within or outside the country). This could mean that more positive effort should be made in sharing innovation ideas between different social systems but in ways in which people can take the bits which may best apply to them and to do so without regard to the present actual capacity in terms of finance and work force. After all, it is an unresolved question whether it is the capacity of systems that makes innovations emerge or the lack of the latter, i.e. whether innovation in social services is fostered by scarcity or abundance.

Another open question is whether innovation in itself can play a role in closing the gaps between Eastern and Western Europe, e. g., with regard to the realization of international key principles affecting the issues of rights, the centrality of users or issues of quality and good governance.

In addition to these national determinants, the capacity of municipalities to deal with challenges often varies heavily. Isolated rural areas in particular often have fewer financial resources and poorer workforces to draw on (Colombo et al. 2011:11).

Volunteers can be seen as a valuable asset to meeting challenges in the welfare state; especially within social services, volunteers can play an essential role in innovative projects (Langer, Güntner and Crcic 2013:27, 29; Pesce and Ispano 2013:23, 27). In Europe, there is a clear spatial pattern regarding volunteer participation rates, with relatively high participation in northern Europe and relatively low participation rates in the Mediterranean countries (Erlinghagen and Hank 2006).

In the feedback from INNOSERV's international workshops, the emerging role of volunteering was seen as a way to increase the capacities of countries in facing future challenges in the social sectors. However, some participants feared that the increasingly active role of users in the design and provision of social services and the stress on volunteering offered nation states ways to limit their responsibilities (Laino and Sütő 2013:15), which in particular will affect countries where professional service provision is not yet very well developed.

Research gap

The unequal distribution of the European workforce indicates how capabilities vary between the nation-states; even between regions and municipalities, there can be an unequal distribution of skilled labour. This lack of professionals combined with financial cutbacks can impede innovation and threaten the availability of social services in general. The post-socialist Member States in particular face a triple challenge: the public administration may be inefficient, and the capacities of NGOs are often restricted, while the unmet needs for social services are massive and diverse.

In INNOSERV's international workshops, both the lack of and availability of funding were factors that were referred to as both barriers to and drivers of innovation. It was argued that cost-effective ideas that are capable of bringing about social change might never have been thought of in more favourable financial situations (Laino and Sütő 2013:8). But having scarce financial resources often leaves no room for thinking and applying new practices, as all the resources are consumed in meeting current needs. Likewise, the economic crisis was seen as an opportunity: according to some participants, it can be a powerful generator of innovation (Pesce and Ispano 2013:16) but can also lead to social service cuts.

The import of care workers allows countries to avoid changes to their care systems. While this may ensure the sustainability of the welfare state, it poses a direct challenge to retaining an equitable workforce, as there is a risk of depriving regions or countries of key professionals (Dubois, McKee and Rechel 2006:11). Especially in the care sector, this development can lead to 'global care chains, when women fulfil care needs in wealthier countries, while care obligations towards dependent children and older relatives left behind are redirected to the nuclear family or to another migrant woman from an even poorer country' (Bauer and Österle 2013:464). On the micro-level, where the private household becomes a workplace and home for migrated care

workers, this can lead to vulnerable working conditions that create dependency and exploitation, where regulations provide little room for control (Bauer and Österle 2013:464). At the macrolevel, the migration of 'care from poorer countries to richer ones' can have dire consequences for the social bonds in the sending countries. This happens against the background of already difficult working conditions in these countries (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild 2008). Investment in the human workforce and the existence or the lack thereof, linked to the resources held by different countries, affects the emergence of social service innovation. Can international efforts in certifying and standardizing social service education support innovation? For instance how does standardization in this regard affect work situations in different national, regional or local contexts? And is a more standardized approach to education meeting the requirements posed by more diverse local situations which are characterised by the lack of similar social service setups? In several of the projects and services reviewed by INNOSERV, volunteers played an essential part (Pesce and Ispano 2013:20). The differences in the role of volunteering in the Member States should be further investigated, as there is a risk that volunteers are increasingly taking over the work of professionals. Advanced training offered to volunteers reflect the "professionalization of volunteering" (Hutichson and Ockenden 2008:24-25).

Finally, it is vital to see how innovation processes (not only the transfer and adaption of innovation) differ depending on context. The idea of 'sideways' innovation seems promising. The logics of networks (Miles and Snow 1997; Powell 1990) may be applied to better understand these processes. However, it might well be that the reality in Eastern European countries and elsewhere defies formalized investigation in this regard and that therefore the concept of 'bricolage' (drawing from diversity and division) as increasingly applied to social entrepreneurship (Di Domenico, Haugh and Tracey 2010) presents a more effective method of investigation.

Research questions

- How do local welfare frameworks (including social needs and problems but also capacity of the system) affect social service innovation?
- How do investments in human resources (or the lack thereof) affect social service innovation?
- Is innovation in social services fostered by abundance or scarcity of resources?
- Can innovation in itself close the gaps between Eastern and Western European countries,
 e. g. in putting international key principles into practice?
- How can coordinated international efforts of certification improve qualification for social services and what effects does this have on innovation?
- What is the role of volunteers in social service innovation and what is the broader effect of reliance on volunteers have for welfare systems?
- How can we study and understand innovation processes taking into account various modes such as 'sideways' innovation?

4.5.3 Transferability

Transferability describes "[...] the extent to which the measured effectiveness of an applicable [innovation] could be achieved in another setting" (Cambon et al. 2012:13). Obviously the transferability of innovative practices will depend on cultural aspects as well as the capacity of the system to realize them. There is more to it than this, however, as the degree of transferability varies from innovation to innovation, depending on its complexity and the potential impact on the status quo in the adapting country.

A major question at this level (but also referring back to the idea of the capacity of systems) is about the relationship between stability of political, social and/or welfare regimes in encouraging or embracing innovation in social services, i.e. are changing systems and systems in flux more or less open to innovation? When everything is changing, will innovation go unnoticed or not be valued due to a lack of a stable frame of reference? Will innovation be 'imported' to the detriment of local innovation? Does ability to focus on innovation in social services have anything to do with intensity of broader changes?

The concept of 'semi-periphery' may also be relevant. Semi-periphery refers to countries which are at the border of formal EU membership or have recently joined the EU. The situation in these countries is characterized by an "[...] effort to catch up with the core [the EU], on one hand, and to resist the integration into the core, so not to lose [their] cultural characteristics, on the other hand" (Blagojevic 2009: 33ff.; emphasis in original). Due to their inchoate and fast changing state, "[...] innovative social change at the semiperiphery is often doomed to defeat even when it is, or exactly because it is, progressive and 'revolutionary'" (Blagojevic 2009: 36). Such pressures may inform the investigation of innovations within countries, and in particular in how these relate to innovation transfer within systems and from outside.

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Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the degree of transferability is a direct function of the similarity or fit between settings. Especially in the EU, this is a major challenge as legislative frameworks, technological infrastructure, cultural background and routines in the different welfare services vary from country to country (Pesce and Ispano 2013). Moreover, settings can vary between regions, municipalities and service providers in the same country, not only with regard to their current state but also with regard to (the pace of) on-going change, making the diffusion of innovative practices and technologies even more difficult.

The evaluation of national policies aimed at increasing the use of best practices in a country shows that the transfer of practices is an active process – not merely a passive copying of best practices (Hartley 2006:58). Adaption – rather than adoption – is central to the sharing of good practices (Hartley 2006:14).

This argument is supported by the participants in the INNOSERV international workshops, as they discussed the difficulty of transferring innovative practices because they arise at the microlevel and under certain local conditions (Laino and Sütő 2013:7). In many cases, the adaption of the service is necessary in order to align it with current legislation (Pesce and Ispano 2013:13).

Research gap

The INNOSERV consultation confirmed that the legislative framework or a specific legislative aspect could prevent the transferability of an innovative practice. This may require a partial adaption of the service in order to align it with current legislation or intervention through legislative adjustment (Pesce and Ispano 2013:13). Ideas and basic principles of innovative principles can be transferred to other local contexts, but they must be operationalized before they can be implemented (Laino and Sütő 2013:7). The operationalization of innovative practices can be seen as a challenge for future research. 'Blackboxing' innovations for transfer between systems will not work because of the very nature of (innovation in) social services. The same probably refers to simple mainstreaming. Bottom-up processes are more likely to be successful, but partly restricted by available capacity. Social service innovation and in particular its transferability will depend majorly on collaborative frameworks, in which mutual discourse and exchange plays an important role, just as for instance processes of policy learning (c.f. the discourse based perspective in the discussion of 'patterns of change' or the identification of social needs and problems as well as approaches to their solution).

An operationalization manual for filtering key ideas and practices could help policy-makers implement innovative practices. The transferability of innovation can be seen as a major challenge for the EU and Member States alike.

Research questions

- How much social service innovation can actually be 'blackboxed' and how much is context specific? And how may this depend on certain fields of activity or individual characteristics of the innovation?
- How can the process of adaption in the transfer of social service innovation across local, regional and national contexts be designed? What role does the state a country, region or municipality play in this?
- To what extent do framework conditions (e. g. legislation) have to be adapted to fit social service innovation rather than the other way around?

4.6 New technologies

While technology has always had a major impact in the health sector when it comes to diagnosing and treating diseases, the increased use of technology in the welfare and education sector is a relatively recent phenomenon. The welfare and education sectors are centred around people and service delivery, and technologies have played a minor role (Leys 2009). This is due to the assumption that these services are labour intensive and can only be rationalized to a certain degree, as the services involve human-to-human relations and the users' co-production (Bäcker et al. 2010:509). This has sometimes been labelled pro-sumption, a combination of producer or professional and consumer, which blurs the 'service' boundary in such services.

However, the challenges of an ageing society and the scarce resources of the public/social sector highlight the need to find alternative solutions to these challenges, including the use of technology (Hawker and Frankland 2012:17). Simultaneously, people have become more self-reflective and knowledgeable. In recent years, new technologies have been developed and implemented to increase welfare service effectiveness. The use of information and communication technologies (ICT) in particular has influenced health, welfare and education services (Hawker and Frankland 2012:19). In the education sector, technologies render it possible to transform education by extending the learning space beyond the classroom. People are able to take their education online. In the elderly care sector, tele-health and monitoring devices increase the sense of security while new uses of internet technologies can increase self-reliance among the elderly (Hawker and Frankland 2012:19).

Technological innovation activities are considered as "[...] all of scientific, technological, organizational, financial and commercial steps, including investments in new knowledge, which actually, or intended to, lead to the implementation of technologically new or improved products and processes" (OECD 2002:19). The importance of technology is fundamental in the literature on innovation and it is seen as a potential element of innovation (EC 1995). Scientific and technological progress results in new approaches in the health, welfare and education sectors (Van Kammen 2002). Using technologies also alters the traditional interaction among professionals and between professionals and users. ICT gives users better access to knowledge and is often thought to improve the communication between professionals (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:68). The use of new technologies can have a significant impact on daily routines as well as on the organization and administration of services. While such changes may increase efficiency increases (especially in the long run), staff and users might resist the introduction of new technologies. Moreover, the public sector is often thought to have a riskavoiding managerial mentality, and some view it as unwilling to change (Borins 2001; Laino and Sütő 2013:8). Technologies must therefore be extensively tested and evaluated before they are considered to be implemented in the public sector.

There can also be negative issues. These will be further discussed below but these were also raised in the INNOSERV stakeholder consultation (Bolling and Nikolin 2013a, 2013b). There are some national, regional or local contexts where IT-based innovation is not yet well developed, at least not to the extent that would be needed for social service innovation. A second concern is the intrusion of technology into our daily lives which may be resented by some people. Technology might be quite aggressive and penetrate social services whether people want it or not. To a certain degree technology advancement cannot be rejected.

This theme is divided into three sub-issues. It will describe the accessibility of technology and on the impact of ICT. The second sub-issue describes the relevance of assistive and remote technologies, and the third sub-issue is about the implementation and diffusion of technologies.

4.6.1 Accessibility

The efforts to increase accessibility in all respects are an important factor of social and political participation (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:34). In addition to traditional measures to remove architectural barriers to physical access in public and private spaces, the growth in web-based technologies has led to an exponential growth in access to information and new forms of communication. In Europe, the use of e-government is becoming more widespread, offering citizens with access to computers more transparency and easier access to public and welfare services via the internet (European Commission 2012). This also offers the chance of greater inter service coordination. Especially in the health sector, ICT use has led to the implementation of e-health & e-care services in different member states. These refer to ICT use for health-related data-processing as well as their application in the area of indirect patient treatment and counselling (Hawker and Frankland 2012:23) with interconnections to other service fields, among others welfare services or education.

The internet serves as a primary resource for accessing health care information, and ICT innovations enable user self-diagnosis and self-care. Users facing similar health challenges can exchange experiences and give one another advice via web-based communities (Hawker and Frankland 2012:23). Hence, patients are able to gain a better understanding of their health condition and can contribute to their capacity to manage it (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:68). The INNOSERV example 'Know your own health', illustrates such a development. In addition, the growing use of smart phones and application-based products might give users the possibility to access relevant information nearly everywhere.

In addition to the user perspective, ICT affects the work of care professionals. Since 2004, the European Commission and its Member States have been developing policy initiatives to spread the adoption of e-health in order to increase the efficiency and quality of health systems (European Commission 2012). In the administrative area, e-health especially plays a role in data management. The transition to electronic medical files on patient data (e.g. diagnosis, treatment, medication) and use of ICT allow professionals to share information quickly. Hence, loss of information is prevented and professionals' decision making is strengthened. Furthermore, this might reduce medical errors and costs (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:68; 61).

State of the art

The rapid increase of e-government and e-health services leads to questions regarding the equity of access to e-services and the confidentiality of electronic medical materials (West and Miller 2006). The use of e-services might lead to the exclusion of certain groups; especially the groups in the population that have the greatest need for welfare and health services and typically more limited access to ICT. Older people can have less experience with computer technology and often have no internet access, making it harder for them to use e-services. Similar problems are experienced by disabled people due to e.g. visual impairments and by migrants due to poverty or language skills. This lack of equity in ICT usage is referred to as the 'digital divide' (West and Miller 2006).

On the other hand technology can enhance the cooperation between different service fields. Care professionals in the care sector can use tele-care and tele-health devices to exchange patient information (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:68). Examples of integrated care practices in Europe are MedCom in Denmark and Wiesbaden Geriatric Rehabilitation Network in Germany. Both use standardized communication protocols and formats (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:83). Technology can improve back office re-organization or process rationalization. Although standardized ICT communication can ease communication and speed it up, critical voices within research point out the lack of personalized and targeted care with regard to gender (Schmidt and Petersen 2003), and others point out the increasing bureaucratization that can follow from the introduction of new ICT and the need to collect and store data (Hamran, 1996), leading to more office work on the computer at the expense of care and health services provided for the user.

Research gap

The internet gives users opportunity to be more self-reliant. They can access medical information without consulting a professional. While this can improve the patient's understanding of health problems, the information on the internet varies in accuracy and quality and is often not verified. This can result in improper treatment (West and Miller 2006). Furthermore, better access to medical information can change the patient–doctor relationship. The patient is able to refer

to other treatment methods and is more likely to question medical decisions. Although the patient's position is strengthened, this can also have negative effects, such as a loss of trust. These examples drawn from health care have parallels in other forms of care where access to such technology and information is changing professional and user roles and their relationship.

ICT also changes the relationship between professionals. Greater cooperation between professionals increases administrative work and makes them more dependent on each other. This development also challenges the existing power hierarchies, as certain professions, such as nurses, are given more responsibilities.

While ICT and other technology increases participation and transparency and enables users to more actively track and assess service provision and progress, ICT use also raises security questions. For example, the use of the electronic health card in Germany led to debate about 'Who can gain access to patient data, how can it be protected?' (Sunyaev et al. 2009). Social services are marked by high degrees of data sensitivity and so data protection and processing are of major importance. Do these represent a barrier to innovation or should they be an inherent part of it?

Research questions

- When does ICT/technology enable new service solutions?
- How does ICT/technology alter the relation between user groups or users and professionals?
 And who is the real innovator, the organization, the user or the professionals?
- How can data protection best be assured when such data is used in innovation in social services?
- What role does digital literacy play in the inclusiveness of ICT based innovation in social services?

4.6.2 Remote and assistive technologies

Assistive technology "[...] is any product or service designed to enable independence for disabled and older people" (DOH 2011). It is used by individuals with disabilities to perform otherwise difficult or impossible tasks. This broad definition includes a wide range of products and services that can be described as assistive technologies, both high and low tech. Assistive technology includes wheelchairs, robot technology, accessible software (e-inclusion), augmentative and alternative communication (AAC) as well as tele-care and tele-health devices.

Tele-care devices are used to improve the self-reliance of users. The use of web-cameras and monitors enables the use of some treatment at home, e.g. while physiotherapists monitor the progress of multiple patients from the hospital. Tele-health and tele-care are also monitoring and surveillance technologies, as they keep track of a person's medical condition and automatically alert health care staff if intervention is required (Stroetmann et al. 2010). E-inclusion is a more recent term, often used to refer to the use of "[...] digital technologies to break down barriers of gender, age, sexuality or class" (Shakespeare 1994; Riddel and Watson 2003; Abbot 2007). Augmentative and alternative communication (AAC) systems help individuals with speech disorders to communicate, either "by supplementing their existing speech or to act as their primary means of communication" (Mirenda 2003). The range of products available is constantly expanding as a result of technological developments.

State of the art

Assistive technologies support the changing paradigms in the care sector, with stronger focuses on rehabilitation and the self-reliance of the target group. Assistive technologies are also used in the education sector, where they contribute to the inclusion of pupils with a disability. The use of such technologies individualizes welfare services in general, as special technologies are applied, depending on the needs of the user. Technologies can also support coaching (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:68). With respect to the demographic challenges and the fact that the number of professional and informal care workers will fall in the coming years, assistive technologies can be seen as a solution for increasing the quality of care services and reducing the amount of labour necessary for their realization.

Tele-care and tele-health solutions can also provide treatment over great distances, providing medical advice without people having to leave the home. This is especially useful in rural areas and communities (Mitton et al. 2011; Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:60). Tele-health is also used in the treatment of chronic diseases, making it possible for users to send their health data via the internet to practitioners or hospitals for professional evaluation. This is especially useful in the treatment of diseases such as diabetes and cardio-vascular conditions. Furthermore, tele-care and tele-health can improve the conditions for the elderly, disabled persons and those suffering from chronic diseases living at home. Hence, these technologies will be essential in future "independent living" agendas (Laberg, Aspelund and Thygesen 2005).

Mobile technologies now also assist people outside their homes. The 'Blue Assist' INNOSERV example demonstrates how people with mental disabilities can be assisted to communicate with other people when they require help or assistance in their daily routines outside their home or care environment.

Research gaps

There has been a shift in many European countries from the 'passive patient' to the 'empowered customer' (Windrum and García-Goñi 2008). Technology can contribute to personalization and the improvement of service quality. This change in the status of the service user should also lead to efficiency gains and cost savings (Hawker and Frankland 2012). Assistive technologies aim at improving this efficiency and enabling users to become more self-reliant. This aim often supports the aim of reducing labour costs in the welfare and health sectors. Further investigation is needed to evaluate the degree to which users accept these technologies and whether they are able to use them properly. This may vary in different social services areas.

Users may have negative attitudes towards new technologies and possibly fear that technology replaces the direct care professional. In addition, the surveillance and sensor devices used in tele-care and tele-health solutions can lead to a loss of privacy. Users might resist surveillance technology, because they want to avoid constant supervision and remain in control of their lives.

Research questions

- How does technology contribute to increasing personalization and service quality?
- In how far does technology enhance self-reliance how does it impede it? When can increased self-reliance be used to justify reductions in direct services?
- Are there negative aspects of remote technologies compared to the social services we currently know and use?
- What are the limits to technology in different social service fields? In which ways are some more open to technology than others?
- How can technology be best incorporated into service delivery?
- How does technology interface with other modes of service delivery?

4.6.3 Implementation and diffusion of new technologies

Innovation is not merely about invention, but also about the process of successful development, implementation and dissemination of that idea into widespread use (Department of Health 2011). The implementation and diffusion of new technologies in the health, welfare and education sectors is an important aim of the EU Commission. Different action plans have been published to promote the use of technologies such as tele-care (García-Lizana and Giorgo 2012), E-health (European Commission 2012) and ICT in the education sector.³⁶

Technologies can often be easily transferred, especially those associated with the internet (Pesce and Ispano 2013:14). However, although the transferability of technologies is relatively

easy, the implementation process can be difficult. The implementation of tele-care services still proves a major challenge to several Member States. Many projects have not moved from a pilot phase to the diffusion of their innovation, often despite evidence of successful early outcomes (Heinze and Ley 2009:13; Burchert 2009:18; Clark and Goodwin 2010:14). The implementation of interactive whiteboards in schools as part of eLearning-strategies also reveals problems. The cost of the technology and installation can lead to disparities, as for example between schools and school classes. In addition, the lack of ICT literacy and ICT competency among professionals and students as well as the lack of adoption by professionals can hinder the successful use and diffusion of the technology (Slay, Siebörger and Hodgkinson-Williams 2007; Moss et al. 2007).

State of the art

While technologies offer the possibility of greater efficiency and improved quality, the implementation of these technologies can encounter barriers. One such problem is the financing of these technologies. The providers must make considerable single investments in order to acquire the new technologies, but resources in the welfare and education sectors are often focused on revenue based budgets. This makes investments in new technologies difficult. Slow diffusion can also be caused by the lack of proper infrastructure in certain regions. When it comes to tele-care or tele-health, a high-speed internet connection is essential in order to connect the service provider with the users. However, such infrastructure is often missing or inadequate, especially in rural areas. Indeed the difference between rural and urban areas within individual countries can be much more marked than between countries, with urban areas often having good access.

Furthermore, the lack of compatibility can hinder the diffusion of technologies. Incompatibility can create problems between different telemedicine solutions, making nationwide implementation difficult at best. In addition, countries, municipalities and even service providers all have different understandings with respect to the usefulness of certain technologies. While the use of robot technology in the care sector may be received positively in one country, it might not be considered in another country – not least will this depend on cultural aspects.

New technologies also encounter micro-level barriers, as the introduction and efficient use of technology depends on the skills and attitudes of the staff to adapt to change (Laino and Sütō 2013:8). But users can also be reluctant to accept new technologies, especially in welfare services; it is often the most fragile groups, such as the elderly and disabled persons, who must use these technologies. In these cases, new technologies can be seen as further obstacles and result in users trying to maintain the status quo (Pesce and Ispano 2013:17).

Research gap

Different challenges were identified regarding the implementation and diffusion of technologies across the INNOSERV workshops. One major challenge is to ensure the integration of new technologies within the current EU social service framework. Alternatives should be available when technologies fail (Pesce and Ispano 2013:17-18). Further investigation is needed on how providers can use new technologies to obtain their benefits while preserving existing services in order to provide users with a choice between the two systems. Such issues may cause difficulties in scaling such services to get the maximum economic impact. Offering traditional and new services at the same time could end up costing more overall.

Another challenge is inability or reluctance to use new technologies. Both user and professional unwillingness may hinder the implementation of the technologies (Pesce and Ispano 2013:17-18). Learning and education programs can play an important role in improving the implementation process. Besides teaching the required knowledge to use new technology, such activities may enhance the acceptance of new technologies among professionals. How education programmes are used to improve the implementation of technology must also be researched further (Laino and Sütő 2013:8).

Finally, there is a need to investigate which service providers in the health, care and education sectors implement new technologies and how they do so. This should address the differences existing between private and public providers in their application of new technologies. The increased use of private—public partnerships might also be an important factor in the take up of new technologies.

The relationship of technology to social service innovation and, in particular, the diffusion of technology will require investigation at the three levels of the organization, staff and users.

Research questions

- How can a balance be maintained between new technology based and traditional services in order to maintain choice? And is there a tension raised by technology between 'new' and 'old' services at all?
- What is the role of resistance towards technology (both from professionals and users) and what effects does this have on innovation?
- How can resistance be addressed by educational programmes and in every-day practice?
- How does the way in which technology is being applied for promoting social service innovation or as social service innovation per se depend on the type of provider?
- What technology-related factors enable the transferability, diffusion, and scaling-up of innovative practices?

4.7 Measuring outcomes, quality and challenges

The specific focus of the INNOSERV project on social services innovation is new and models have been under developed, however a greater number of definitions of social innovation have emerged against which to measure outcomes. Most of these propose that social innovation aims to improve outcomes (see e.g. Howaldt and Schwarz 2010:20; Phills, Deiglmeier and Miller 2008:10). The INNOSERV literature review lists further definitions: "[...] improving health outcomes, administrative efficiency, cost effectiveness or user's experience" (Greenhalgh 2004:1), they "[...] enhance significantly customer experience in a way which impacts upon the value chain as a whole" (The Expert Panel in Service Innovation in the EU 2011:7), they "[...] improve the quality of life of individuals and communities" (The OECD Forum on Social Innovation 2000). These references indicate the range of positive outcomes that can be influenced by social innovation. However outcomes such as improved quality, efficiency or sustainability are difficult to measure. Quality must be operationalized, and depends on where the innovative service or product is embedded. As indicated in OECD publications, there is considerable interest in policy-makers evaluating and measuring innovations and their impacts (OECD 2010).

The introduction of NPM in the social, health and education sectors, as well as the increasing business orientation of organizations involved in welfare policies, emphasizes the attention to efficiency and the interest in making processes more transparent (see Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:36 on quality systems; Pollitt and Sorrin 2011:5 on the influence of NPM and its broader effects). Not all of the definitions of social innovations name a positive outcome as a characteristic, because innovations may not always lead to success and a level of failure is to be expected. These issues also apply to social service innovation.³⁷ Innovation can lead to increased but undesired choices, a loss of performance due to the change and learning process and innovations that are ultimately of no value (Hawker and Frankland 2012:15). This emphasizes the need to measure and evaluate outcomes to identify the innovations that are most useful and suitable for a widespread implementation strategy.

Outcomes would usually be measured at 3 levels: the user level, the organizational or provider level and the societal level. The more diffuse the target level is, the harder will it be to capture outcomes or impacts of services. Thus it is easier to assess social service innovation at the most specific user level. The wider issue of defining and addressing 'unmet social needs' is more complicated. Measuring outcomes or impact balances technical accuracy and the normative dimension of social service provision. Measurement processes themselves are also derived from normative assumptions. Furthermore this discussion falls between quite opposed socio-economic traditions.

³⁷ Please see the introduction for the specification of the difference between innovation in the social services and social innovation.

Some might have an approach to social innovation, social enterprise and social impact that is more likely to be driven by a desire for quantitative outcomes and the monetization of these outcomes and impacts (e. g., (Fujiwara and Campbell 2011). Others propose alternative ways of measurement (Maxwell 2011; Marée and Mertens 2012). A recent meta-analysis of published studies that used one of the most widely applied³⁸ impact measurement tools, the 'Social Return on Investment' (SROI), supports this latter view. It proposes that the focus on returns and the SROI ratio may neglect the capture of more relevant social effects such as levels of participation, personal independence etc. (Krlev and Münscher 2013). It is thus a challenge to combine aspects of quantity and quality in demonstrating the value of (innovative) social service provision.

This theme therefore encompasses outcomes, quality and challenges, as also any negative impacts of social service innovation should not be neglected. We have also sought to avoid using softer terms for measurement, such as evaluation, observation and description. These have a long tradition, for instance in development assistance, but do not reflect the new imperative which is raised in particular with regard to innovation. Although causality is impossible to establish in socio-economic contexts, measurement embodies the idea of tracing which (components of) innovations lead to which effects. Evaluation, observation and description are important elements in this but do not themselves link this as explicitly as measurement.

4.7.1 Quality and sustainability

The INNOSERV project identified quality improvement and sustainability as two key elements of innovation (Hawker and Frankland 2012:9). In public services, "[...] innovation is justifiable only where it increases public value in the quality, efficiency or fitness for purpose of governance or services" (Hartley 2005:30). But improved quality or efficiency can often only be related to a single group of stakeholders. New technologies focusing on transparency can have a positive effect for users and administrative staff but can lead to a higher workload for frontline workers. There are contradictory outcomes for different stakeholder groups. Hence, clients, professionals, politicians, managers and administrative staff may have different conceptions regarding improved quality (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:19). Sustainability is another important aspect of innovation. Change resulting from innovations must be sustainable (Bereiter 2002). Innovations have to become embedded and integrated in everyday practice to have broad effects on social change (Hawker and Frankland 2012:15). In this way, they cease to be innovations, but pave the way for new innovations to occur. This idea is also embedded in the model for assessing social innovativeness developed by the TEPSIE project (Bund et al. 2013).

State of the art

With respect to innovative services, new practices have to be financially sustainable in the longer term (not necessarily self-sufficient) so that they remain available when any initial 'pump priming' funding is withdrawn. They also have to develop stable structures so that they become a part of the daily practice of organizations (Pesce and Ispano 2013:11). Sustainability can have a more general meaning in relation to the preservation of the welfare state. Financial cuts in the social, health and education sectors threaten the quality and extent of European service delivery. Innovation is often viewed as necessary for the sustainability of the service quality in European welfare states. Innovative practices can lead to improved cost efficiency, both at the organizational and societal levels, thus preserving the standards of the welfare states.

The participants in the international workshop warned that the on-going restructuring reforms in the social sector mostly result in budget cuts. Innovation is perceived as a means to be able to continue to offer services using fewer financial resources. There is therefore the risk that efficiency in times of crisis is only perceived as a way of cutting costs; however, there should be no efficiency without quality (Laino and Sütő 2013:7-8). Many of the local workshop participants argued that "[...] mere financial factors should never be considered as a measure of innovation in themselves unless they are accompanied by improvement in the service, its quality and/or its effectiveness." (Pesce and Ispano 2013:10)

Research gap

The international workshop participants emphasized the importance of sustaining funding for innovative projects. Many civil projects depend on governmental or international funding. It was argued that the survival of these projects has to be ensured, even after the initial investment period (Laino and Sütō 2013:6). This raises the question of how funders and policy-makers evaluate projects with an innovative potential. A longer financing period gives projects a better chance of demonstrating their positive effects, but it also increases the risk of more money being squandered on unsuccessful projects. Further investigation must explore the criteria an innovative practice should meet in order to receive investment funding. A connected issue arises from the development of new funding instruments that reward investors for achieving pre-defined success criteria, as discussed elsewhere (Glänzel et al. 2013). But what exactly is success and how can it be measured for social services?

Another research gap is how the respective Member States define quality (as part of success). As already noted in the discussion on regional differences, the perception of health and good care services can vary among the Member States. In most countries, a growing number of elderly receiving home care instead of residential care would be viewed as a quality improvement. But this development does not provide any insight into the actual quality of the care services. This can also be related to free choice. Free choice is seen to empower the citizen, but it can also

have unintended side-effects. Older people often need help to select a provider. The choice between multiple providers is often confusing, and the evaluation of the services provided does not often make sense to the user. This is an outcome of enabling innovation and variation that requires further investigation.

Research questions

- How is quality defined, how is it negotiated, how does it relate to impact and how can it be measured?
- How can the measurement of outcomes enhance sustainability of social service innovation?
- What instruments can help distinguish between potential projects and projects that will not improve with additional funding?
- What are the unintended effects of innovation? How can they be dealt with?

4.7.2 Measurement

Across Europe, EU-funded projects have introduced the concept of quality assessment in social practice. Common EU quality principles and an EU quality framework provide guidelines and recommendations to Member States regarding the methodology to set, monitor and assess quality standards through the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). The variety of quality control and quality development tools currently applied is reflected in the different ways in which the EU Member States document the quality of service provision. The application of methods to assess the outcome quality of social services varies extensively between the Member States. Benchmarking, which is a central element of quality management, is not applicable in the social sector of many Member States. The United Kingdom is an exception, where the Performance Assessment Framework has provided an overview of local authority social care service performance by means of defined indicators. These are published and citizens can review each authority's performance and compare it to others.

Providers also resist excessive quality measurement requirements as the effort required can detract from efforts to deliver such services (so, for example, reporting requirements for UK social services have recently been constrained).

The INNOSERV stakeholder consultation proposed the identification of relevance in terms of outcome or impact assessment. One question is how to develop better measurements for soft-outcomes (societal changes)?

As the latter issue relates strongly to the effects of social (service) innovation, its measurement has become a priority for the Member States as well as the EU (Schmitz et al. 2013:3). This

development was also discussed in the INNOSERV international workshops, where the participants emphasized that the ability to measure the outcomes of certain policies and practices and assessing their value becomes increasingly important for the EC and the national states (Laino and Sütő 2013:7). Nevertheless, measuring innovations can be problematic. There are various barriers rendering it difficult to evaluate the outcomes of innovations. The first barrier is the variety of innovation types. According to Phills, Deiglmeier and Miller (2008:39), social innovation can be "a product, production, process, or technology (much like innovation in general), but it can also be a principle, an idea, a piece of legislation, a social movement, an intervention, or some combination of them."

This definition reveals how the problem of identifying a social innovation in general, but also the measurement of effects and outcomes of identified innovations, is problematic, as innovations can have impacts on different levels of society. To fully assess the value of social innovation in services, it is not enough to apply strictly economic criteria and indicators, as they can hardly reveal the cognitive and relational content of the gains generated by innovative services (Bouchard 2006:11; Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:20). Life quality, social environment, access to economic and social opportunities, job satisfaction and free choice are all examples of factors that must be considered in addition to simple economic effects when evaluating the outcome of innovations and their impact (Hawker and Frankland 2012:15). The quality of relationships and trust are important factors that are very difficult to express within the terms of a contract (EC 2006:21). It would also appear difficult to assess the extent of political 'transformation' (changes in social and power relations) and its impact in terms of social usefulness (Crepaldi, De Rosa and Pesce 2012:20).

The issue of measurement is further complicated by the challenge of assessing preventative interventions, which is usually more demanding than analysing responsive ones. The effects of the former are much harder to capture than those of the latter. At the same time the shift from responsive to preventive action in itself may be considered an innovation. Therefore it is not always clear how an innovation relates to (long-term) effects.

State of the art

Quality management approaches, originally developed in industry, are often adopted and used as a tool for measuring social and health service efficiency (Hubert, Maucher and Sak 2006). In the field of technological innovations, there are more metrics available for outcome measurement. But while the economic effects of a new product or technology in the private sector are relatively easy to identify, the economic effects – let alone the wider social effects – of social services are difficult to fully determine, especially in the field of education, health and social services. Here, the boundaries between cause and effect are often blurred, and many factors can influence a positive outcome in these sectors. Social innovation, for example,

contains a normative dimension, in the sense of 'being good for society', which is largely absent in other innovation contexts (Schmitz et al. 2013:4). Measurement instruments applied to social innovations have to capture more subtle aspects. Existing metrics therefore have to be complemented with new aspects (Schmitz et al. 2013:4). In addition to quality management tools for assessing economic effects, instruments such as surveys and group interviews can be used to evaluate the effects of innovations on different stakeholders. User and staff satisfaction play a central role in the social sector. Such instruments can have effects on innovations in the social services, e.g. crowding-out effects of user groups.

In assessing the more subtle determinants of impact, i.e. those that directly affect individual well-being, the discussion of measuring organizational outcomes and impacts is related to an emerging debate on how to assess the wealth of nations more usefully than simply using GDP as a measure of economic production. So called 'new wealth indicators' are being proposed with the aim of capturing what constitutes the viability, cohesion and eventually the well-being of societies more accurately (Diefenbacher and Zieschank 2010; Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009; Porter, Stern and Loria 2013). These include richness of environmental resources, the degree of social capital (referring to connections and trust between people) and political participation. In making use of these, research might also establish closer links to issues of human rights or other key principles with regard to framing social service provision and social policy, as discussed earlier.

These aspects are included in data sources and measurement instruments that focus on social, normative or environmental dimensions such as the OECD Better Life Index, European System of Social Indicators (GESIS), Civil Society Index (CIVCUS) and National Footprint (Global Footprint Network). These have been identified in developing a blueprint for metrics to measure social innovation in the TEPSIE research project (Schmitz et al. 2013:12; see Bund et al. 2013 for the full version). Another reference system would be the Gender Equality Index (EU).³⁹ The systems of metrics referred to above have been combined with established measurement systems that are directly connected to innovation measurement in private or public sector organizations. These are e. g. the Innovation Union Scoreboard (EU), the Global Innovation Index (INSEAD), Innovation in Public Sector Organizations (NESTA), Measure Public Innovation in the Nordic Countries (MEPIN) or the Global Competitiveness Index (WEF). The need to combine different kinds of metrics is related to the complexity of social innovations. To measure the innovative potential, the effectiveness and social impact have to be combined. The degree of diffusion can also be an important factor in order to assess the impact of an innovation on society. An innovation may have little effect unless it is widely applied beyond its place of origin (OECD 2005). These macro level frameworks represent a useful orientation and have to be complemented by the investigation and measurement of social service innovation at the organizational level and its broader effects.

³⁹ See: http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index

Research gap

Although internationally agreed concepts and metrics for measuring innovation exist in the private sector, there is no similar framework for the public sector (OECD 2010:90) or social services (yet). A challenge for the measurement of public and social innovations is that the conditions and frameworks in the public sector vary from country to country. Countries can face different social challenges, and major differences in the structure of their welfare services render it difficult to measure the social impact of innovation with standardized measurement instruments.

A significant problem in assessing social, health and education services remains the evaluation of long-term effects. The outcomes of social services are often not visible in the short-term. Similar challenges present themselves in preventative projects, where clear counter-factuals (what would happen without the intervention?) are missing. Also in these cases long-term analysis is often necessary to assess the potential of an innovation in the social sector, but the financing of many EU projects is often limited to a short period (Laino and Sütő 2013:5). This can also be applied to policy changes: New reforms and innovations break routines and therefore reduce the effectiveness and quality of services. It often takes time for staff and users to become accustomed to changes and develop new routines.

Sullivan and Skelcher (2002:96) argue that stakeholder views need to be considered in the assessment of social service innovations. This is because assessment cannot be separated from the policy context in which they are embedded. According to Thomas and Palfrey (1996), three groups of stakeholders exist: the funders (government, insurance companies etc.), beneficiaries (users) and the providers (including professionals, managers and politicians) (Ball et al. 2010). Depending on which group is evaluating, 'stakeholder evaluation' will always have a subjective element. This means that stakeholder evaluations also have negative aspects and can hinder the implementation of new innovations. How do different providers or government agencies use stakeholder evaluations to improve services?

The international workshop participants discussed the idea of having an EU framework setting clear indicators to assess innovation and the outcomes of innovative policies. On one hand, participants highlighted that a clear framework is lacking. On the other hand, participants realized that a very structured framework could have the counterproductive effect of inhibiting innovation, as it usually happens at the micro-level, where the level of coordination is lower. Participants discussed the pros and cons of developing tools to measure social innovation and suggested that further research investigating this aspect needs to be performed (Laino and Sütō 2013:7).

Research questions

- Are the basic concepts and tools used in the private sector relevant to the characteristics of the public sector? Which dimensions are not covered, have to be added or cancelled?
- Can the general categories used in measurement instruments (e. g. surveys) be applied to different countries despite major differences and heterogeneity in social service fields?
- How can macro level concepts and organizational level approaches be brought together?
- How can comprehensive stakeholder inclusion be promoted and individual bias as well as strong particularism be limited?
- How can the issues of long-term perspective and preventative services be dealt with in the assessment of impact?
- What are the effects of standardization in measurement against the need for flexibility in assessing the diversity of (innovation in) social services?

5. Outlook

Social services innovation represents a new and challenging field of research. The two main factors contributing to it are the complexity of issues involved and the broad societal importance of the topic. Both of them require future investigations and continue as an active dialogue between researchers, practitioners and policy makers. This research agenda, which has been tested through comprehensive stakeholder consultation and engagement, has been designed to provide fruitful ground for the drafting, designing and execution of research or platform project for Horizon 2020.

We believe it provides a broad but focused overview of the issues that should be addressed, and how they are linked and integrated. It proposes the investigation of social service innovation as an interdisciplinary research process using a wide variety of research methods, including qualitative and quantitative approaches. It also develops further connections between projects that are dedicated to social innovation more broadly and their related pathways of investigation. We have tried to establish links to other past or on-going projects in the field. We hope this enables others to engage in exchange, discussions and actions on this important theme in the future.

6. References

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Appendix 1: The Consortium workshop

The consortium workshop was originally scheduled to take place in the autumn of 2013. In order to utilize the various expertise amongst the partners, the consortium workshop was moved to the summer of 2013 instead and to enable a dialogical approach to the formulation of the research agenda. This approach ensured that the partners were able to participate in the early stages of the work on the research agenda, including brief presentations of the WP8 and WP9, which were presented at the Roskilde meeting. The final WP8 and WP9 reports were later incorporated into the draft of the research agenda (Pesce and Ispano 2013; Laino and Sütő 2013). An outline of some research themes was presented and discussed at the consortium workshop (Dahl 2013). These changes also led to a revised workshop agenda in order to facilitate the systematic integration of the findings from all of the earlier work packages, including work packages 8 and 9 in the discussions. In addition, the new workshop agenda enabled an expanded discussion of the work-in-progress paper on the research agenda (Dahl 2013), which identified key themes that had be touched during the earlier stages of the project, and it discussed the benefits and limits of different research approaches rather than outlining the structure of the research agenda.

The revised workshop agenda enabled the consortium to work on the research agenda from a dialogical approach that dealt with the earlier work in a systematic manner. The guiding principle for this systematic approach was to use cross-work package comparison of knowledge that systematized knowledge and searched for findings and gaps, thus informing a complete picture of what was known and discussed from different angles in the earlier stages of the project. This principle was agreed upon during a pre-workshop meeting between the work package leader and the project coordinators.

During the first part of the consortium workshop, the draft reports from work package 8, 9 and 10 (Pesce and Ipano 2013; Laino and Sütő 2013; Dahl 2013) were presented and discussed. Throughout the joint discussions, new themes for further discussion were noted in a storage folder. After these initial presentations and joint discussions, the consortium members were divided into three working groups, which were responsible for identifying key research themes in the consortium's earlier work. The three groups worked with, respectively, the theoretically based work packages 1-3, the empirical informed work packages 7-9, and work package 10 on the research agenda and the new themes in the storage folder. The groups were put together in such a manner as to take the consortium members' different expertise and earlier involvement in the work packages into account.

This first round of working group sessions was followed by presentations and discussions in plenary. Departing from the working groups' presentations, the discussions developed the

themes pinpointed by the working groups, and the themes from the all three groups were then linked to one another. During this joint process, research themes were merged and expanded, identical themes deleted and broader themes were identified via abstraction. By the end of this process, the consortium members had identified seven research themes: "Governing social services", "User centrality to services and approaches", "Institutional and organizational development", "New hard and soft technologies, "Influence of regional and local contexts diversity to social services", "Blurring boundaries", and "Outcomes and quality development and new challenges from innovation in social services".

The seven themes were then elaborated further in a second working group session. In this session, three new working groups each worked on two to three of the themes. The working groups further developed the themes based on a matrix that addressed the following aspects in relation to the specific research theme: "Sub-issues and need for future research in relation to challenges and problems", "State of the art", "Research gaps" and "Research questions". Through this session, the working groups framed sub-issues, provided inputs to the state of the art on the themes and phrased specific research questions in relation to the themes and gaps. In addition to the seven themes, another theme emerged during the "Framing services" session, and it was consequently added to the other themes. The groups' findings were once again presented and discussed in a joint session. During the second joint session, the consortium members went through the expanded themes in order to develop them further and utilize all of the expertise within the consortium. The inputs from the joint session were collected in a single matrix covering the themes and the above mentioned aspects of each of the eight themes. We ultimately agreed on seven themes, integrating 'blurring boundaries' into several of the other themes. In addition to identifying the seven key themes, the consortium decided that the research themes should be broad and not fixed to particular services fields (health, welfare or education). This would enable the research agenda to take into account the importance of cross-sectorial developments within social services.

The work done in the consortium workshop has since been strengthened through two processes whereby all of the consortium members have had the opportunity to provide input. First, the national teams have produced a brief, written foresight report exploring future scenarios in relation to social services at the national level. The reports were produced as reviews of the future challenges identified by policy-makers and the scientific community. This was done in order to supplement the earlier work (Hawker and Frankland 2012) with up-to-date knowledge. The reports addressing the national level were complemented with a report addressing the EU level plus international level, which was represented by OECD and WHO reports. The findings from these reports have served as a way to qualify the identified research themes and the gaps in the relevant knowledge by the stakeholder. In a second process, all of the consortium members have been invited to go through the matrix of the research themes. The participating

members thus had time to check with their respective national teams and make comments. The aim of the process was primarily to provide further input to the state of the art and the gaps in relation to each of the research themes and to identify additional research questions.

Based on the discussions during the consortium workshop in Roskilde, the framing of the research agenda is guided by two principles: First, the themes and research questions in the agenda do not target each of the three service fields; second, the research themes and questions have been drafted to fit both basic and applied research, as the consortium views them as being complementary.

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Promoting Innovation in Social Services

An Agenda For Future Research And Development

Summary Findings and Key Recommendations





Background

European welfare systems are under increasing pressure to transform and adapt to the present and future challenges of our globalized world. This is especially true of the comprehensive field of health, welfare and informal education services - that we will all use at one point or another during our lifetimes.

Social services, generally speaking, are changing. Research conducted by the INNOSERV social platform identified a diverse set of themes. This research agenda outlines how the various stages of investigation worked together to develop possible solutions to the issues surrounding social service innovation, and revealed how they might stimulate future lines of investigation.

Due to the close relation between innovation in social service provision and the broader 'development agenda' for social services, this report identifies important mechanisms for positive development in social services across Europe. The research itself focuses on key themes for social services, with the intent of helping these services improve the lives of people and promote a fair and sustainable model for society in times of rapid social change. It

needs to respond to new concepts and technologies and to accommodate new social norms and expectations. All service developments have to be effective both in terms of outputs and outcomes and in the use of social and financial resources.

The themes and sub-themes for future investigation of social service innovation promoted by this research agenda neither cover the entire field of innovation in social services, nor speak to the broader field of social innovation. As it includes rather diffuse shifts and developments that affect social attitudes and behaviours, social innovation has a strong correlation to social change and the often intangible factors accompanying it (including the influence of social movements, for instance). Social service innovation is characterized by parallels to this, but differs in that it emphasizes the 'organizational' or 'directed' aspects of innovation. It stresses, in other words, innovation in service provision as a rather formalized embodiment of ideational or thematic innovation.

INNOSERV's research agenda also parallels much broader socio-economic and socio-political trends concerned with austerity, due to limited resources and the need for their optimal allocation, along with broader welfare





reforms. The difficulties in developing a cohesive direction in this debate stem from a basic confusion over the meaning of "optimum" in relation to social service provision. Do we apply the pareto principle, where no one can be made better off without making someone else worse off? Or, should we consider the well-being of minority groups before that of the majority? Does "optimum" indicate the most cost-efficient way of resource allocation, or one that is rightful and just? If the latter, how do we determine what is rightful and just?

In this debate, innovation has shown the promise of better outcomes by mobilizing resources in a new and often more effective way, sometimes being promoted, in response to the prevailing austerity, as "doing more with less." Others criticize it for being a disguised argument in favour of further budget cuts. Obviously we cannot resolve these questions. What we can do is provide an impression of what innovation in social service might look like through 'visual sociology' (in this case, using short film

documentaries to explore innovation developments) and theoretical case work (www.inno-serv.eu), and by highlighting the questions it asks, the challenges it triggers, and the promise it holds by this research agenda. In relation to services, the INNOSERV project has neither studied the structure of individual organizations or the provider landscape, nor the present position in which these organizations and providers find themselves. At base, the project develops a deeper understanding of the emerging products and services, and specifically the processes behind their development. Against this background, we cannot judge whether innovation within social services is more limited than in the commercial arena - although this is a research question worth examining. We can, however, illustrate how innovation relates to and differs from technological innovation, and observe the particularities it brings, from the micro to the macro level, for the actors involved. Please note that all examples of innovations being shown in INNOSERV-videos are not promoted as being "best practice" examples. They rather serve to spur the debate about what innovation in social services might look like.

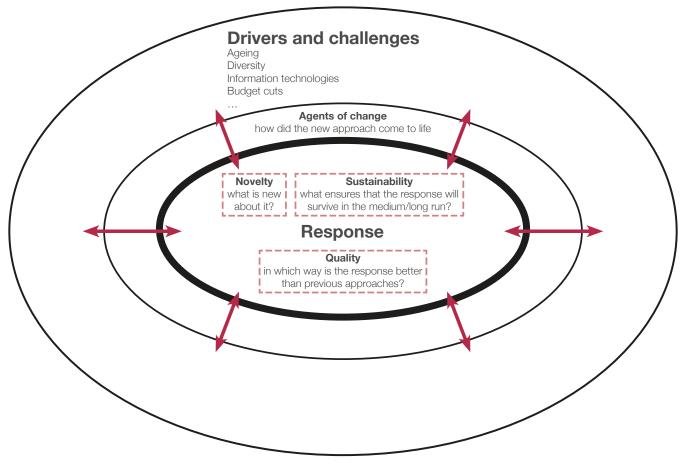
The INNOSERV approach to investigating social service innovation

Our platform has taken a bottom up approach, collecting the views of stakeholders about innovations in social services in various European countries. This was accomplished through visualizations of twenty innovative examples presented to users, practitioners, policy makers and experts in the field in the INNOSERV partner countries and beyond. Prior research on the state-of-the-art knowledge on social service innovation, along with a systematic assessment of major drivers and challenges in the framework surrounding the phenomenon, helped reinforce these examples of innovative practice. This enabled the development of a model for innovation in service development which linked together the factors driving innovation, including key social and technological changes and challenges with key qualities which make innovation effective and sustainable. These two factors are linked together in practice by individuals and organizations mediating these two sets of factors. One of our key theses is that the

way these are mediated is crucial to eventual adoption and take up of innovations in practice (this model presents only one of the approaches explored through the INNOSERV project¹):

All of these (the review documents, the innovative practices, the innovation model, and the survey results of various stakeholders' experiences) informed the draft research agenda thematically developed at a meeting in

Factors influencing Social Services Innovation



¹ Note: this model has been developed on the basis of the empirical work within the project. It represents one of the mechanisms for identifying innovation in social services. Other approaches included, for example, the systematic detection of current research in scientific publications. For further information about the model of innovation in service development, please read chapter 3.2. of the full research agenda document.



Roskilde at the end of June 2013. This draft was then subject to a sustained consultation process with users and practitioners, policy makers and researchers. The entire process has been performed over nearly two years. The research agenda is thus the culmination of a sophisticated process that combined academic research methods with the strong involvement of various stakeholder groups.

Research themes

This research agenda provides a general description of each theme, identifies key sub-themes and their respective state-of-the-art research, along with research gaps to develop a systematic outline of the research questions directing future investigations of the subject. In the following we give a short account of seven themes identified as key areas for future research. Each presented theme includes some indication of the audiences it most potentially affects and the questions it evokes. A selection of most salient research issues which have emerged in the course of the INNOSERV project will follow. This investigation proceeds by outlining the tensions the issues stimulate and how they coincidently influence several of the major research themes. The identified issues, in other words, help establish the connections between various themes.

The seven key research themes identified by INNOSERV are:

- (1) User-centred services and approaches,
- (2) Innovations and organizational as well as institutional development,
- (3) Framing social services in relation to innovation,
- (4) The governance of social service innovation,
- (5) The influence of national, regional and local contexts,
- (6) New technologies,
- (7) Measuring outcomes, quality and challenges.

The first theme, "User-centred services and approaches," refers to personalization, cross-sector co-operation and the increasing interaction

between professionals, users and volunteers. User-centred services and approaches focus on the paradigmatic shift towards the user: userinvolvement in (re)shaping processes, the shifting roles and functions of actors, and rethinking and developing competences of actors, users and volunteers. This includes beneficial aspects often ascribed to phenomena like co-production, i.e., the active involvement of users in the innovation or service provision process.

However, the new forms of interaction resulting from such scenarios may stimulate conflict between, for instance, the ethos of professionals, with their potential interest to preserve autonomy and their expert role, and the wishes and needs of users. While a profound body of knowledge already exists on the interaction between professionals and users, little work has focused on the potential beneficial and harmful effects resulting from the stimulation and diffusion of social service innovation.



Missing knowledge particularly affects the conditions and frameworks needed for successful interaction between actors, and the related management and governance questions more directly assessed in separate themes below. While this theme is of primary importance for practitioners and users, it retains value for researchers investigating the relation of the two and seeking to provide valuable advice for practice.

The **second theme**, "Innovations and organizational as well as institutional development", is about engineering change in relation to innovation: resources, patterns of change, agents of change, inter-organizational relations and the management of development. At the micro level, change within the social service organisation (managerial and organizational changes) might include resource mobilization for the realization of innovation. With respect to the surrounding institutional and other frameworks, change



might include differing operational conditions for organizations thereby stimulating innovation.

This theme, in that it investigates who holds responsibility for initiating change and how socially beneficially change might be incubated, harnessed and directed, probably lies closest to the phenomenon of broader social

shifts and trajectories. This makes it of central importance to researchers who analyse innovation in social services from a systemic perspective, along with policy makers who aim at triggering social change.

A **third theme**, "Framing social services in relation to innovation", in close relation to the previous theme, concerns key values and the manner in which policy talk frames innovation: it defines social and political needs and identifies problems and key principles (such as broad quasi-legislative conventions) in shaping social services. It investigates, in other words, the operationalization of broader institutional relations and how these affect the identification of social needs as well as eventual service provision. A major emphasis falls on policy issues and how policy and social discourses affect the perception and legitimation of social service innovation.

This theme is not limited to the regulative influence policy-making can have on innovation, but investigates who decides how services should be designed and the potential effect these actors and processes have over the stimulation or prohibition of innovation. It is connected to values and the normative aspects of innovation in social services.

The **fourth theme**, "The governance of innovation", is undergoing rapid change, becoming evermore complex due to the new forms of provider organizations and new forms of (governmental) governance. Governance encompasses sub-themes such as marketization, privatization, standardization, and service pillarization, along with cross-sector approaches that might come into conflict with the former or be used to overcome such conflict. This theme both sheds light on organizational aspects and contains a strong comparative dimension with respect to context. It pays tribute to the influence different welfare-state conceptions have on innovation in social services.

The theme does not only refer to inter-organizational aspects of network governance, but also to political steering through multi-level governance. Similar to the theme addressing organizational and institutional



development, this facilitates the development of guidelines for standard setting and monitoring, along with the promotion of innovation from a policy perspective (in practice and research).

The **fifth theme**, "The influence of national, regional and local contexts", refers to the 'embeddedness' of innovation in cultural contexts, where local context refers to nation states and local authorities/municipalities. Subthemes include cultural factors as barriers and facilitators, the capacity of systems in producing and sustaining innovation, and the transferability of social service innovation.

While cultural factors and their influence help determine service demand in particular areas, becoming thereby important for practitioners as designers of social services, policy determines the capacity of systems for realizing and maintaining innovations. Identifying conditions that support the transferability of innovations is basic to the academic investigation of innovation. While the second theme examines diffusion within organizational and institutional contexts, this theme concentrates on the different aspects of geographic diffusion.

The sixth theme, "New Technologies", examines the impact of new technologies on organizations, professionals and users, and the interactions



between them: accessibility of services, remote and assistive technologies, and especially the incorporation of new technologies in the social service process. These affect not only the communication of innovative practices and the connection between individuals as users to service providers, but also some of the delivered services themselves.

New technologies are, thus, of central importance to practitioners, not only as promotional devices, but for the development of new kinds of services and innovation as such.

The final and seventh theme, "Measuring Outcomes, Quality and Challenges", encompasses a range of questions dealing with the improvement of social services for the user and the service provider and at the societal level, along with the question of how to measure this improvement and any possible unintended effects. As these questions touch on both technical and normative aspects, producing a unique combination of capturing created value to inform decision-making and political steering, they are of central interest to researchers.

Key issues and resulting tensions

The following issues, because they encapsulate the highest tensions triggered by the new imperative on social (service) innovation, are of central importance to the INNOSERV research agenda and cut across thematic areas. They assist our understanding of how best to enable social (service) innovation, how innovation relates to other key principles, and its potential capacity to re-vitalize societies.

Because the themes are so multi-faceted and broad in themselves, their final significance for the design of future research programmes, policy making and organizational practice is contingent upon pro-active engagement. The following issues help the reader better interpret the aforementioned themes. Without a higher degree of elaboration, including reference to academic knowledge from across disciplines and research traditions along





with the reflexive comments of field experts, practitioners, users and policy makers, it will be difficult to fully apprehend the tension fields spanned in the following. We strongly encourage every reader of this executive summary to consult the comprehensive version of the theme most relevant to him or her, along with the applicable (directly) interconnected themes.

The following issues are presented in an accentuated manner with the explicit intent of highlighting their obvious and latent tensions. They neither exhaust the range of concerns contained in this research agenda, nor prioritize any particular aspect. Such prioritization only emerges in conjunction with stakeholder involvement and a mutual recognition of the aims of social (service) innovation, whether and how it might be fostered, and how it might be embedded in the wider societal context. These key issues, however, are significant in directing this discussion process.

Though the following sections follow the same stages as the above themes, internally they correspond to a variety of other themes to which they bear strong connections.

User-centrality, social needs and risk

One central challenge in making user centrality a reality (Theme 1) rests in the identification of genuine vs. artificial social needs. A more sophisticated understanding of genuine social needs enables the development of ideas for social service innovation, ideas which can then be translated into responsive social services (Theme 2). Values and norms (Theme 3) guide the definition, discovery and addressing of social needs. However, such definition can also result from political bargaining and thus depend on the power constellations of involved constituents. To mitigate this, in the identification of needs there needs to be a strong reciprocal relationship between users, who explicitly participate in the process, and the political



actor. At the same time, the principle of greater user involvement includes the danger of trading the self-determination of users for the assumption of individual risk. Regulatory standards for social service innovation will have to take this into account (Theme 4).

Direction and steering modes of change

With regard to the identification and stimulation of innovation, and its organizational diffusion, there is often reference to a variety of 'agents of change' (Theme 2). This variety has both internal and external consequences for organizations and institutions. It is not yet clear whether the dominant pattern of innovation is bottom-up, top-down or 'sideways' or indeed whether there are mixed mechanisms at play. Any judgment may depend especially on context in its geographic sense (Theme 5), the organizational life cycle, and the particular stage of innovation in question. Themes of management, leadership (primarily internally) and governance (Theme 4; primarily externally) are related to structural vs. procedural approaches to social service innovation, the latter of which may include entrepreneurial and intrapreneurial acting.

Key principles and their interpretation

International regulatory frameworks, standard principles, and conventions (Theme 3) determine policy and organizational practice. There will, however, always be differences in the local vs. regional vs. national interpretation of these framing references (Theme 5). Conflict might even arise between these principle guidelines and current legal regulations. It remains unclear how these individual frameworks, and any consequent tensions, feed into social service innovation.

(Conflicting) policy principles

What relationship currently exists between the diversity of current policy principles and social service innovation (Theme 4)? Innovation, far from being in harmony with existing policy principles, may stimulate conflict. Specifically, tensions arise with regard to innovation vs. continuity. This affects on the one hand the emergence of new (innovative) services vs. the preservation and the reliability of standard services, and, on the other, the ambitions of continuous innovation vs. scaling and how 'standardization' of new service approaches are achieved. It affects political regulation in both the field and organizational practice (Theme 2). The issues of cost vs. quality of outcomes are also often (though not always) key conflicting considerations (Theme 7). The extent to which the agendas of privatization and marketization either stimulate or prohibit innovation is a question to be asked in relation to this. It is also unclear how key principles regulating social service provision such as legal standards or broader directives



(e. g., human rights declarations) might become more determinative than pragmatism (Theme 3) within this framework. Finally, with the promotion of innovation comes the need to balance administrative efficiency vs. crosscutting service and funding streams, which seem to be needed for social service innovation.

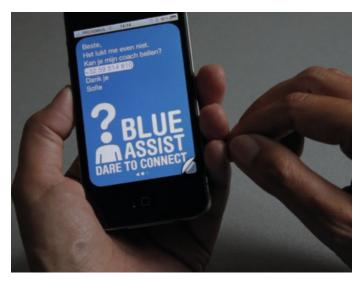
Systematic enabler of innovation

What contextual factors help stimulate social service innovation: capacity vs. necessities (Theme 5)? Is innovation more likely to emerge where we

find the biggest need, or where existing socio-economic and socio-political systems have the highest capacity? Is innovation prompted by scarcity (which triggers potential demand) or abundance (in delivering potential supply)? Any answer depends on the local, regional or national context and the effects this has over the number, scope, size and type of the emerging innovation. This, in turn, shapes actor constellations and has implications for the design of funding streams (Theme 2).

Alterations by new technology

New technology (Theme 6) is becoming evermore important, both as a means of communication for social (service) innovation and as a fundamental element of service provision. How does this change actor roles (Theme 1) at the internal micro level: i.e., how is the relation between professionals vs. users altered? What effects does it have at the external field level: i.e., is there a complementary/integrative relation vs. a competitive relation between new (technology based) and old services? This includes the question of whether and to what extent technology is relevant to social (person-based) services at all. This connects to the framing of social service innovation (Theme 3).



The challenge of measurement

The measurement of the outcomes, quality and sustainability of services (Theme 7) will always be placed in a tension field between technical accuracy vs. normative directions. It is, as such, directly related to the principles framing social service innovation (Theme 3). Measurement is vital to how organizations and institutions steer, assess and regulate social service innovation (Theme 2), to how it affects users (Theme 1) and to how innovation is governed in relation to political prioritization, benchmarking and similar practices (Theme 4).

Alongside these overarching issues, three of the seven research themes received particular attention during INNOSERV stakeholder consultation phase, and subsequently received the most profound revisions in the iterative evolvement of the research agenda. Although we cannot be conclusive, we suspect that the pronounced interest in these three was due to their broad relevance as well as their inchoate state.

(1) User-centredness

In terms of relevance, as the first theme relates to the target groups of a service, so it touches on the essential traits of service provision. However, the very newness of a user-centred approach means that the realization of this ambition (serving the target group) is deficient and that much room for improvement remains.

(5) Context

The fifth theme touches upon the core challenges in European policy. These lie in bridging a pronounced gap between nation states and between regions or municipalities. One finds these gaps in socio-economic development status, political systems, or cultural values and traditions. Eastern European countries and new member candidates are subject to catalytic change and currently experiencing dynamic development. The state of crisis in some incumbent member states further increases the complexity of this issue and contributes to its lack of resolution.



(7) Outcomes and quality

The seventh theme is connected to social well-being and so to the ultimate rationale for social service provision. It affects constituents both at the European and at the global level and spans all sectors and field borders. The issue of outcomes and quality of services is directly linked to debates on social-welfare, including matters of inclusion, cohesion, productivity and viability - an issue subject to evermore intense debated.

As suggested above, the themes need to be treated in an integrated and not isolated fashion. Nonetheless, these observations can help identify the most powerful levers for bringing greater coherence to the field and study of social service innovation.

approach and the primary audience highlighted in the executive summary and supported by the specific research questions accompanying each theme in the comprehensive agenda.

Outlook

The themes and specific issues discussed here together with the video portraits intend to stimulate exchange between researchers, practitioners and policy makers around the emergent field of social service innovation and other related debates. The research agenda, despite the focus on some selected issues, demonstrates the broad range of subjects being spanned by this new thematic focus.

This research agenda furthermore highlights how complex social service innovation is and how it occurs at multiple levels: at the micro level of individual organizations, at the meso level of organizational fields, at the macro level of political regulation, and ultimately at the level of broad social change. Due to this scope, we believe that social service innovation represents a fruitful field for scholarly investigation, spanning disciplinary, research, practice, and policy borders. In this regard, a multiplicity of potential setups and constellations of investigation characterizes its study. Basic and applied research can be combined in its investigation, and focused research projects can be complemented with social platforms or more experimental projects such as incubators, clusters or even network developments. This research agenda raises issues worth further investigation. It indicates the potential relation between the research



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IRS - Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale

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EASPD - European Association of Service providers for Persons with Disabilities

SOLIDAR

ENIL - European Network on Independent Living

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Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen

Empfehlungen für zukünftige Forschung und Entwicklung

Eine Zusammenfassung





Hintergrund

Die europäischen Sozialsysteme stehen immer stärker unter dem Druck, sich zu verändern und sich an die gegenwärtigen und zukünftigen Herausforderungen unserer globalisierten Welt anzupassen. Dies trifft insbesondere auf das umfassende Feld von sozialen Dienstleistungen des Gesundheitswesens, der Wohlfahrt und informeller Bildungsangebote zu - die wir alle irgendwann einmal in unserem Leben in Anspruch nehmen müssen.

Soziale Dienstleistungen im Allgemeinen befinden sich im Wandel. Die Untersuchungen, die im Rahmen des EU-Projektes INNOSERV-Forschungs-Plattform durchgeführt wurden, haben dazu eine ganze Reihe wesentlicher Themenbereiche zutage gefördert. Die vorliegende Forschungsagenda stellt nun die Ergebnisse aus den verschiedenen Untersuchungsansätzen dar, um mögliche Lösungen für die Kernfragen rund um die Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen zu entwickeln, und zeigt auf, wie dies künftige Forschungslinien stimulieren könnte.

Weil zwischen Innovationen in der Dienstleistungsversorgung und der weiteren Perspektive auf eine mögliche "Entwicklungsagenda" für soziale Dienstleistungen ein starker Zusammenhang besteht, will dieser Bericht wichtige Faktoren und Elemente für eine positive Entwicklung sozialer Dienstleistungen in ganz Europa aufzeigen. Die Forschungsarbeit selbst konzentriert sich dabei auf Schlüsselthemen der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen mit dem Ziel, diese Maßnahmen und Ansätze so zu gestalten, dass sie in Zeiten raschen sozialen Wandels das Leben von

Menschen verbessern können und zu einem fairen und nachhaltigen Gesellschaftsmodell beitragen können. Die Forschung muss dabei auf neue Konzepte und Technologien reagieren und neue soziale Normen und Erwartungen aufgreifen. Alle Entwicklungen von Dienstleistungen müssen sowohl im Sinn ihrer Leistung, Ergebnisse und Wirkungen als auch in der Nutzung sozialer und finanzieller Ressourcen effektiv sein.

Die Themen und Unterthemen für die zukünftige Erforschung der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen, die durch diese vorliegende Forschungsagenda angestoßen und vorangetrieben wird, kann weder das gesamte Feld von Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen abdecken, noch gehen sie auf das breitere Feld sozialer Innovation als solcher ein. Das Konzept Soziale Innovation umfasst eher diffuse Strömungen und Entwicklungen, die auf soziale Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen wirken, und hat somit eine starke Korrelation zum gesellschaftlichen Wandel und den damit einhergehenden oft kaum greifbaren Faktoren (einschließlich des Einflusses gesellschaftlicher Bewegungen zum Beispiel). Die Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen zeigt durchaus Parallelen dazu auf, unterscheidet sich jedoch darin, dass sie die "organisatorischen" oder "steuernden" Aspekte der Innovation herausstellt. Mit anderen Worten betont der Fokus auf soziale Dienstleistungen Innovation als konkrete und formalisierte Verkörperung von Ideen und Thematiken von Innovation.

Die Forschungsagenda von INNOSERV stellt zudem Parallelen zu viel breiter angelegten sozio-ökonomischen und sozio-politischen Trends im Hinblick auf Sparmaßnahmen her, die eng verbunden sind mit Problematiken





begrenzter Ressourcen und der Notwendigkeit diese optimal zu verteilen, im Rahmen übergreifend angelegter Reformen der Wohlfahrtsregime. Die Schwierigkeiten, in dieser Debatte eine kohärente Richtung zu entfalten, resultieren aus einer grundlegenden Uneinigkeit über die Bedeutung von "Optimum" im Zusammenhang mit der Bereitstellung sozialer Dienstleistung. Wenden wir das Pareto-Prinzip an, wo das normative Prinzip formuliert wird, dass die Steigerung von Wohlstand auf der einen Seite dann legitimiert ist, wenn auf den anderen niemand gleichzeitig schlechter gestellt wird? Oder sollten wir das Wohl von Minderheitengruppen über das der Mehrheit stellen? Zeigt "optimal" den effizientesten Weg der Ressourcenallokation an, oder eher einen, der richtig und gerecht ist? Wenn Letzteres zuträfe, wie bestimmen wir dann was richtig und gerecht ist?

In dieser Debatte wird mit dem Thema Innovation in Aussicht gestellt, dass es meist zielführender ist, Ressourcen auf neue und effektivere Weise zu mobilisieren, was zuweilen als Antwort auf herrschende Sparmaßnahmen mit dem Slogan "mehr tun mit weniger Mitteln" beworben wird. Andere kritisieren dies als ein verschleiertes Argument zugunsten weiterer Budgetstreichungen. Ganz offensichtlich können wir diese Fragen nicht lösen. Was wir aber mit dieser Forschungsagenda leisten können, ist einen Eindruck davon zu vermitteln, wie Innovationen bei sozialen Diensten aussehen können, und zwar mittels filmischer Kurzportraits innovativer Fallbeispiele und theoretischer Fallarbeit (www.inno-serv.eu), sowie durch Beleuchtung der Fragen, die Innovation aufwirft, der Herausforderungen, die sie auslöst, und der Versprechen, die sie bereit hält.

In Bezug auf soziale Dienstleistungen hat das INNOSERV-Projekt weder die Struktur einzelner Organisationen oder die Anbieterlandschaft, noch die gegenwärtige Position, in der diese Organisationen und Anbieter sich befinden, in den Fokus der Betrachtungen gestellt. Im Grunde führt das Projekt zu einem tieferen Verständnis für die innovativen Produkte und Dienstleistungen, und vor allem die hinter deren Entwicklung stehenden Prozesse. Vor diesem Hintergrund können wir nicht beurteilen, ob die Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen beschränkter ist als im kommerziellen Bereich - obgleich dies eine sinnvolle Forschungsfrage ist. Wir können jedoch darstellen, wie Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen mit technologischer Innovation zusammenhängt, und sich auch davon abhebt, und die Besonderheiten beobachten, die sie für die betroffenen Akteure von der Mikro- bis zur Makroebene mit sich bringt. Man beachte, dass alle Beispiele für Innovationen, die in den INNOSERV-Videos gezeigt werden, nicht als Best-Practice-Beispiele zu verstehen sind. Sie dienen vielmehr dazu, die Debatte darüber zu befördern, wie eine Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen aussehen könnte.

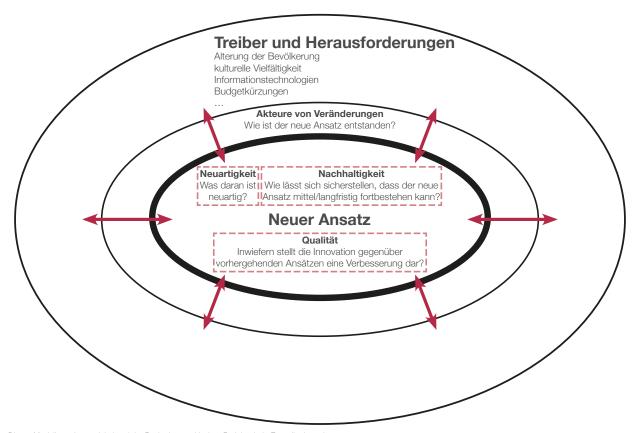
Der Ansatz von INNOSERV bei der Erforschung von Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen

Unsere Forschungs-Plattform hat einen Bottom-up-Approach gewählt, indem die Meinung von Stakeholdern (an sozialen Dienstleistungen beteiligten oder von diesen betroffenen Gruppen) über Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen in verschiedenen europäischen Ländern gesammelt wurden. Dies erfolgte über die filmische Visualisierung zwanzig Innovationsbeispielen, die Nutzern, Praktikern, von Entscheidungsträgern und Experten in den INNOSERV-Partnerländern und darüber hinaus vorgelegt wurden. Untersuchungen zum aktuellen Forschungsstand über Innovationen sozialer Dienstleistungen – neben einer systematischen Bewertung von Haupttreibern und Herausforderungen im Umfeld des Phänomens - halfen, diese Beispiele innovativer Praxis zu

verstärken. Dies führte zur Entwicklung eines Modells für Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen, welches die innovationstreibenden Faktoren, darunter gesellschaftliche und technologische Schlüsselveränderungen und Herausforderungen, mit Schlüsselqualitäten, welche die Innovation effektiv und nachhaltig machen, zusammenführte. Diese beiden Faktoren werden in der Praxis durch Individuen und Organisationen verknüpft, indem sie beide Faktorenbündel vermitteln. Eine unserer Schlüsselthesen lautet

daher, dass die Art, wie diese vermittelt werden, entscheidend ist für die spätere Übernahme und das Aufgreifen von Innovationen in der Praxis (das nachfolgende Modell stellt nur einen Ansatz innerhalb des INNOSERV-Projekts dar¹):

Einflussfaktoren von Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen



¹ Hinweis: Dieses Modell wurde entwickelt auf der Basis der empirischen Projektarbeit. Es stellt einen der Ansätze dar, um Innovationen bei sozialen Diensten zu identifizieren (ein anderer Ansatz des INNOSERV-Projekts bestand z.B. in der systematischen Erfassung des Forschungsstandes in wissenschaftlichen Publikationen). Für weitere Informationen zu diesem Modell von Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen lesen Sie Kapitel 3.2. des Gesamtdokuments der Forschungsagenda.



Alle diese Faktoren, welche die Innovation bei sozialen Diensten beeinflussen (die Prüfunterlagen, die innovativen Praktiken, das Innovationsmodell, und die Umfrageergebnisse über die Erfahrungen verschiedener Interessengruppen) flossen nun in den Entwurf der Forschungsagenda ein, welche thematisch bei einem Treffen in Roskilde Ende Juni 2013 entwickelt wurde. Dieser Entwurf war daraufhin Gegenstand eines fortlaufenden Konsultationsprozesses mit Nutzern und Praktikern, Entscheidungsträgern und Wissenschaftlern. Der gesamte Prozess lief über fast zwei Jahre. Die Forschungsagenda stellt somit den Gipfelpunkt eines differenzierten Prozesses dar, der wissenschaftliche Forschungsmethoden mit starken dem Einbezua verschiedener Interessenaruppen verbindet.

Forschungsthemen

Diese Forschungsagenda liefert eine allgemeine Beschreibung für jedes Thema, benennt wichtige Unterthemen und den jeweiligen themenspezifischen Forschungsstand sowie Forschungslücken, um eine systematische Gliederung der Forschungsfragen zu entwickeln, welche künftige Untersuchungen des Gegenstandes leiten sollen. Nachstehend geben wir eine kurze Aufstellung über sieben Themen, die als Kernbereiche für die künftige Forschung ermittelt wurden. Jedes vorgestellte Thema beinhaltet Angaben zu den Zielgruppen, die sehr wahrscheinlich betroffen sein werden, sowie über Fragen, die die Thematik aufwirft. Darauf folgt eine Auswahl der hervorstechendsten Forschungsfragen, die im Laufe des INNOSERV-Projektes zutage traten. In dieser Untersuchung werden zunächst die von den Kernfragen stimulierten Spannungen umrissen, und dann aufgezeigt, wie diese gleichzeitig mehrere der Hauptforschungsthemen beeinflussen. Die festgestellten Kernfragen tragen also dazu bei, die Verbindungen zwischen verschiedenen Themen herzustellen.

Die sieben von INNOSERV ermittelten zentralen Forschungsthemen sind:

- (1) Nutzerzentrierte Dienstleistungen und Ansätze
- (2) Innovationen und die Entwicklung von Organisationen und Institutionen
- (3) Programmatische und konzeptionelle Rahmung sozialer Dienstleistungen in Bezug auf Innovation
- (4) Governance und Steuerung innovativer sozialer Dienstleistungen
- (5) Der Einfluss nationaler, regionaler und lokaler Rahmenbedingungen

- (6) Neue Technologien (technologischer Fortschritt und Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen)
- (7) Wirkungsmessung Qualität und Herausforderungen.

Das erste Thema "Nutzerzentrierte Dienste und Ansätze" verweist auf Personalisierung, auf sektor- und disziplinübergreifende Zusammenarbeit und die zunehmende Bedeutung der Interaktion zwischen Professionellen, Nutzern und Freiwilligen. Nutzerzentrierte Dienstleistungen und Ansätze konzentrieren sich dabei auf die paradigmatische Verlagerung hin zum Nutzer: Nutzerpartizipation bei der (Neu-)Gestaltung von Prozessen, die Veränderung der Rollen und Funktionen von Akteuren, eine Reflexion und die Neuentwicklung der Kompetenzen von Akteuren/innen, Nutzern/innen und Freiwilligen. Dazu sind auch die förderlichen Aspekte zu zählen, die typischen Charakteristika kooperative Dienstleistungen zugeschrieben werden, wie z.B. die aktive Integration der Nutzer/innen in die Innovation oder den Erstellungsprozess der Dienstleistung.

Allerdings können die neuen Interaktionsformen, die aus solchen Szenarios resultieren, auch zu Konflikten führen. Gemeint sind zum Beispiel mögliche Dilemmata zwischen Berufsethos von Fachleuten mit ihrem potentiellen Interesse an der Wahrung ihrer Autonomie und Expertenrolle, und den Wünschen und Bedürfnissen der Nutzer. Während die Interaktion zwischen Fachpersonal und Nutzern bereits ausführlich erforscht wurde, ist den potentiell günstigen oder schädlichen Effekten, die sich aus der Stimulierung und





Verbreitung von Innovationen bei sozialen Dienstleistungen ergeben, seitens der Wissenschaft bisher nur wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden.

Der Mangel an Wissen betrifft insbesondere die Bedingungen und Rahmenstrukturen, die für eine erfolgreiche Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Akteuren notwendig sind, sowie die damit verbundenen Fragen von Management und Steuerung, die weiter unten direkt in gesonderten Themen behandelt werden. Obwohl dieses Thema vor allem für die gelingende Interaktion von Fachkräften und Nutzern von Bedeutung ist, besitzt aber auch einen Wert für Wissenschaftler, die das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Bereichen untersuchen und Perspektiven möglicher und sinnvoller Anwendung für die Praxis erarbeiten möchten.

Mit dem zweiten Thema "Innovationen und die Entwicklung von Organisationen und Institutionen" wird das Change-Management im Zusammenhang mit Innovation behandelt: Es geht um Ressourcen, Veränderungsmodelle, Initiatoren und Treiber des Wandels, überorganisationale Beziehungen zwischen



Organisationen Entwicklungsmanagement. Betrachtet man die Mikro-Ebene, beinhaltet der Wandel innerhalb von Organisationen (Management- und Organisationsentwicklung) insbesondere die Ressourcenmobilisierung zur Durchsetzung von Innovationen. Im Blick auf die umgebenden institutionellen und weiteren Rahmenbedingungen beinhaltet der Wandel auch veränderte Arbeitsbedingungen für Organisation, wodurch Innovation angeregt wird.

In diesem Themenbereich wird analysiert, wer für das Anschieben eines Wandels verantwortlich ist und wie ein gesellschaftlich wünschenswerter Wandel konzipiert, nutzbar gemacht und ausgerichtet werden kann, und liegt daher vielleicht dem Phänomen breiterer gesellschaftlicher Verschiebungen und Bewegungslinien am nächsten. Dadurch gewinnt das Thema zentrale Bedeutung für Wissenschaftler, die Innovationen bei sozialen Diensten aus einer systemischen Perspektive analysieren, neben Entscheidungsträgern, die gesellschaftlichen Wandel einleiten möchten.

Das dritte Thema "Programmatische und konzeptionelle Rahmung sozialer Dienstleistungen in Bezug auf Innovation" - eng verbunden mit den vorhergehenden Punkten - befasst sich mit Schlüsselwerten und der Art und Weise, wie die Politik-Diskurse Innovationen rahmen : Bei diesem Thema werden gesellschaftliche und politische Bedürfnisse definiert und Probleme und Kernprinzipien (wie weitreichende quasi-legislative Konventionen) in der Gestaltung sozialer Dienstleistungen identifiziert. Es untersucht, anders ausgedrückt, die Operationalisierung weiter gefasster institutioneller Beziehungen und wie diese die Identifizierung gesellschaftlicher Bedürfnisse sowie die schlussendliche Bereitstellung von Dienstleistungen beeinflussen. Der Fokus wird zudem auf politisch-strategische Fragestellungen gelegt und es wird analysiert, wie diese und gesellschaftliche Diskurse die Wahrnehmung und Legitimierung von Innovationen bei sozialen Dienstleistungen beeinflussen.

Dieses Thema ist nicht auf den regulativen Einfluss beschränkt, den Politik und deren Umsetzung auf Innovationen haben können, sondern untersucht auch, wer darüber entscheidet wie Dienstleistungen gestaltet werden sollten, und den potentiellen Effekt, den diese Akteure und Prozesse auf die Entwicklung oder das Verhindern von Innovationen haben. Es knüpft an Werte und die normativen Aspekte von Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen an.

Die "Governance und Steuerung innovativer sozialer Dienstleistungen" das identifizierte vierte Thema, unterliegt aktuell raschem Wandel, und wird unter anderem wegen neuer Formen von Anbieterorganisationen und neuer Formen (staatlicher) Steuerung immer komplexer. Governance und Steuerung umfasst Unterthemen wie Einführung marktförmig orientierter Instrumente und Wettbewerb, Privatisierung, Standardisierung und Versäulung von



Dienstleistungen, bei gleichzeitigen sektor-, bereichs- und disziplinübergreifenden Ansätzen, die mit ersteren in Konflikt geraten können oder aber gleichzeitig genutzt werden können, um solche Konflikte zu überwinden. Mit diesem Thema werden zum einen organisatorische Aspekte und beinhaltet andererseits auch eine kontextvergleichende Dimension. Dadurch wird dem Einfluss besondere Beachtung gezollt, den die unterschiedlichen Konzeptionen des Wohlfahrtsstaats auf Innovationen bei sozialen Dienstleistungen haben.

Mit dem Thema wird also auf die unterschiedlichsten Facetten von Governance verwiesen, nicht nur auf inter-organisatorische Aspekte der Netzwerksteuerung. sondern auch auf politisch-administrative Steuerung durch eine Mehrebenen-Governance (im Sinne einer Governmental-Governance). Ähnlich wie Thema 2, welches die organisatorische und institutionelle Entwicklung anspricht, wird auch hier die Entwicklung von Richtlinien für die Entwicklung von Standards und Monitoring fokussiert, verbunden mit der Förderung von Innovationen durch politische Initiative oder durch die Politik (in Praxis und Forschung).

Das fünfte Thema "Der Einfluss nationaler, regionaler und lokaler Kontexte und Rahmenbedingungen" verweist auf das Eingebettet sein (die Einbettung) von Innovation in solche kulturelle Kontexte, wo lokale Dienstleistungsstrukturen auf nationalstaatliche Rahmenbedingungen sowie auf örtliche oder regionale Behördenverantwortung bzw. kommunale Verwaltungen verweist. Unterthemen erfassen kulturelle Faktoren als Hemmnis oder Förderer, die Fähigkeit von Systemen Innovationen hervorzubringen und nachhaltig abzusichern, bis hin



zum Problem der Übertragbarkeit von Innovationen sozialer Dienstleistungen. Während die Analyse kultureller/lokaler Faktoren und ihr Einfluss hilfreich ist, um die Nachfrage nach Dienstleistungen in bestimmten Gegenden besser zu bestimmen, was für die Entscheidungsträger der Planung und Erbringung sozialer Dienstleistungen wichtig ist, ist die Politik der entscheidende Einflussfaktor, die die Fähigkeit von Systemen bestimmt, Innovationen zu ermöglichen und zu erhalten. So ist es grundlegend für die (wissenschaftliche) Forschung über Innovation, die Bedingungen herauszuarbeiten, die die Übertragbarkeit von Innovationen ermöglichen. Während das zweite Thema die Ausbreitung innerhalb organisatorischer und institutioneller Kontexte untersucht, konzentriert sich dieses Thema auf die verschiedenen Aspekte der geographischen Ausbreitung.

Das sechste Thema "Neue Technologien" untersucht die Auswirkung neuer Technologien auf Organisationen, Professionelle und Nutzer, und die Interaktionen zwischen ihnen: es geht um den (niedrigschwelligen) Zugang zu Dienstleistungen, elektronische Kommunikations-(remote)- und Unterstützungstechnologien, und insbesondere die Integration neuer Technologien in den Prozess sozialer Dienstleistungen. Dies betrifft nicht nur die Kommunikation innovativer Praktiken bzw. die Beziehung und Verbindung zwischen individuellen Nutzern mit den Dienstleistungserbringern, sondern auch einige der angebotenen und erstellten Dienstleistungen selbst, also das Phänomen, dass durch neue Technologie auch neue Dienstleistungen entstehen.

Neue Technologien sind damit von zentraler Bedeutung für Fachkräfte, nicht nur als förderliche Unterstützungs-Systeme oder Geräte, sondern auch für die Entwicklung neuer Arten von Dienstleistungen und für Innovation als solche.

siebte Thema "Wirkungsmessung, Qualität Herausforderungen" umfasst eine ganze Reihe von Fragen zur Verbesserung sozialer Dienstleistungen für den Nutzer und den Anbieter bis hin zur gesellschaftlichen Ebene, mit dem gleichzeitigen Fokus auf die Frage, wie man diese Verbesserung und mögliche unbeabsichtigte Effekte überhaupt messen kann. Weil diese Fragen sowohl technische als auch normative Aspekte berühren sind sie von zentralem Interesse für die Forscher: Denn dieser Fokus produziert eine charakteristische Kombination (Wirkungsmessung, Qualität und Nebeneffekte) zur Erfassung der Wertschöpfung, die wiederum wesentlich ist





um Entscheidungsfindung und politische Steuerung aufgrund von Informationen zu ermöglichen (zu begründen und zu legitimieren).

Zentrale Problemstellungen und Spannungen

Im Folgenden werden zentrale Problemstellungen skizziert und diskutiert, die für das Forschungsprojekt INNOSERV von zentraler Bedeutung sind, und die guer zu den bisher genannten Themenbereichen liegen. Diese zentralen Problemstellungen sind so wichtig, weil durch sie die Spannungen und Kernfragen hervorgehoben werden, die durch den neuen Imperativ der sozialen Innovation und Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen hervorgerufen werden. Die zentralen Problemstellungen vertiefen die Darstellung unseres Verständnisses darüber, wie soziale (Dienstleistungs-) Innovation am besten ermöglicht werden kann, wie Innovation mit anderen Schlüsselprinzipien zusammenhängt und welches ihre potentielle Funktion auf dem Weg zu vitalen und lebenswerten Gesellschaften ist.

Da die Themen so multiperspektivisch und breit in sich selbst sind, ist eine zentrale Bedingung ihrer letztgültigen Bedeutsamkeit ein proaktives Engagement. Dies gilt für das Design künftiger Forschungsprogramme ebenso wie für Politikgestaltung und die organisatorische Praxis. Die folgenden zentralen Problemstellungen sollen also dem Leser/Leserin helfen, die vorgenannten Themen besser zu interpretieren. Wichtig für das Verständnis ist dabei, dass hier nur oberflächlich auf die jeweiligen Spannungsfelder eingegangen werden kann und es ist gut möglich, dass ohne den Rückgriff auf die vertieften Ausarbeitungen, einschließlich den Verweisen auf akademisches Wissen aus verschiedenen Disziplinen und Forschungstraditionen, nebst reflexiver Kommentare von Feldexperten, Praktikern, Nutzern und Entscheidungsträgern, es unter Umständen schwierig sein, die nachstehend ausgebreiteten Spannungsfelder vollständig zu erfassen. Wir ermutigen daher jeden Leser dieser Kurzdarstellung nachdrücklich, den ausführlichen Endbericht dieses Projektes zu Rate zu ziehen und da das jeweilige Thema, das für sie oder ihn am wichtigsten ist, mit den (direkt) damit verbundenen Themen zu vertiefen.

Die folgenden Fragestellungen werden also auf akzentuierte Weise mit der expliziten Absicht präsentiert, ihre offensichtlichen und latenten Spannungen herauszuarbeiten. Damit wird weder die ganze Palette von Anliegen in dieser Forschungsagenda erschöpfend abgehandelt, noch ein besonderer Aspekt bevorzugt. Eine solche Priorisierung erscheint nur in Verbindung mit dem Einbezug von Interessengruppen und einem gegenseitigen Anerkennen der jeweils formulierten Ziele einer sozialen (Dienstleistungs-) Innovation, sinnvoll, wobei diskutiert werden muss, ob und wie diese gefördert werden und wie sie in den breiteren gesellschaftlichen Kontext eingefügt werden könnte. Diese zentralen Problemstellungen sind jedoch bedeutsam für die Richtung, in die dieser Diskussionsprozesses bedeutsam.

Obwohl die folgenden Abschnitte derselben Systematik folgen wie die vorigen Themen, korrespondieren sie jedoch intern zu einer Vielfalt weiteren Themen, zu denen sie jeweils enge Quer-Verbindungen aufweisen.

Nutzerzentriertheit, soziale Bedürfnisse und Risiko

Eine zentrale Herausforderung bei dem Versuch, die Nutzerzentriertheit Wirklichkeit werden zu lassen (Thema 1) liegt in der Identifikation echter vs. künstlicher sozialer Bedürfnisse. Erst ein differenzierteres Verständnis echter sozialer Bedürfnisse ermöglicht die Entwicklung von Ideen für Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen, Ideen die dann in solche soziale



Dienstleistungen umgesetzt werden können, die eine Antwort auf diese Ideen darstellen (Thema 2). Werte und Normen (Thema 3) leiten das Definieren, Aufdecken und Ansprechen sozialer Bedürfnisse. Eine solche Definition kann freilich auch aus politischen Verhandlungen resultieren und somit von den Machtkonstellationen betroffener Auftraggeber abhängig sein. Um dies bei der Bestimmung von Bedürfnissen abzuschwächen, muss eine starke wechselseitige Beziehung zwischen Nutzern, die explizit an dem Prozess teilnehmen, und dem politischen Akteur vorhanden sein. Gleichzeitig schließt das Prinzip eines stärkeren Nutzereinbezugs auch die Gefahr ein, die Selbstbestimmung der Nutzer gegen das Eingehen individueller Risiken einzutauschen. Behördliche Normen für die Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen werden dies zu berücksichtigen haben (Thema 4).

Richtung und Steuerungsweisen des Wandels

Es finden sich Hinweise auf verschiedene "Agenten des Wandels" (Thema 2), sowohl hinsichtlich der Identifikation und Initiierung von Innovationen als auch ihrer organisatorischen Verbreitung. Diese Vielfalt hat innere und äußere Konsequenzen für Organisationen und Institutionen. So ist es z.B. noch nicht klar, ob vorherrschende bzw. sich abzeichnende Muster von Innovation eher als bottom-up-Prozesse, top-down-Prozesse oder durch übergreifende Querverbindungen zu verstehen ist bzw. wie diese Bewegungen zusammenspielen. Eine Beurteilung dessen kann speziell von dem spezifischen Kontext in geographischem Sinne (Thema 5), vom organisatorischen Lebenszyklus oder auch von dem besonderen Stadium der fraglichen Innovation abhängig und geleitet sein. Die damit verbundenen Themen von Management, Leadership (vor allem intern), Steuerung und Governance (Thema 4; vor allem extern) stehen im Zusammenhang mit strukturellen vs. prozeduralen Ansätzen bei der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen, wobei letzteres auch unternehmerisches und betriebsinternes Handeln einschließen. kann.

Schlüsselprinzipien und ihre Deutung

Internationale regulative Rahmenbedingungen, Standards leitende Prinzipien und Konventionen (Thema 3) bestimmen Politik und organisatorische Praxis. Trotz dieser übergreifenden Rahmenbedingungen sind jedoch immer Unterschiede in der lokalen, regionalen oder nationalen Interpretation und Umsetzung dieser Rahmenbezüge festzustellen (Thema 5). Es könnten sich sogar Konflikte ergeben zwischen diesen prinzipiellen Richtlinien und aktuellen gesetzlichen Regelungen. Es ist nach wie vor unklar, wie diese spezifischen Rahmenbedingungen und etwaige daraus folgende Spannungen in die Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen eingehen.

(Widersprüchliche) Politikprinzipien

Welche Beziehung besteht aktuell zwischen der Verschiedenartigkeit aktueller Politikprinzipien und der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen (Thema 4)? So sind durchaus Innovationen in sozialen Dienstleistungen erkennen, die sich



keineswegs harmonisch in bestehende Politikprinzipien und aktuelle Leitlinien der Politik einfügen; Konflikte sind hier implizit vorprogrammiert und deuten sich an. So entstehen z.B. massive Spannungen im Blick auf Innovation vs. Kontinuität. Einerseits geht es natürlich um die Entstehung und Aufkommen von neuen (innovativen) Dienstleistungen die im Widerspruch stehen zur Bewahrung und Verlässlichkeit standardisierter Dienste, und andererseits geht es um den Anspruch fortdauernde Innovation zu realisieren was im Widerspruch zu dem Anspruch der Rationalisierung steht, z.B. als ein Versuch der Standardisierung und Institutionalisierung. Dies betrifft sowohl die politische Regulierung im Feld als auch die organisatorische Praxis (Thema 2). Darüber hinaus ist unklar, wo Prioritäten gelegt werden sollten: auf Kostenaspekte oder auf Qualitätsaspekte der Ansätze bzw. wie beides am besten verbunden werden kann (Thema 7). Es ist eine wichtige Frage, die in diesem Zusammenhang gestellt werden



muss, in welchem Ausmaß die Leitbilder Privatisierung und Vermarktung entweder Innovationen anregen oder verhindern. Es ist auch unklar, wie Kernprinzipien die regulierend auf das Angebot sozialer Dienstleistungen wirken, (wie etwa gesetzliche Vorgaben oder übergreifende Richtlinien z. B. Menschenrechtserklärungen), in diesem Rahmen stärker determinierend werden könnten als der vorherrschende Pragmatismus (Thema 3). Schließlich entsteht mit der Förderung von Innovationen auch die Notwendigkeit, administrative Effizienz gegenüber sektor- und bereichsübergreifende Dienstleistungen und Finanzierungsmodalitäten miteinander zu verbinden, was für Innovationen sozialer Dienstleistungen unbedingt notwendig erscheint.

Systematischer Innovationstreiber

Welche kontextuellen Faktoren helfen Innovationen bei sozialen Dienstleistungen anzuregen: Leistungsfähigkeit vs. Notwendigkeiten (Thema 5)? Tritt Innovation eher dort auf, wo wir die größten Bedarfe antreffen, oder dort wo bestehende sozio-ökonomische und sozio-politische Systeme die höchste Leistungsfähigkeit besitzen? Wird Innovation durch Mangel (der eine potentielle Nachfrage auslöst) hervorgerufen oder durch Überfluss (bei der Verteilung potentieller Angebote)? Jede Antwort hängt von dem lokalen, regionalen oder nationalen Kontext und von den Effekten ab, die dieser auf die Anzahl, die Reichweite, das Ausmaß und Art der entstehenden Innovation hat. Dies wiederum formt Handlungskonstellationen und hat Auswirkungen auf die Gestaltung von Finanzierungsmodalitäten (Thema 2).



Veränderungen durch neue Technologie

Neue Technologien (Thema 6) werden immer wichtiger, sowohl als Kommunikationsmittel für soziale (Dienstleistungs-) Innovation als auch als ein grundlegendes Element der Bereitstellung der Dienstleistungen. Wie verändert dies die Rolle von Akteuren (Thema 1) auf der Mikroebene der internen Betrachtungsweise der Organisation: d.h. wie wird das Verhältnis zwischen Fachpersonal gegenüber Nutzern verändert? Welche Auswirkungen hat das in der externen Perspektive, d.h. im spezifischen Feld der Dienstleistungen: d.h. sind eher komplementäre/integrative Beziehungskonstellationen oder eher eine konkurrierende Konstellationen zwischen neuen (technologiebasierten) und älteren Dienstleistungsangeboten zu erkennen? Dies schließt auch die Frage mit ein, ob und in welchem Maße die Technologie überhaupt für soziale (personengebundene) Dienstleistungen relevant ist. Dies wiederum stellt eine Verbindung zu der programmatischen, konzeptionellen und wertgebundenen Rahmung von Innovation bei sozialen Dienstleistungen her (Thema 3).

Die Herausforderung der (Wirkungs-)Messung

Das Messen von Ergebnissen, Qualität und Nachhaltigkeit von Dienstleistungen (Thema 7) wird immer in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen technischer Genauigkeit vs. normativer Ausrichtung stehen. Es ist als solches direkt auf die Prinzipien bezogen, welche soziale Innovation rahmen (Thema 3). Das Messen ist ein entscheidender Faktor dafür, wie Organisationen und Institutionen Innovation im Bereich der sozialen Dienstleistungen steuern, bewerten und regulieren (Thema 2), welchen Effekt sich auf die Nutzer haben (Thema 1) und wie Innovation im Verhältnis zu politischer Priorisierung, Benchmarking und ähnlichen Praktiken gelenkt wird (Thema 4).

Neben diesen übergreifenden Fragestellungen wurden bei den Feedbacks durch die Interessengruppen im INNOSERV-Projekt drei der sieben Forschungsthemen in besonderer Weise diskutiert und diesen Themen wurde eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit gegeben: in der Folge erhielten sie die meisten tiefgreifenden Überarbeitungen in der schrittweisen Erarbeitung Entfaltung der hier vorliegenden Forschungsagenda. Obwohl wir das noch nicht abschließend festlegen können, sehen wir doch deutliche Anzeichen dafür, dass das bekundete Interesse an diesen drei Themen einerseits von deren übergreifenden Relevanz herrühren, als andererseits von dem erst



beginnenden und noch unausgereiften Entwicklungsstand dieser Ansätze der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen. Diese drei Themen werden im Folgenden nochmals hervorgehoben:

(1) Nutzerzentrierung

Hinsichtlich der Relevanz ist festzustellen, dass sich das erste Thema sowohl auf die Zielgruppen einer Dienstleistung als auch auf die wesentlichen Merkmale der Erbringung dieser Dienstleistung bezieht. Jedoch bedeutet gerade die Neuheit und die Forcierung eines nutzerzentrierten Ansatzes, dass die Verwirklichung dieses Anspruchs (eben zuerst und vor allem der Zielgruppe zu dienen) bislang noch unzureichend ist und dass noch viel Spielraum für Verbesserungen bleibt.

(5) Kontext

Das fünfte Thema berührt eine der zentralen Herausforderungen in der europäischen Politik. Diese liegen darin, die ausgeprägten Unterschiede zwischen den Nationalstaaten und einzelnen Regionen Verwaltungseinheiten zu überbrücken, im Englischen sagen wir dazu 'bridging gaps'. Es geht dabei um Unterschiede aber auch um Lücken der jeweiligen Systeme, die mit sozialen Dienstleistungen verbunden sind: also Unterschiede und Lücken im sozio-ökonomischen Entwicklungsstand, in politischen Systemen, oder in kulturellen Werten und Traditionen. Osteuropäische Länder und neue Mitgliedskandidaten unterliegen einem rasch voranschreitenden Wandel und erleben zurzeit eine dynamische Entwicklung. Der Krisenzustand in einigen anstehenden Mitgliedsstaaten verstärkt noch die Komplexität dieser Fragestellung und trägt zum Fehlen notwendiger Lösungen bei.

(7) Wirkungen und Qualität

Das siebte Thema ist tief verbunden mit Fragen nach dem gesellschaftlichen Wohlstand und Wohlergehen und somit mit dem eigentlichen Ziel der Bereitstellung sozialer Dienstleistungen. Es betrifft Auftraggeber sowohl auf europäischer wie auf globaler Ebene und übergreift alle Sektoren und Feld- und Bereichsgrenzen. Die Frage nach Ergebnissen und Qualität von Dienstleistungen ist direkt an die Debatten über die soziale Wohlfahrt geknüpft, einschließlich der Fragen nach Inklusion, Zusammenhalt, Produktivität und Durchführbarkeit – eine Fragestellung, die immer intensiver diskutiert wird.

Wie oben vorgeschlagen, müssen die Themen integrativ und nicht isoliert behandelt werden. Dennoch können diese Erkenntnisse dazu beitragen, diejenigen Hebel und Ansatzpunkte zu identifizieren, um größere Kohärenz in den Bereich der Innovationen sozialer Dienstleistungen zu bringen und die Erforschung der Innovation in sozialen Dienstleistungen kohärenter zu machen.

Ausblick

Die hier diskutierten Themen und spezifischen Problemstellungen sollen zusammen mit den Videoportraits den Austausch zwischen Wissenschaftlern, Praktikern und Entscheidungsträgern rund um das sich abzeichnende Feld der Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen und anderen damit verbundenen Debatten anregen. Die Forschungsagenda demonstriert trotz ihres Fokus auf einige ausgewählte Fragestellungen die breite Palette von Aspekten, die sich mit diesem neuen thematischen Schwerpunkt ergeben.

Diese Forschungsagenda hebt außerdem hervor, wie komplex die Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen ist und wie sie auf unterschiedlichsten Ebenen erfolgt: auf der Mikroebene einzelner Akteure und Organisationen, auf der Mesoebene organisationaler Felder, auf der Makroebene politischer Regulierung, und schließlich auf der Ebene des sozialen Wandels insgesamt. Aufgrund dieser Reichweite und dieser Perspektive sind wir der Überzeugung, dass Innovation sozialer Dienstleistungen ein fruchtbares Feld wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung darstellt, welches Disziplin-, Forschungs- Praxis- und Politikgrenzen überschreitet und als übergreifend zu verstehen ist. In dieser Hinsicht ist die Studie durch eine Vielfalt möglicher Forschungsansätze und Forschungszugänge gekennzeichnet. Grundlegende und angewandte Forschung konnten bei dieser Untersuchung verknüpft werden, und sehr fokussierte Forschungsprojekte können mit sozialen Plattformen oder experimentelleren Projekten wie Inkubatoren, Clustern oder auch Netzwerkentwicklungen ergänzt werden. Diese Forschungsagenda wirft Fragestellungen auf, die der weiteren Untersuchung und Bearbeitung bedürfen. Mit dieser Studie wird explizit auf die möglichen Beziehungen zwischen dem Forschungsansatz und der primären Zielgruppe hingewiesen. In dieser vorliegenden Kurzdarstellung wird dies hervorgehoben; in dem weitaus umfassenderen Endbericht wird die Forschungsagenda ausführlich dargestellt und jedes Thema durch spezifische Forschungsfragen gestützt und vertiefend behandelt.

INNOSERV Konsortium

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften Hamburg

Roskilde University

Diakonhjemmet University College

Budapest Institute

IRS - Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale

University of Southampton

IAE de Paris, Université Panthéon Sorbonne

EASPD - European Association of Service providers for Persons with Disabilities

SOLIDAR

ENIL - European Network on Independent Living

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Promouvoir l'innovation dans les services sociaux

Un programme pour la recherche et le développement

Note de synthèse





Contexte

Face aux défis actuels et futurs d'un monde globalisé, les systèmes sociaux européens subissent une pression croissante qui les oblige à se transformer et à s'adapter. Cela est particulièrement vrai dans le champ des services sociaux en lien avec la santé, le bien-être et l'éducation (hors champ scolaire), car il y a là des questions qui nous concernent tous, à un moment ou à un autre de notre vie.

De manière générale, les services sociaux évoluent. Les recherches menées par la plateforme sociale INNOSERV ont permis d'identifier un ensemble de thèmes. Au travers des différentes étapes de cette investigation partagée, ce programme de recherche a mis au jour des solutions susceptibles de répondre aux problématiques de l'innovation dans les services sociaux, et a dégagé des perspectives encourageantes pour des études approfondies.

Compte tenu du lien étroit entre la guestion de l'innovation et les enjeux plus larges soulevés par le « programme de développement » sur ce secteur, ce rapport entend identifier les mécanismes susceptibles de soutenir une évolution positive des services sociaux en Europe. Les recherches sont axées sur des thèmes clés en matière de services sociaux en vue d'aider ces services à améliorer la vie des populations et de promouvoir un modèle durable et équitable dans un contexte en évolution rapide. Les services sociaux doivent s'adapter à des technologies, des concepts nouveaux, de nouvelles attentes et normes sociales. L'ensemble des évolutions au sein des services se doit d'être efficace à la fois en termes de résultats et d'utilisation des ressources sociales et financières.

Le découpage thématique proposé par ce programme de recherche en matière d'innovation dans les services sociaux n'a pas pour ambition de couvrir l'ensemble du domaine de l'innovation dans les services sociaux ou l'ensemble encore plus vaste du domaine de l'innovation sociale. Cette dernière inclut en effet des évolutions et changements plutôt dispersés qui affectent les comportements sociaux. Elle est en phase avec les changements sociaux et les facteurs souvent intangibles qui l'accompagnent (notamment l'influence des mouvements sociaux). L'innovation dans les services sociaux présente de nombreux points de comparaison avec l'innovation sociale mais s'en distingue néanmoins par le fort accent mis sur les questions d'organisation de réalisation de l'innovation. En d'autres termes, l'innovation dans les services sociaux s'affirme comme une problématique en lien avec la formalisation d'une innovation conceptuelle ou thématique.





Le programme de recherche INNOSERV met également en perspective les grandes tendances socio-économiques et socio-politiques face à l'austérité, à la limitation des ressources, et au besoin de les allouer de manière optimale. En outre, il s'intéresse à des réformes sociales plus larges. Dans ce débat, les difficultés rencontrées pour définir une orientation commune proviennent de la confusion engendrée par le terme « optimum » dès lors que l'on se réfère aux services sociaux. Le principe de Pareto - selon lequel personne ne peut s'en sortir mieux que les autres sans que quelqu'un ne s'en sorte moins bien - doit-il être suivi ? Le bien-être des minorités doitil prévaloir sur celui de la majorité ? L'optimum se réfère-t-il à la meilleure manière d'allouer les ressources en termes de coûts ou à la plus légitime ? Si l'on choisit la deuxième option, comment définit-on ce qui est légitime ? Dans ce débat, l'innovation est porteuse d'une promesse d'amélioration des résultats au travers de la recherche d'une nouvelle forme efficace de mobilisation des ressources qui puisse sonner comme une réponse à l'austérité en « faisant plus avec moins ». Certains la critiquent, affirmant qu'il s'agit d'un argument déguisé en faveur de réductions budgétaires. De toute évidence, il nous est impossible de résoudre ce problème. Toutefois, nous sommes en mesure de montrer quel visage peut prendre l'innovation dans les services sociaux au moyen de vidéos et d'études de cas théoriques (www. inno-serv.eu) et ainsi mettre en lumière les guestions qu'elle soulève, les défis qu'elle relève, et la promesse qu'elle tient au travers de ce programme de recherche.

En termes de services, le projet INNOSERV ne s'est focalisé ni sur la structure des organisations (ou sur les types de prestataires), ni sur la position actuelle de ces mêmes organisations et prestataires. En fait, le projet entend approfondir la compréhension des produits et services émergents, et notamment des processus à l'origine de leur création. Dans ce contexte, nous ne sommes pas en mesure de juger si l'innovation dans les services sociaux est plus limitée que dans le secteur commercial (même si cette question serait toutefois intéressante à étudier). Nous pouvons cependant illustrer la manière dont l'innovation dans son ensemble et l'innovation technologique se reioignent ou divergent, et observer les particularités pour les acteurs impliqués aux niveaux individuel et global. Veuillez noter que les exemples d'innovations décrits dans les vidéos du projet INNOSERV ne sont pas des présentés comme autant de « bonnes pratiques » à suivre. Ils servent plutôt à stimuler le débat autour de la question suivante : à quoi doit ressembler l'innovation dans les services sociaux?

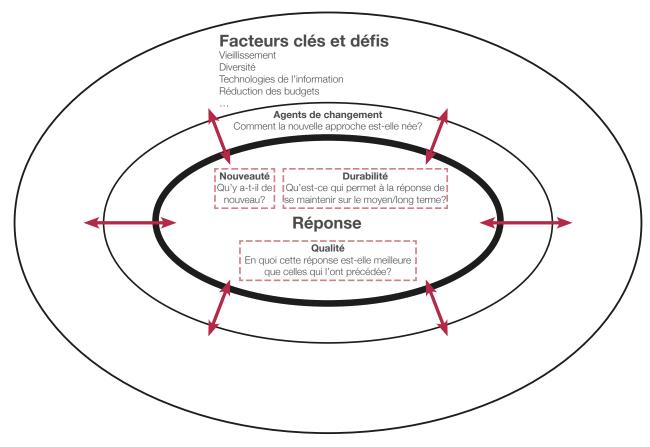
Approche INNOSERV relative à l'étude de l'innovation dans les services sociaux

Notre plateforme a adopté une approche partant de la base et collecté les points de vue de parties prenantes sur des innovations dans les services sociaux à travers différents pays d'Europe. Pour cela, vingt films (sur des exemples innovants) ont été présentés à des bénéficiaires, des praticiens, des responsables politiques et à des spécialistes du sujet dans les pays partenaires du projet INNOSERV (et au-delà de leurs frontières). Les recherches approfondies réalisées en amont sur l'innovation dans les services sociaux,

ainsi que l'évaluation systématique des leviers et des défis majeurs du dispositif, sont venues éclairer ces exemples de pratiques innovantes. Ainsi, un modèle d'innovation dans les services sociaux a pu être créé¹. Il fait le point sur les facteurs favorisant l'innovation - notamment les changements sociaux et technologiques majeurs - et les défis ainsi que les

qualités essentielles requises pour une innovation efficace et durable. Dans la pratique, ces deux facteurs sont liés par les individus et les organisations qui jouent un rôle de médiateurs. (Une de nos idées force tient dans la reconnaissance du rôle crucial que joue la qualité de cette médiation dans l'adoption et la mise en œuvre des innovations):

Facteurs influençant l'innovation dans les services sociaux



¹ Remarque : ce modèle a été créé à partir d'une étude empirique dans le cadre du projet. Il constitue l'une de nos approches pour identifier l'innovation dans les services sociaux. Pour obtenir plus d'informations sur le modèle d'innovation dans le développement de services, se référer au chapitre 3.2.



Un ensemble d'éléments (documents de révision, pratiques innovantes, modèle d'innovation et résultats de l'enquête sur l'expérience de différentes parties prenantes) ont permis de documenter le premier projet d'élaboration de ce programme de recherche. Ce dernier a été réalisé, de manière thématique, lors d'une réunion organisée à Roskilde fin juin 2013. Ce projet a ensuite été soumis à des bénéficiaires, des praticiens, des responsables politiques et des chercheurs, suivant le même processus de consultation. Il s'est déroulé sur une période de près de deux ans. Le programme de recherche est donc l'aboutissement d'un processus complexe basé sur des méthodes de recherche universitaires et une forte participation des différentes parties prenantes.

Thèmes de recherche

Ce programme de recherche comprend une description générale de chacun des thèmes abordés, identifie l'état des connaissances académiques pour chacun des principaux sous-thèmes, et définit les besoins d'exploration en listant les questions ouvrant sur des perspectives de recherche. Nous allons maintenant présenter brièvement les sept thèmes identifiés comme domaines clés pour la recherche à venir. Pour chacun des thèmes présentés, nous donnerons des indications sur les publics concernés et les problèmes soulevés. Puis, nous abordons les grandes questions de recherche mises au jour au cours du projet INNOSERV. Cette étude met en évidence les tensions provoquées par les problèmes et décrit comment ces dernières influencent de manière incidente plusieurs grands thèmes de recherche. En d'autres termes, les questions identifiées contribuent à établir des liens entre les différents thèmes.

Les sept thèmes de recherche clés identifiés dans le cadre du projet INNOSERV sont les suivants :

- (1) les approches et services axés sur les bénéficiaires ;
- (2) les innovations et le développement organisationnel et institutionnel ;
- (3) la définition des services sociaux en rapport avec l'innovation ;

- (4) la gouvernance de l'innovation ;
- (5) l'influence des contextes nationaux, régionaux et locaux ;
- (6) les nouvelles technologies;
- (7) la mesure des résultats, de la qualité et des défis.

Le **premier thème**, «les approches et services axés sur les bénéficiaires», fait référence à la personnalisation, à la coopération intersectorielle et à l'interaction croissante entre les professionnels, les bénéficiaires et les bénévoles. Les approches et services orientés vers les bénéficiaires participent d'un virage paradigmatique qui se caractérise par : l'implication de l'utilisateur dans la réorganisation des processus, les fonctions et les rôles mouvants des acteurs, la redéfinition et le développement des compétences des acteurs, des bénéficiaires et des volontaires. Cela comprend les aspects bénéfiques souvent associés à ce phénomène, tels que la coproduction c'est-à-dire l'implication active des bénéficiaires dans l'innovation ou dans le processus de mise à disposition des services.





Toutefois, les nouvelles formes d'interactions résultant de tels scénarios peuvent générer des conflits, notamment entre l'éthique des professionnels - ces derniers peuvent avoir intérêt à conserver leur autonomie et leur rôle de spécialistes - et les souhaits et les besoins des bénéficiaires. S'il existe déjà un ensemble de connaissances approfondies sur l'interaction entre les professionnels et les bénéficiaires, peu de travaux se sont penchés sur les effets (bénéfiques ou non) résultant de l'encouragement et de la diffusion de l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Ce mangue de connaissance se répercute en particulier sur les conditions, les structures (nécessaires pour générer une interaction positive entre les acteurs), et les questions de management et de gouvernance (évaluées de manière plus directe dans les thèmes ci-après). Si ce thème intéresse plus particulièrement les praticiens et les bénéficiaires, il revêt aussi une valeur



pour les chercheurs qui étudient la relation entre les deux types d'acteurs pour en dégager un certain nombre de savoirs pratiques.

Le deuxième thème, « Les innovations et le développement organisationnel et institutionnel », s'intéresse à la maîtrise des changements liés à l'innovation : ressources, caractéristiques des changements, agents de changement, relations entre les organisations et gestion du développement.

Au niveau micro, un changement au sein de l'organisation des services sociaux (changement managérial et organisationnel) peut avoir des effets sur la mobilisation des ressources pour réaliser cette innovation. En ce qui concerne le cadre institutionnel et les autres structures, un changement peut être synonyme de conditions différentes de fonctionnement favorisant de facto l'innovation.

L'objet de ce thème consiste à étudier à qui revient la responsabilité de lancer les changements et comment des changements socialement bénéfiques peuvent être créés, exploités et dirigés. Il s'agit donc probablement du thème le plus proche de la question des grands changements sociaux et des trajectoires associées. Ainsi, il revêt une importance capitale pour les chercheurs qui analysent l'innovation dans les services sociaux d'un point de vue systémique, ainsi que pour les responsables politiques qui cherchent à provoquer un changement social.

Le **troisième thème**, « la définition des services sociaux en rapport avec l'innovation », est étroitement lié au thème précédent et concerne des valeurs clés ainsi que la manière dont le discours politique conçoit l'innovation. Ce thème définit les besoins sociaux et politiques et identifie les problèmes et principes clés (tels que des conventions de nature quasi-législative) relatifs aux services sociaux. Autrement dit, il étudie l'opérationnalité de l'élargissement des relations institutionnelles, ses répercussions sur l'identification des besoins sociaux et la mise à disposition des services. L'accent est mis sur les questions qui se posent aux gouvernements et la manière dont les échanges sociaux et les mesures influencent la perception et la légitimation de l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Ce thème ne traite pas uniquement de l'influence en termes de régulation du processus de décision sur l'innovation, mais s'intéresse également aux décideurs, à la manière dont les services doivent être conçus, et à l'effet potentiel de ces acteurs et processus sur la promotion ou le blocage de l'innovation. Il est lié aux valeurs et aux aspects normatifs de l'innovation dans les services sociaux.



Le quatrième thème, « la gouvernance de l'innovation», connaît des changements rapides et se complexifie avec l'apparition de nouveaux prestataires de services et de nouvelles formes de gouvernance (au niveau de l'État). La gouvernance englobe des sous-thèmes comme la marchandisation, la privatisation, la normalisation, la pilarisation des services, ainsi que des approches trans-sectorielles. Ces dernières peuvent entrer en conflit avec les autres ou être utilisées pour surmonter de tels conflits. Ce thème se focalise sur les aspects organisationnels et s'ouvre sur une dimension comparative importante relative au contexte. Il rend hommage à l'influence de différentes conceptions de l'État providence sur l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Ce thème ne fait pas uniquement référence aux aspects interorganisationnels d'une gouvernance en réseau mais s'intéresse également au pilotage politique qui peut s'exercer au travers d'une gouvernance à plusieurs niveaux. À l'instar du deuxième thème, il facilite l'élaboration de principes directeurs autour de la définition et du contrôle des standards et promeut l'innovation au niveau politique (dans une visée pratique et de recherche).

Le cinquième thème, « l'influence des contextes nationaux, régionaux et locaux », fait référence à l'«encastrement» de l'innovation dans un contexte



culturel large où l'échelon local est celui des Etats-nations et des autorités/ municipalités locales. Les sous-thèmes s'intéressent aux facteurs culturels en tant qu'obstacles et facilitateurs, à la capacité des systèmes à générer des innovations et à les maintenir ainsi qu'à la transférabilité de l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Si les facteurs culturels et leur influence contribuent à définir la demande de services dans des domaines particuliers (et sont ainsi importants aux yeux des praticiens qui conçoivent les services sociaux), la capacité des systèmes à réaliser des innovations et à les maintenir est déterminée par les politiques adoptées. Identifier les conditions favorables à la transférabilité des innovations est essentiel pour conduire des études universitaires sur l'innovation. Tandis que le deuxième thème analyse la diffusion dans les contextes structurels et institutionnels, ce thème se concentre sur les différents aspects de la diffusion géographique.

Le sixième thème, « les nouvelles technologies », étudie l'effet des technologies sur les organisations, les professionnels et les bénéficiaires. Les interactions se construisent via : l'accessibilité des services, les technologies d'assistance à distance, et l'intégration de nouvelles technologies dans le processus des services sociaux. Tout cela affecte non seulement la transmission des pratiques innovantes et la relation entre les individus (utilisateurs, prestataires de services), mais également les services fournis.

Par conséquent, les nouvelles technologies sont d'une importance capitale pour les praticiens, non seulement en tant qu'outils de promotion mais aussi en tant que support pour le développement de nouveaux types de services innovants.

Enfin, le septième thème, « la mesure des résultats, de la qualité et des défis » englobe une série de questions qui s'intéresse à l'amélioration des services sociaux (pour l'utilisateur et le prestataire), à la manière de mesurer cette amélioration au niveau sociétal, et à ses possibles effets non attendus.



Chacune de ces questions aborde tout à la fois les aspects techniques et normatifs. Elles produisent une combinaison unique créatrice de valeur pour la prise de décision et le pilotage politique. Elles sont essentielles pour les chercheurs.

Problèmes clés et tensions conséquentes

Les problèmes suivants renferment des tensions majeures engendrées par les nouveaux impératifs en matière d'innovation dans les services sociaux. Ils revêtent donc une importance capitale pour le programme de recherche INNOSERV et ont une dimension transversale par rapport aux thèmes. Ils nous aident à comprendre comment favoriser l'innovation dans les services sociaux, à percevoir le lien de celle-ci avec d'autres principes clés et à appréhender sa capacité à revitaliser les sociétés.

Parce que ces thèmes sont vastes et ont de multiples facettes, leur signification (dans la conception de futurs programmes de recherche, dans la prise de décisions et les pratiques organisationnelles), dépend avant tout d'un engagement proactif. Les problèmes clés suivants aident le lecteur à mieux interpréter ces thèmes. Sans un niveau élevé d'analyse, des connaissances universitaires interdisciplinaires, la référence à des traditions de pensée, l'analyse réflexive des spécialistes du champ (praticiens, bénéficiaires et

décideurs), il est difficile d'appréhender les tensions dans leur globalité. Nous encourageons fortement le lecteur de ce résumé analytique à consulter la version intégrale pour plus de détail sur les thèmes qu'il voudrait approfondir.

Les problèmes clés sont volontairement présentés en soulignant leurs tensions évidentes et latentes. Ce programme de recherche n'entend pas donner une liste exhaustive des problèmes ni ne cherche à établir des priorités (sur tel ou tel autre aspect). La priorisation n'est envisagée qu'en rapport avec l'implication des parties prenantes et la reconnaissance mutuelle des objectifs de l'innovation dans les services sociaux (qu'elle soit, ou non, encouragée et encastrée dans un contexte sociétal). Ces problèmes clés sont toutefois essentiels pour orienter le processus de discussion.

Bien que les parties suivent les mêmes étapes que les thèmes ci-dessus, elles correspondent en interne à un ensemble d'autres thèmes avec lesquels elles sont étroitement liées.

Position centrale des bénéficiaires, besoins sociaux et risques

L'un des défis majeurs qui se présente lorsque nous cherchons à mettre les bénéficiaires au centre (thème 1) réside dans l'identification des besoins sociaux fondamentaux et artificiels. La compréhension plus complexe



des besoins sociaux fondamentaux permet de développer des idées d'innovation pour des services sociaux plus réactifs (thème 2). Les valeurs et normes (thème 3) nous guident quant à la définition, à la découverte et à la formulation des besoins sociaux. Cependant, une telle définition peut également découler d'une négociation politique et ainsi dépendre de la constellation de pouvoirs des différents acteurs impliqués. Pour atténuer cet effet dans le cadre de l'identification des besoins, il est nécessaire de former une relation réciproque solide entre l'acteur politique et les bénéficiaires qui participent au processus de manière ouverte. En contrepartie, le principe de participation accrue des bénéficiaires est problèmatique car, sous couvert d'auto-détermination, on peut transférer le risque sur les individus. Les normes de règlementation relatives à l'innovation dans les services sociaux devront prendre ces éléments en compte (thème 4).

Mode de direction et de pilotage du changement

Lorsqu'il est question d'identification et de stimulation de l'innovation, ainsi que de sa diffusion structurelle, il est souvent fait référence à un ensemble d' « agents du changement » (thème 2). Ces derniers ont des effets internes et externes sur les organisations et les institutions. Néanmoins, nous ne savons pas encore précisément si l'innovation part du bas, du haut ou s'il s'agit un processus « latéral ». Tout point de vue est dépendant de son contexte notamment géographique (thème 5), du cycle de vie de l'organisation, et du stade de l'innovation en question. Les thèmes de gestion, de leadership (principalement en interne) et de gouvernance (thème 4, principalement en externe) sont liés aux approches structurelles et procédurales de l'innovation dans les services sociaux. Ces dernières peuvent inclure des actions entrepreneuriales et intrapreneuriales.

Principes clés et interprétation

Les cadres issus de la règlementation internationale, des principes de standardisation, et des conventions (thème 3) déterminent la politique générale et la pratique organisationnelle. Toutefois, il existera toujours des différences entre l'interprétation locale, régionale, et nationale de ces cadres de référence (thème 5). Les lignes directrices de ces principes peuvent même s'opposer aux règlementations juridiques actuelles. Cependant la manière, dont ces cadres individuels (et les tension qu'ils induisent) alimentent l'innovation dans les services sociaux, reste floue.

Principes politiques (en conflit)

Quelle relation existe-t-il entre la diversité des principes politiques actuels et l'innovation dans les services sociaux (thème 4) ? Loin d'être en harmonie avec les principes politiques existants. l'innovation peut générer des conflits. Des tensions apparaissent notamment entre l'innovation et la continuité. Elles



ont un impact d'une part sur l'émergence de nouveaux services (innovants) - versus la préservation et à la fiabilité des services classiques - et d'autre part sur l'ambition d'une innovation continue - versus innovation par paliers - toujours synonyme d'un chemin vers la standardisation, Elles influencent tout à la fois la règlementation politique dans ce domaine et les pratiques d'ordre organisationnel (thème 2). En outre, la définition de la priorité reste floue : doit-on opter pour une approche axée sur les coûts ou sur la qualité ? (thème 7). Dans ce contexte, il est intéressant de se demander dans quelle mesure les programmes de privatisation et de marchandisation favorisent ou condamnent l'innovation. Reste également floue la facon dont les principes clés régulant la mise à disposition de services sociaux, tels



que les normes juridiques ou les directives de portée plus vaste (par ex., les déclarations des droits de l'Homme) peuvent s'avérer être plus décisifs qu'une approche pragmatique (thème 3). Enfin, la promotion de l'innovation va de pair avec la nécessité de promouvoir l'efficacité administrative face aux services et aux flux de financements transversaux. Ces derniers, semblent en effet être nécessaires à l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Générateur d'innovation

Quels facteurs contextuels contribuent à stimuler l'innovation dans les services sociaux ? La capacité ou la nécessité (thème 5) ? L'innovation estelle susceptible de surgir : là où les besoins sont les plus forts ? ...là où les systèmes socio-économiques et socio-politiques disposent des capacités les plus grandes ? Est-ce la rareté (qui déclenche la demande potentielle) ou l'abondance (dans la possible fourniture d'une offre) qui suscite l'innovation? Chaque réponse dépend du contexte local, régional ou national. De ces réponses dépendent le nombre, la portée, la taille et le type d'innovation émergente. Cela crée une constellation d'acteurs qui influence la mise en oeuvre de flux de financement (thème 2).

Altérations générées par les nouvelles technologies

Les nouvelles technologies (thèmes 6) deviennent un vecteur de plus en plus important tant dans la communication pour l'innovation dans les services sociaux que dans la mise à disposition de services. En quoi cela modifiet-il le rôle des acteurs (thème 1) au niveau micro interne ? En d'autres



termes, en quoi cela altère-t-il la relation entre professionnels et bénéficiaires ? Quels sont les effets au niveau du champ externe ? Existet-il une relation complémentaire/intégrante ou au contraire une relation compétitive entre les nouveaux services (issus des technologies) et les anciens? Cela suppose de s'interroger sur la pertinence des technologies pour les services sociaux (aux personnes) nous ramènant ainsi à la définition de l'innovation dans les services sociaux (thème 3).

Mesurer : un défi

La mesure des résultats, de la qualité et de la durabilité des services (thème 7) sera toujours située dans un champ de tension entre la précision technique et les directions normatives. En tant que telle, elle est directement liée aux principes de définition de l'innovation dans les services sociaux (thème 3). Mesurer est une étape essentielle pour : savoir comment les organisations et institutions orientent, évaluent et régulent l'innovation dans les services sociaux (thème 2); connaître l'impact de l'innovation sur les bénéficiaires (thème 1); et savoir comment celle-ci est gouvernée en lien avec les priorités politiques, l'étalonnage comparatif (benchmarking) et les pratiques similaires (thème 4).

En parallèle de ces grandes questions, trois des sept thèmes de recherche ont retenu l'attention des parties prenantes lors de la phase de consultation et ont fait l'objet de révisions au cours du programme de recherche. Bien que nous ne puissions pas tirer des conclusions à ce niveau, nous pensons que l'intérêt marqué sur ces trois thèmes est dû tant à leur actualité qu'au besoin d'approfondissement qu'ils suggèrent.

(1) Le bénéficiaire au centre

En termes de pertinence, le premier thème s'intéresse aux groupes cibles d'un service et, par conséquent, aux caractéristiques essentielles de la mise à disposition du service. Toutefois, l'approche qui consiste à mettre le bénéficiaire au centre suppose - par sa nouveauté même - que la réalisation de cette ambition - servir le groupe cible - puisse être déficiente et susceptible d'amélioration.



(5) Le contexte

Le cinquième thème aborde les grands défis de la politique européenne autour d'un objectif central : réduire les écarts majeurs entre les Étatsnations, entre les régions, entre les municipalités. Ces écarts sont visibles au niveau du développement socio-économique, des systèmes politiques ou encore des valeurs et traditions culturelles. Les pays de l'Europe de l'Est et les nouveaux candidats à l'entrée dans l'UE sont susceptibles de connaître des changements profonds et sont actuellement dans une période de développement dynamique. La situation de crise de certains États membres accentue ce problème et explique en partie la difficulté à le résoudre.

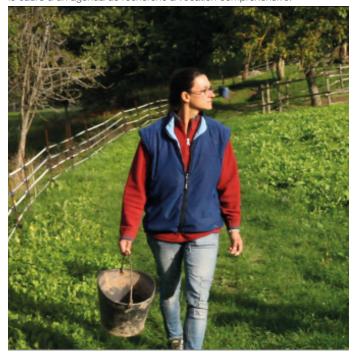
(7) Les résultats et la qualité

Le septième thème traite du bien-être social et donc des raisons principales qui justifient la mise à disposition des services sociaux. Il concerne les acteurs en jeu aux niveaux européen et mondial et couvre les secteurs et les domaines dans leur ensemble. La question des résultats et de la qualité des services est directement liée aux débats sur le bien-être social et englobe l'inclusion, la cohésion, la productivité et la viabilité (un problème qui est de plus en plus vivement discuté).

Comme il l'est suggéré ci-dessus, les thèmes doivent être abordés dans un contexte large et non de manière isolée. Toutefois, ces observations peuvent aider à identifier les leviers les plus puissants favorisant la cohérence dans le domaine et l'étude de l'innovation dans les services sociaux.

Perspectives

Les thèmes et sujets spécifiques abordés ici, ainsi que les portraits présentés en image, visent à stimuler les échanges entre les chercheurs, les praticiens et les responsables politiques autour du domaine émergent de l'innovation dans les services sociaux. Si le programme de recherche s'intéresse à certains points en particulier, il englobe un vaste éventail de sujets couverts par cette nouvelle thématique. En outre, ce programme de recherche souligne la complexité de l'innovation dans les services sociaux et sa présence à différents niveaux : micro dans l'organisation, meso dans le champ organisationnel, macro dans le champ politique et pour tout ce qui concerne le changement social. Compte tenu de la portée de l'innovation dans les services sociaux, nous sommes convaincus qu'elle constitue un champ d'étude fructueux pour la recherche, et un lieu de valorisation pour les chercheurs, les praticiens et les responsables politiques. Ainsi, cette étude se caractérise par la multiplicité des configurations et des champs analysés. Elle montre que la recherche fondamentale et la recherche appliquée peuvent se combiner autour de projets de recherche ciblés, des plateformes sociales, ou des projets plus expérimentaux, tels que des incubateurs, des regroupements ou des développements en réseaux. Au final, ce programme de recherche met en avant des guestions à fort potentiel méritant un approfondissement, inaugure des échanges riches avec les acteurs du champ (comme l'ont déjà montré les premiers contacts décrits dans ce résumé), et met en exergue des questions spécifiques et thématisées dans le cadre d'un agenda de recherche à vocation compréhensive.



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