

**Participation and Empowerment?
Health Promotion for the Youth at the Community Level.**

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Abstract

During the past few decades there has been a renewed awareness of the need for health promotion internationally. The World Health Organisations' strategies for health promotion have also influenced the Norwegian policy. Seeing health not only as the absence of disease, but as a state of physical and mental well-being, calls for a collective health-responsibility beyond the reach of any health-sector. Socio-economic and environmental factors beyond individual control are given much attention. The creation of supportive environments conducive to health is central. The strengthening of community action through *participation* and *empowerment* are important both as methods and goals in this work.

The Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93, "Challenges in Health Promotion" is one of the main documents for health promotion in Norway. Here the main principles and methods of health promotion are adapted to the Norwegian situation. It is stated that health promotion is an important responsibility for the municipalities, which are seen as natural centres of attention for health promotion work.

The focus of this study is one Norwegian municipality. Through an investigation of the youth work in this community, municipality initiatives are seen in relation to two core concepts of health promotion; namely *participation* and *empowerment*. The Governmental White Paper 37 represents state ideals for health promotion. In this study these are compared to local interpretations of health promotion ideals and the practice thereof.

Interviews with municipality employees and the youth in the community are the main sources of information. These data is compared to written material, such as municipality plans and budgets. By using a qualitative approach, the goal has been to reach a thorough understanding of a variety of factors influencing the matters in focus.

The study shows that municipality effort for the youth are mediated mainly through organised leisure time activity. These are run in co-operation with local NGOs.

Community participation is an important resource in the provision of leisure time youth activities.

The interviewees divide into two groups: those who attend organised activities and those that do not. The importance of this distinction can be due in part to municipality priorities that contribute to the given possibilities for youth socialisation in the community.

There is extensive concern among the interviewees that the youth have too little influence in shaping youth work. They call for increased youth participation in the decision making- and implementation processes. The child and youth council is one step in this direction. Members of the council are open to the creation of new social arenas, and a less organised and achievement-oriented leisure time offer. This is believed to include the non-attendees and decrease stress among the active youth.

A process that increases youth control over factors they themselves define as important in their lives is the empowerment of the young. Many of the interviewees would like a change in this direction. However, traditional perceptions of the youth and ways of working for their well-being make empowerment of the young difficult.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction to Leikanger

The municipality of Leikanger is situated in the county of Sogn of Fjordane, Norway. The community has just over 2000 inhabitants and hosts the county administration, the county governor's office and the regional road department's office. These institutions have, from the mid -70's onwards, contributed to the recruitment of a well-educated middle-class in the community. This is parallel to the development in the neighbouring county centre, Sogndal. 30.4 % of the population in Leikanger over the age of 16 has completed a university or college¹ degree. This is the second highest average in the country (Statistics Norway, October 1st 2001). The children of this group in Leikanger contribute substantially to the composition of the youth population..

Leikanger has food-stores, but for other commodities Sogndal is an important shopping centre for the community. There is one café in the town, with opening hours from 10 30–22 00 Mondays to Saturday and 12 00 –22 00 on Sundays.

It is interesting to see if and how characteristics in the community influence the youth-environment, through the shaping of leisure-time activities in Leikanger. To understand more about the youth's living conditions in the community, I chose to look at work on leisure-time activities for the youth, carried out by the education and health

¹ My translation of "høgskole"

(SOO)² sector in the municipality. The municipality organisation is divided in two; the other part being the business and development sector(SNU)³.

1.2 Research questions

How do the municipality's efforts for the young in Leikanger, relate to the recommendations for health promotion in the Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93 "Challenges in Health Promotion"⁴?

In my delimitation and implementation of the health promotion concept, I have narrowed it down to two of its core elements: participation and empowerment. In my search for health promotion practice and potential, I will focus on those variables.

This paper tries to answer the following questions:

- What is the present situation and future potential for participation and empowerment in the municipality's work for the youth, through leisure-time activities in Leikanger?
- What are the interviewees' experiences and opinions concerning the present situation and an eventual change?

² My translation of "Sektor for Oppvekst og Omsorg"

³ My translation of "Sektor for Næring og Utvikling"

⁴ My translation for "Stortingsmelding 37, 1992/93. utfordringer i helsefremmende og forebyggende arbeid".

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND CENTRAL CONCEPTS

2.1. Introduction to Health Promotion

During the past few decades there has been a renewed international awareness of the need for health promotion. The Ottawa charter from 1986 expresses the basic thinking in health promotion as a positive and holistic view of health. Seeing health not only as the absence of disease, but as a state of physical and mental well-being, calls for a collective health-responsibility far beyond the reach of any health-sector. This is clearly reflected in the focus on the determinants affecting health. Socio-economic and environmental factors beyond individual control are given much attention. Methods for improving the health of the population are seen in close relation to the nature of the problems. Strengthening community action and creating supportive environments conducive to health are important ways of working for health (WHO's Department of Health Promotion, 1996: Ottawa charter).

In the Ottawa charter health promotion is defined as:

“The process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health” (WHO's Department of Health Promotion, 1996: Ottawa charter).

This definition has a dynamic ring to it, and makes it possible to see health promotion as a way of doing things. The messages put forward in the Ottawa-charter were quickly adopted in the Norwegian policy. It is stated that health promotion is an important area of responsibility for the municipalities.

2.2 Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93, "Challenges in Health Promotion" and Governmental Green Paper 1998:18, "Everyone is useful"⁵

One of the main documents for health promotion in Norway is the governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93", called "Challenges in Health Promotion". It is an important contribution to health promotion efforts in Norway. In this official document, the main principles and methods of health promotion are stated and adapted to the Norwegian situation.

This White Paper states that increased efforts are needed in order to prevent psychosocial illness, muscular skeletal disease and accidents. The concept of a shared responsibility beyond the scope of the health sector is a central issue. Thus the importance of inter-sector collaboration, in the work for increased well-being of the population, is a central theme.

The responsibility for health promotion initiatives has, in the decentralisation-process, been given to the municipalities. With administration of available resources and the power to make priorities, they are essential in initiating and implementing health promotion initiatives. "Challenges in Health Promotion", claims that by exploiting the potential of decentralisation, the social and health services provided by the municipality will be designed and implemented in correspondence with local needs and priorities. It is also believed that through such an approach, the municipality will make better use of community initiatives and involvement. With decentralisation as a major goal from the central government, The White Paper recommends a development where the municipalities direct their efforts towards this final and crucial

⁵ My translation of "NOU 1998:18. Det er bruk for alle".

step: to reach out to the people and work with them. The White Paper states that the collaboration between the NGOs⁶ locally, and the public sector needs continuous development. It recommends a transfer of resources from municipalities to local communities. The White Paper also perceives a conscious use of community participation in health promotion work at the local level as an important element of the potential for improved health afforded by the decentralisation-process. This is believed to include the population in the work of creating a healthy public policy in the municipality, and contribute to a local environment conducive to health (Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93).

The Green Paper 1998:18 “Everyone is useful” is founded on the values and recommendations in “Challenges in Health Promotion”. The documents share the same main focus for disease prevention, but the Green Paper labels them *samsykdommer*⁷. The prefix ”sam” is found in words such as society (samfunn), socialisation (samvær) and solidarity (samhold). In modern society we have several health problems caused by a changing society, and new strains are inflicted upon the population. Psychosocial problems and muscular skeletal diseases are examples of such health problems (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998: 25)

The Green Paper makes a further exploration of the potential for participation in relation to the social challenges presented by the *samsyksommer*. In the matter of participation, this Green Paper relates it to empowerment. In the work for improved health for all, empowerment becomes central as both the means and the ends in the health promotion efforts in the communities. In the challenges for health promotion

⁶ Non Governmental Organisations

⁷ ”Samsykdommer” is the Norwegian term for psycho-social diseases

presented by the *samsykdommer*, the papers state that a reduction of every-day stress and the strengthening of social ties may possibly contribute to rendering the population less susceptible to these expressions of bad health. The interviewees' views on threats for the youth's well-being in Leikanger, will be seen in relation to the problems stated in the governmental reports.

The Governmental White Paper 16, 2002/03, "Prescription for a Healthier Norway"⁸ is the latest on health promotion. This document was not yet published during the shaping of the theoretical foundation of this investigation, and hence is not used as a central source.

2.3 Central concepts

Community level

Municipality refers to municipality employees and organisation. This includes responsibility and work in the community and the formal processes of policy making and implementation. *Community* refers to Leikanger's geographical borders and the people living within this area.

In the treatment of health promotion in youth work in Leikanger, I will, as previously mentioned, concentrate on the issues of empowerment and participation, and the relation between the two. The following is an outline of the concepts.

⁸ My translation of "Stortingsmelding 16, 2002/03, Resept for et sunnere Norge"

Empowerment

In her model on powerlessness and empowerment Nina Wallerstein lists high physical and psychological demands, lack of control, chronic stress and lacking social support as factors that contribute to ill health. These threats to well-being are believed to be reduced through an introduction of empowerment (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998: 190). Empowerment is transfer of power. The reason and goal for this process, it to increase people's control of factors they define as important in their lives (Stang, 2001: 12). In one attempt to highlight the essence of the empowerment concept, it has been divided into three main parts. These focus on what it implies to empower, over an indefinite time period. In this outline, the substance of empowerment is:

“To give power or authority to, to enable and to allow (Governmental Green Paper 18: 1998: 16)”.

It becomes clear from this definition that empowerment is a relational term. It reflects actions that are directed from one person or group, towards others. In her book “Power and empowerment⁹”, Ingun Stang shows how an interaction between macro and micro level is crucial in the empowerment process. The stimulation of resources pertaining to the group one wishes to empower often entails efforts on the micro level. The importance of reducing surrounding factors that function as obstacles and hinder the group's influence on their situation can often include matters at a higher level of decision-making. When Stang explores the concept of empowerment, she also sees empowerment as an abstract entity, with no set meaning in itself. The concept has to be operationalised, through the given context where it is used, to get the specific

⁹ My translation of ”Makt og bemyndigelse”

meaning. However, she mentions a core content that always is apparent when one uses empowerment as a method or goal. It is (Stang, 2001: 14):

“People’s possibility to influence and to make decisions in matters that affect them.”

Participation

Participation is the second core-concept in my treatment of the municipality’s health promotion work and potential in Leikanger. Participation is (Naidoo and Wills, 2000: 201):

“The involvement of people in the community in the formal processes of policy making and implementation. Participation can vary from high to low levels of involvement.”

Community participation refers to the involvement of community members, without further differentiation of the inhabitants in the community. *Youth participation* is one specific part of community participation. This term is used when the actual involvement refers to participation of the young, in matters that concern this group directly. Participation also relates to youth participation in organised leisure time activities, as receivers of provided services. This type of participation will be referred to as *attendance*.

The *youth* in the community refers to inhabitants in Leikanger between 13 and 19 years of age. I have chosen the age group that is referred to as teenagers, which is a common understanding of “youth”. The fact that the youth in Leikanger usually live at home until they have reached 19, and completed 3 years of high school, is another reason why I used this categorisation.

The principle of participation is an important pillar in health promotion, and closely connected to empowerment. Participation is often a part in the process of empowering people to take control over the determinants affecting their life. When the factors are put on the agenda, perceived as important to the community's well- or ill-being by the affected people themselves, it has been shown a great potential for improving health through individual and community participation. This approach is believed to increase the community ownership in the project. Effects of this are improved chances of reaching project goals and sustainability (WHO's Department of Health Promotion, 1997: The Jakarta declaration). The principle of participation rests on the assumptions that "professionals" need to share their decision-making power with the people that are affected by the decisions. Hence, the assurance of a bottom-up and user-led approach to community work is very important from a health promotion viewpoint (Green & Kreuter, 1999).

2.4 Values in Health promotion

A holistic view of people

In the theory of health promotion one has tried to map out what a person's needs consist of, to better get an idea of what is required to provide good living conditions for a population. In this way it has been shown that we have a lot of different aspects that needs to be taken into consideration if one wants to enhance well-being. The World Health Organisation points to the physical, mental and social aspects of health. Emotional, sexual and spiritual dimensions are also included in various attempts to provide a holistic approach to health and the factors influencing it (Naidoo & Wills, 2000: 6). The Ottawa charter urges that this awareness should be reflected in micro to

macro-level decisions with a social effect (WHO's Department of Health Promotion, 1996: The Ottawa-charter). This shows that the physical dimension is one of several in the work for the well-being of a population.

Health should be evenly distributed between the socio-economic groups.

Previous health promotion research links socio-economic status to health within populations. It has been shown in a number of studies that these variables have a strong positive correlation. In other words, if you and your family are wealthy and well educated, you are more likely to have good health. The traditional segregation into different socio-economic classes is also a social fact in Leikanger. The community has a high average education, and differs from many communities in this way. Still there is no reasons to believe that the class aspect is absent in Leikanger. It might be that the high average education has an unusual effect on the distribution of the population into the different socio-economic groups. Still, the class aspect is as likely to apply in the realm of health and well-being here, as anywhere else. Health promotion has a goal of equal distribution of health between the socio-economic groups.

2.5 The youth group

The differentiation of the young as a distinctive group is apparent in a lot of previous work. This is natural since a specific age group is the focus of the investigations. Still it might be that a too-strong analytical detachment of the young from the rest of society distorts the questions at hand. Seeing the young as something essentially different can in itself create a problem that gives a misleading direction to the following efforts based on this assumption. The interviewees' impression of the

youth-population in Leikanger is an important source of information in the attempt to achieve a better understanding of youth work in the community. This includes views on the youth's relationship to the rest of the community, and their potential as active contributors to their own well-being as well as that of the surrounding environment.

The segregation of the young into a separate group makes it possible to conduct further classifications within the category. In this way these sub-categories become reflections of differences within the group, and do not necessarily relate to the population beyond this category. You can look at one classification and see it as a phenomenon relevant for the youth-group, without making a further link to the outside society.

In his book "Two youth cultures- On maintenance of social and cultural differences in Ruraltown"¹⁰, Gunnar Jørgensen looks at the youth in Leikanger's neighbouring community, Sogndal. His perceptions of the youth and youth work have provided an important contribution to the theoretical framework in this investigation (Jørgensen, 1994). The next quote serves as an example of how properties beyond the given denominator of age, is attached to the youth group in the making of sub-categories.

"...the divide between the youth attending and not attending organised activities has shown historic continuity and has been one of the main themes in the discussion of the problematic youth" (Jørgensen, 1994: 180, my translation).

The variable of participation in organised activity has an important place in the understanding of the youth in the Norwegian tradition of youth research and work.

¹⁰ My translation of "To ungdomskulturer. Om vedlikehold av sosiale og kulturelle ulikheter i Bygdeby

The role and position of this classification in Leikanger will be a part of the following discussion on youth work in the community.

The use of categories is, in many cases, efficient and constructive. We are taught to think in categories, and need them to make sense of our surroundings. Still it is something to be aware of, when handling the issue of youth-work. The reason for the classifications we make, and the categories' constructive potential, are factors that can contribute in a certain shaping of the work. The view of the youth held by the decision-makers in the community is likely to have an effect on what they perceive to be the most appropriate efforts for young in Leikanger. Hence it will be interesting to see what these traits consist of. In the discussion of work for the young in Leikanger, the view of the youth- group will be treated as an important variable.

2.6 Municipality values in relation to youth work

The classifications of the youth-group are most likely coloured by values and opinions on what is seen as relevant for a good and health-enhancing situation for the youth. The interviewees' understanding of the municipality's goals for youth work, and the values supporting them, is of great interest in my investigation. In the book "Health promotion, Foundations for practice" (Naidoo & Wills, 2000), the authors support this stance. The authors contend that practitioners often and mistakenly claim that their efforts evolve solely from their work role and organisational objectives, rather than values and ideology. They argue that practitioners should be aware of the values implicit in the approach they adopt. In doing so, practitioners begin to clarify their view of the purpose of health promotion in their work, and which strategies are suggested by different aims. They suggest a reflection on how priorities and method

of work stem from own values. The practitioner will, through a reflection of her values, in this way be more conscious in relation to the aims of one`s work and one`s own role as practitioner (Naidoo & Wills, 2000: 92). Hence, the focus on values and ideology will hopefully shed light on some of the reasons for the priorities and work for the young in Leikanger. This will contribute to the understanding of how municipality values and work for the young relate to the problems expressed by the young themselves. With a theoretical background of basic values in health promotion, this is believed to give a constructive perspective on the situation.

In the following, Jørgensen shows how the importance of participation in organised leisure-time activities can be seen in relation to factors other than those needs expressed by the youth group itself.

2.7 The role of leisure-time activities

In an investigation of the municipality`s work for the young in the community, the role and function of the NGOs becomes central. They represent a major part of the efforts for the youth in Leikanger, through their provision of different organised leisure-time offers. In this way they can be seen as a reflection of what the community sees as a positive use of spare time for the young in Leikanger.

Jørgensen discusses the role of organised activity for the youth in relation to reproduction of socio-economic status and social control. In the following he presents conflicting views on the function of spare time, and it`s relation to organised activity (Jørgensen, 1994: 179, my translation):

"The leisure time can ideally be seen as something uncontrolled and vocational... Here we can succumb to own interests and needs. The spare time

is characterised by a lack of authority structure and control of our activities. The youth can engage themselves with peers and an unrestricted leisure time marked, in their spare time. This is a matter of concern for the public morale. The organised leisure time activity can be seen as a public (semi-public) intervention in the unrestricted leisure time marked. It is the public culture's strategy to discipline and control the young's' activities and deeds. This especially relates to the dominating cultures' control of the dominated."

He understands organised activities as “controlled activity”, and claims that it is possible to see this as an attempt to influence the young's preferences in a healthy and constructive direction. A lack of interest in the organisational culture can, in this way, be seen as a revolt against demands for discipline, through a refusal to comply with the organisational cultures' demands (Jørgensen, 1994: 180). This is one approach to a possible meaning of much municipality effort for the youth. The interviewees' opinion on the reasons for and result of this effort is important for understanding the relevance of Jørgensen's perspective in the context of Leikanger.

Social reproduction and leisure-time activities

Gunnar Jørgensen writes about social reproduction. He investigates a possible covariance between the youth's attendance in organised leisure time activity and their socio-economic background. His results clearly show a positive correlation between the two variables. High attendance in organised leisure-time activities often goes together with high socio-economic background. He sees the organised leisure-time activities as one of the arenas for social reproduction in the community. In this way engagement in the organised activities, through which the youth achieve skills that will be useful in their planned professional career, becomes a part of the reproduction of a high socio-economic status (Jørgensen, 1994).

This perspective can be interesting in the analysis of the situation in Leikanger, for several reasons. Sogndal is not only close to Leikanger geographically, but also in demographic composition. Jørgensen show a correlation between youths attending organised leisure time activity, and socio-economic background. His findings also have interesting implications for the role of youth participation in the decision-making and implementation of leisure-time offer in the community. It is likely that the two differing degrees of participation will have a similar pattern of distribution amongst the youth group. Those who attend the organised leisure time activities are more likely to take an active role in this work, than those who do not. This poses some questions as to the relationship between participation and empowerment in the community. Health promotion theory focuses on the positive effects of user-initiation and participation. An extended use of user-participation as a community resource is seen as a way of achieving a more empowered community (Bracht, 1999). Translated to my investigation in Leikanger, a higher degree of youth involvement in decision-making and implementation of youth-work, may lead to a more empowered local community. Jørgensens' work makes the question of "participation by *whom*" spring to mind. If there is a higher degree of participation from the youth already joining the existing leisure time offer, this might lead to a continuous development of an ongoing trend. If the already existing leisure-time offer is further strengthened, without concentrating on alternative ways of improving the well-being of the young in the community, this might lead to an increasing marginalisation of the unorganised. Thus the issue of representation from the total youth-group plays an important role when the effect of participation is seen in relation to empowerment in the community.

2.8 The public and private sphere

Space and responsibility

The distinction between the public and private sphere is another aspect that can illuminate the role of organised activities in the work for the youth in Leikanger. The difference between public and private is not clear-cut. In this context the dichotomy will relate to another two dimensions.

Space

The private sphere means the domestic arena, whereas the public sphere refers to the remaining geographical area outside the home.

Responsibility

Traditionally, the municipality's responsibility for the living-conditions of the young has been centred in the public¹¹ sphere. The organised activities run by the voluntary organisations in co-operation with the municipality can be seen as a part of this public effort. In the investigation of the situation for the young in Leikanger, the interviewees' view of responsibility relating to the public-private dimension is likely to have an effect on their understanding of constructive present and future work.

The current distribution of responsibility between the public and private domain can be seen as a part of a paradigm,-a way of understanding the world that will influence the given structure that one operates within. In this way it can be a more or less unconscious factor that contributes in the shaping of youth work. By the provision of

¹¹ Public as in outside the homes of the young

certain structures of reality, the chances of initiatives that go beyond this are limited. The thought of swinging is less likely to appear on a playground with a lot of facilities but no swings, than in a playground equipped with swing sets (Kuhn, 1996). Similarly, it is possible to say that the dichotomous existence of public and private is likely to influence the view of youth-work in Leikanger. The needs of the young are divided into two. Stability and loving care is found at home and interesting activities outside the home. The following method for increased well-being for children and youth can be seen as a challenge to the traditional division of public and private (Aanderaa & Tveiten, 1994: 236, my translation):

...children and parents need social support and a network surrounding them. Such networks have always existed in different shapes. Our point is that efforts for improving life conditions for children and youth, to a larger extent must be the creation of new connections, more than continuing and starting initiatives that separately focus on certain age-groups or special activities.”

This quote can be seen as opposing the tradition of providing special activities to isolated age groups. The authors look for alternative methods in work for children and youth's well-being. This poses the question of *what* efforts will produce the greatest impact on the improvement of the young's living conditions in Leikanger. On the issue of *how*, Aanderaa and Tveiten's view becomes interesting as a background for the potential given by participation and empowerment.

The role of participation and empowerment in the youth work in Leikanger is the focus of this report. Municipality efforts for the young will be compared to the interviewees' perception of the youth's situation and needs. The influence of existing efforts on the potential for empowerment and participation as method and goal is

central. In addition, the extent and effect of youth participation will be seen in relation to empowerment of this group.

3. METHODS

3.1 Case study

In this research project I focus on one specific case, namely the organisation and work of the education and health care sector (SOO), which is one of the two organisational units in the municipality of Leikanger. This study-unit is the focus of my attempts to understand more about the features affecting the municipality's work to maintain and develop good living-conditions for the young in the community. I ask why practices are the way they are, and also consider if their function and meaning is what they appear to be. The interviewees' thoughts and opinions connected to this challenge have been an important part of the investigation. With a focus on peoples' perception and actions in relation to health promotion in their work, one has to find out what factors affect these perceptions and their outcome.

The heterogeneity of the Norwegian municipalities, in terms of size, economy, political climate and organisational structure, makes external validity difficult to achieve. Attempts at creating objective standards for comparison and generalisation would be more likely to distort the possible findings, rather than to improve their usefulness (Robson, 1993). The factors influencing the questions in focus are different, and range from individual to governmental level. Hence it calls for a multifaceted approach using different sources of data. By doing a qualitative study, it is possible to look at the questions from different angles, in their context. This makes the case study a suitable study design, since the goal is to explore one specific case in depth, and not to generalise the findings to different settings. In this definition the case study is described as (Robson, 1993: 52):

”A strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence.”

In this case, this means an empirical investigation of the health promotion work done for the young by the SOO in Leikanger, in the real-life context of Leikanger. The process of collecting and analysing the data is the topic of the following pages.

3.2 Reliability and validity

The issues of reliability and validity are closely connected in qualitative research.

Kvale states that the issue of verification must be present in the entire research process (Kvale, 1996: 235). The reliability of data relates to its consistency.

Rephrasing questions during an interview helps to verify if the interviewees’ answers are consistent. For the data to be reliable and trustworthy, precision and accuracy in collection, transcription and classification are important (Kvale, 1996: 238):

Validity is often defined by asking the question: Are you measuring what you think you are measuring?

Adapted to qualitative research, this relates to the extent to which our observations reflect the phenomena that we want to investigate. Kvale sees continuous checking, questioning and theoretical interpretation of the findings as essential in verifying the results. To ensure that constructive validity is achieved, Robson advocates a multi-method approach (Robson, 2000: 69). A good study design, adapted to the questions in focus, is one step towards preventing systematic distortions of the findings.

3.3 Sampling

The twelve interviewees in the first round of interviews were drawn from the employees in the SOO. This was done through purposive sampling. This sampling method is the “opposite” of random techniques. The principle of selection is based on the researcher’s judgement as to typicality or interest (Robson, 1993: 141). Purposive sampling uses interviewees who are well suited to answer the questions raised, either by virtue of occupational position or other job rolls under study. In my research project it is important to get a varied sample in relation to health responsibility and rank in the communal system. Therefore these were the basic criteria for choosing the interview subjects.

In the second round of data collection I conducted two interviews. The interviewees were youths living in the community, and both had a seat on the board of the child and youth council. In this way I have continued the principle of purposive sampling, and chose the interviewees by their office. The issue of representation becomes apparent here. There is little reason to believe that these two interviewees are typical of the youth population in Leikanger. They are in a special position through their engagement in the council. Given the scope of the investigation, it seemed crucial to pick individuals that were familiar with the municipality’s work for the young in the community. Through their position in the council, they were likely to have a valid idea of several concerns held by the youth population in Leikanger, in relation to the municipalities’ youth work. Given the scope of the investigation and recourses available, I found these to be the optimal choice of interviewees.

3.4 Interview guides and initial analysis

I developed two interview guides for semi-structured interviews to probe perceptions and experiences related to the living-conditions of the young in Leikanger. Semi-structured guides have a sequence of themes to be covered and suggested questions. It still provides possibilities for adapting to a further follow up of the interviewees' answers and stories, through altering the sequence and focus (Kvale, 1996: 124). The first interview guide was designed for employees in the municipality. The focus was on how they see their opportunities and obstacles for exercising health promotion responsibility for the young in the community, in relation to their work.

Having conducted this round of interviews and transcribed the data, I started the initial analysis. I read the interviews and was open to the prospect of letting them influence my agenda. It became clear that the topics the interviewees spoke mostly about, were related to their understanding of the actual situation for the youth in Leikanger, and not so much to the more organisational and institutional sides of the youth work. To get a better understanding of the gathered information, I wanted to compare the impressions beheld by the professional with those of the young themselves - to hear how some young interviewees described their situation in the community. The questions in the second interview-guide were directed onto the topics that emerged in the preliminary analysis of the data from the first round of interviews. The questions in the second guide were phrased in a more direct manner and adjusted to the interviewees' age¹². I conducted one interview with each interviewee from both groups that lasted from 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 hours.

¹² The interview guides are attached in Appendix 1 and 2

The attitudes towards, interest in, and knowledge of health promotion amongst the SOO staff can be grasped in indirect and unofficial ways through the interviews. Interaction and personal interviews are the main-method for understanding the employees' experience. The possibility to probe for clarification and deeper understanding during the interview is important (Fosse, 1999)

3.5 Processing data.

During the interviews I took notes, but did not use a tape-recorder. The structure of the interview-guide provided help in recalling the data. New issues discussed in the interview, which were not covered by the guide, were also carefully recorded.

After transcribing the interviews, the material was organised by the topics in the interview-guide. Data was put into wide categories based on patterns and tendencies, to get an overview of potentially interesting findings. The next step was to look for possible relationships in the findings. In this way, new relationships and patterns were allowed to emerge. This stage will limit the material even further. During this process I went back to the initial transcripts, to look for important previously unrecognised findings. Interpretation of significant findings took place during the whole process, and explanations for the associations were proposed (Huberman and Miles, 1994).

3.6 Document analysis and its relation to the interviews

In addition to the interviews I use another source of data in this research project, namely document analysis. Looking at the municipalities overall goals, plans, and budgets gave an understanding of the situation. Data gathered from the documents went through the same process as the interviews. Information from the two different

sources was handled separately in the process of analysis, but the findings will of course relate to each other. Comparing the data gathered from the two sources helped to verify the consistency of the material. In this way potential discrepancies between the personal statements and official documents concerning health promotion were disclosed. This gave me a chance to re-search the material to make sure that differences are not caused by flaws in my data collection and analysis. As previously mentioned the use of different techniques for data-collection was used as a way of validating the data (Richarsson, 1994). The two sources of data thus enlightened each other and became mutually reinforcing.

3.7 Data analysis

In the process of analysing, the data are given meaning. This meaning depends highly upon the context into which the data is put. Data gathered from qualitative methods is said to “never speak for themselves” (Huberman and Miles, 1994) I have therefore been careful not to take data out of context, when I interpret their meaning. This precaution must not hide the fact that my theoretical background will guide what is perceived as relevant in a context and what it is made up of. Data analysis is based on theoretical decisions concerning which factors in a situation explain findings and how they are related (Fosse, 1999).

Kvale makes a distinction between analysis and interpretation. In this investigation, analysis means the description and interpretations closely connected to the data. The interpretation means the different theoretical perspectives used to gain a deeper understanding of the situation (Kvale 1996), (Fosse, 1999:78).

The design of this study is qualitative, with an exploratory approach to the questions raised. Hence there is no strict manual for what qualifies as an interesting finding. This has several implications for the data analysis. The exploratory approach allows for an open-minded search for data perceived as interesting by the researcher. Thus the data analysis takes place throughout the whole of the research-process, in the study-design I have chosen. (Huberman and Miles, 1994).

The analysing process consists of choices of focus, and the result is a simplified presentation of reality. In my treatment of the situation in Leikanger, I have highlighted the important position of sports in the municipality's work for the young. There are several other activities other than sport in Leikanger. The illumination of a trend and a line of thinking has been an attempt to reach a wider understanding of the situation for the youth in Leikanger. The choice of highlighting this tendency requires a simplification of the reality presented during the research.

3.8 A researcher's position in the investigation

The case study-method acknowledges that the researcher as a creative and active part in the research process. This is not seen as a flaw in the method, or something that makes the findings less "scientific". Theoretical background and previous experience will always influence researchers' perceptions of what is important in the field, and thus what is registered and collect as data (Robson, 1993). To make this procedure scientifically sound it is important to document your own steps and choices that affect results and interpretations. Purely objective research, free of the researcher's convictions and beliefs becomes not only impossible, but is not even a goal to strive for. Research can be seen as a project where the investigator has a chance to influence

the public policy with the chosen topic and the forthcoming results. It becomes a way to reveal what one sees as relevant sides of reality. In this way research becomes a conscious contribution in an ongoing discussion of values and ways to decide on goals and to reach them. The researcher has an active role in the creation of the results, and the goal is not to find one given truth, nor a result that stands entirely in its own.

The fact I grew up in Leikanger might have shaped my way of seeing things in the community into a set manner. This makes it a challenge to take on new glasses with a different focus. The fact that I returned to the community to explore the situation of a group that I no longer am a part of has given me a sufficient distance to the issues in focus. I have gained experience from other environments and have a different perspective in the understanding of the mechanisms of this particular community.

3.9 Interviewees interviewed in their office

Many interviewees are employees in the municipality's organisation, and this most likely will have an effect on their answers. During the interviews it became clear that a number of interviewees seemed more comfortable in sharing positive thoughts of the situation than in criticising it. This may in part be related to a loyalty towards other colleagues and the municipality as their employer. Leikanger is a small and transparent community, and a fear of gossip and of stepping on somebody's toes is apparent. Negative matters can also be interpreted as criticism towards the interviewees themselves, through their responsibility for the situation given through their office.

Through a comparison of the data-sources and the two groups of interviewees, in addition to reflection on the interview-settings and a revision of data, I have come to believe that this is not an extensive weakness in the collected data. These matters may have affected the interviewees to varying degrees. Still, I find enough variation in the information to draw a shaded picture, with differing angles and perspectives on the situation.

The interviewees' anonymity

The community of Leikanger is rather transparent, due to its size. To protect the interviewee's anonymity I have chosen to abstain from structuring the quotes by office and area of work. A discussion of views depending on varying closeness to the youth group could, for example, bring out some interesting differences. This would also make it easier to trace the individual interviewee. In situations where the interviewees' identity could be established, the interviewees' anonymity has been the priority.

4. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In this section we will look at the interviewee's thoughts on the situation for the youth and youth work in Leikanger. The wishes for future change in municipality efforts are also central. Together this will be the background for a further analysis of municipality health promotion work and potential regarding the youth in the community. The interviewees who are municipality employees are labelled ME in addition to an individual number. The representatives from the youth group are interviewees U1 and U2.

4.1 Leikanger as a community for young people

In the following, interviewees express general views on Leikanger and its qualities for the youth.

"All in all I would say that Leikanger is a good community for children and youth. We have high scores on all the right statistics". ME 9

There is a lot of statistical data that support this impression. Low crime rates and positive health-figures are two examples. Leikanger has several good results in the annual national election of "quality-of-life communities"(leikanger.kommune.no). The municipality of Leikanger does seem to fulfil its obligations to their young by provision of a good health and schooling system.

"And we must not forget the nature. It is so rich here, and a huge plus if one knows how to take advantage of this." ME 9

The positive image of Leikanger is further strengthened in this quote. The situation and nature surrounding the town are appreciated qualities, and a common reason for seeing Leikanger as a good place to live. The above corresponds with the reasons one

young interviewee gives, when (s)he concludes that Leikanger is a “fantastic place to live in”. Still, this is not to say that (s)he is solely positive to the situation:

”Youth shall revolt, but not too much, or it will start the gossip. I believe that parents are extra vigilant in places like this, and that it gets more controlled here. More pressure to behave. On the other side more important and bigger issues are killed by silence. I guess this is worse than the gossip, really. One should not have problems; it doesn’t look good. It must be difficult to have problems in Leikanger, because one gets stuck with the problems alone. We don’t have those things here, kind of.” U1

Social control mechanisms and under-communication of problems, to maintain an accepted image, are seen as problematic issues in the community. The next interviewee wants to show how the judgement of Leikanger as a community for young must be relative. He expresses it like this:

“Leikanger is not automatically a good place. It is important to have different arenas, to give young people the possibility to develop their interest. Leikanger is, for example, bad for somebody who likes to visit cafes.” ME2

The quote reflects that a person’s interests will partly determine whether or not the community of Leikanger is seen as good place to live. -The person you are, and the interests you have, will affect this judgement.

The next interviewee shares her/his impression on the development of municipal effort over the last 10 years:

“I think it gets better and better. I know that it has developed in the right direction. Now for example, the politicians are more interested in what is being doing at the youth club. The club just being there seemed to be enough before.” ME1

When the interviewees talked about the situation for the young in Leikanger, several strengths in the community and the municipality’s effort emerged. Many of those

interviewed had a mainly positive impression of the community in relation to this matter.

4.2 The class-aspect in the community

In the discussion of threats to the youth's well-being in Leikanger, one particular concern kept reappearing:

“I would say that the children generally live with high expectations for achievement, due to many parents` academic background. It is expected that they shall succeed in school, and this is demanded. At least when the children get a bit older. I think this is stronger here than elsewhere.” ME2

A particularly high pressure on youth performances in school is linked to the high number of well-educated parents in Leikanger.

“The children`s day-to-day living is characterised by a tremendous rush.... It is a rush and stress to spend time with others. You see the children getting tired, restless and fed up by all the stress.” ME4

The next interviewee describes a lack of time in the lives of the young like this:

“The young will soon have no spare time left. They lead a busy life.” ME1

In this quote it becomes important to understand what the interviewee means by “spare time”. From the context in the interview it becomes clear (s)he refers to the time outside school hours and organised leisure-time activity. With this we leave the explicit views on Leikanger as a community for the young. However, this issue will become apparent through the interviewees' views on the following matters.

4.3 Youth as a group

Now we will look at the interviewees' impression of the young in Leikanger.

It can be interesting to see if and how these views are related to the interviewees' perceptions of the municipality effort. The impression of the youth is thought to influence the understanding of the municipality's responsibility and appropriate work for this group, which will be an issue in the following.

“We have an extremely high percentage of people with high education in Leikanger. We mostly have resourceful youth here.... But one does maybe tend to listen too much to the resourceful. One should get better at treating the youth in different categories, with different needs.” ME6

This interviewee sees the youth in Leikanger in relation to their parents, and does not treat the group as a unique entity. The most widespread categorisation used when discussing the young in the community is the distinction between the organised and unorganised youth. The interviewee also shares her/his thoughts on the usefulness of this dichotomy:

“When I started this job, great plans was made on initiatives for children and youth. They often ended up in the desk drawer. One often made a dramatic distinction between the organised and unorganised youth, with the latter as drop-outs that needed help. There were only these two categories, and I do not think it was very constructive. It is not like they are two mutually exclusive groups.” ME6

Even though the interviewee criticises the division between organised and unorganised, it became evident during the interview that (s)he saw some low attendance among the young in organised activities as an important challenge to overcome. Thus (s)he implicitly uses the organised-unorganised variable when (s)he addresses what (s)he sees as the prime challenge in youth work. The classification of the young into two groups using this variable is seen as problematic by a number of interviewees. Still, it seems to be the only classification, next to age that all the interviewed use in their discussion of the young's situation.

When it comes to a general impression of the young, one young interviewee wants to give a message to the decision-makers in the community. (S)he puts it this way:

“The politicians do not really realise the unused resources within the youth group. If they are allowed some influence while they live here, there would be a much bigger chance that they will return after their education.” U1

The statement corresponds with the following interviewees’ wish for a more active youth:

“We may have thought that the children sit too much on their behinds and wait for pennies from heaven.” ME5

In the discussion of the roles between the municipality on one side, and the young on the other, the two interviewees want a more active youth. The following does not contradict this, but illustrates a view on a certain division of roles between the municipality and the young:

“We (the municipality) have to tempt them with something.” ME11

In this quote it is possible to see the municipality as the provider of services and the youth as receivers of these goods. The next young interviewee gives her/his age group a different role:

“I find that there is little reason for complaints among the youth here. There are possibilities for making things happen, but one must use them. -To contribute. Not only demand.” U2

4.4 Voluntary efforts for the youth in the community

When the interviewees were asked about the degree of voluntary input for the young in the community, a lot of interesting thoughts and topics came up. Many of the interviewees seemed engaged in this matter, and willingly shared their thoughts.

“There is much to gain from local sources. There are plenty of gifted parents, willing to make an effort. But of course there are also a substantial number of them who expect the municipality to take on the responsibility. I clearly feel that many parents could have cared more for their children and what they are up to. Many children are left to themselves a lot of the time.” ME11

Here we see a dualism in the interviewee’s view of the parental role in relation to the life-conditions of children and young in the community. The interviewee can be said to have a positive impression of the voluntary input in the community, while (s)he at the same time feels that there is a group of young people who do not get sufficient follow-up.

The following statement reflects similar views, but with a stronger focus on the positive input from some parents.

“There is a wide ranging commitment, individually and generally. There are plenty of people who take on responsibility... There is still a good culture of voluntary work in Leikanger. I think this makes the community different to other places. But one does of course see the same people over and over again.” ME2

This interviewee is not originally from Leikanger. (S)he compares this community to others, and favours Leikanger in terms of the level of voluntary effort. This is her/his impression after having lived in several places. (S)he mentions a culture of ?voluntarism as typical for the community, and also mentions important individual contributions.

The next interviewee talks about the potential in joint efforts between the municipality and the vocational sector.

“There is an enormous potential in people, and all of it is not used. It is important to make people utilise their potential. It is important to make people realise their creative abilities are important.” ME6

By differentiating between the potential in the positive attitudes amongst the population and the actual input, (s)he points to challenges for future municipal efforts. (S)he wishes to see more of the positive attitudes translated into action. With these views on the vocational input, we will now look at an important *reason* for the general positive impression of the voluntary work in Leikanger.

4.5 Voluntary organisations

When the interviewees were asked to give examples of existing voluntary efforts, the work done through the voluntary organisations becomes central to the discussion. These institutions mediate a lot of the voluntary parental and adult efforts made for the youth in the community.

It is incredibly important that the groups and organisations are maintained. The work that is mediated through them is essential for keeping the community alive. This means a lot for the social life of both children and adults in the community.” ME9

The important role of the voluntary organisations in work for the young is also fully appreciated by the next interviewee. (S)he talks about the cooperation between the municipality and the voluntary organisations in this challenge, and puts it like this:

“Regarding initiatives for improvement of the life conditions for children and youth, one can of course say that the municipality pays their way, by funding different groups and organisations. A lot of work lands on their shoulders.” ME11

The municipality depends on the voluntary organisations to provide leisure time activities for the young, and the organisations, in turn, receive financial support from the municipality to continue their work.

The following interviewees relate the voluntary organisations' efforts to busy youth schedules:

"I have the impression that the groups and organisations compete a bit for the children's attention." ME5

The next suggestion offers a way of overcoming this situation:

"I wish the voluntary organisation's forces could be combined. The services could be co-ordinated, to prevent organisations competing for the youth's time, as they do now. An activity-house would be great, but it's maybe just a dream." ME4

In reference to the contents and actual work of voluntary organisations, the local sports organisation, SYRIL, quickly emerges as a central organisation in the work for children and youth in Leikanger.

"If children and youth in Leikanger are not thriving, then who could be? Take SYRIL for example. They are doing a fantastic job for children and youth here in Leikanger – a tremendous effort for the young. They provide a good and varied offer that should meet many of the young's interest." ME10

This interviewee sees SYRIL as an important factor in the shaping of a good youth environment in Leikanger. SYRIL is one of the organisations in Leikanger that works closely with, and receives funding from, the municipality. This organisation receives a substantial share of the municipality's annual subsidy (leikanger.kommune.no). The organisation has many young members from Leikanger, and as one interviewee proudly expresses:

“SYRIL clearly has the highest number of competitors in athletics, for example, proportional to the number of inhabitants compared to neighbouring communities” ME6

This indicates that the effort of the municipality and SYRIL is met with interest from many young people.

The general impression I received from the interviews, is that of Leikanger as a community with great existing and potential resources in voluntary work. It seems fair to say that Leikanger has a culture of this type of communal mobilisation. And also that the youth gain from this through various leisure time activities, run by voluntary organisations. When the issue of voluntary effort was discussed, the interviewees seem to interpret this as the grown-ups work for the young, mainly through organisations. It seems that the local sports organisation, SYRIL, plays a central and well-recognised part in the municipality's efforts at providing leisure activities for the young. *All* of those interviewed refer to SYRIL as a positive example of the child and youth-work in Leikanger. There is also an awareness of sports as the main area of organised activity in the community. This is not to say that the interviewees were entirely satisfied with the situation. There were different concerns connected to the situation and in the following we will look at some of them.

4.6 Variation of offers

Too little variety in the municipality offers for the young is a concern that comes up amongst a number of interviewees:

“There is probably not the most varied offer of activities here. There are a lot of sports.” ME11

In this quote the interviewee focuses on the central role of SYRIL and sports in the municipality's effort for the young. (S)he does not seem entirely satisfied with this situation. A different interviewee puts it this way:

“If one's child is not in SYRIL, one should support the child in a different way, and find a suitable social arena.” ME4

This interviewee does not take for granted that a child's need for rewarding activities is covered through sports. As a consequence, she expresses a need for extra effort in finding a suitable alternative. The importance of this is reflected in the interview with a young interviewee.

“It is easy to make friends through sports. It is easier to end up on the outside of things, if you don't join everything. There is a pressure to attend several sports activities. You don't have to be extremely good, but you should be kind of good.” U1

This youth expresses clear social reasons for her/his attendance in sports, and seems to give the sport-related achievement less attention. One reason for her/his participation in sport activities seems to be the making and keeping of friends. When the interviewee reflects on the issue of the young, sports and social life in Leikanger, (s)he seems to have an impression of a special role for organised sport in the community.

“Sport becomes our arena, because we have nowhere else to meet. It becomes our substitution for other arenas. It is not wasted, but it is a substitute.” U1

Again there is a focus on the social aspect of sport activities in the interviewee's treatment of this issue. Can one reason for broad participation in such activities be interpreted as the lack of other alternatives for socialisation? If the statement is

understood in this way, it opens an alternative view of the high degree of attendance in SYRIL. The positive impact of sport on health and well-being is thoroughly proven.

There are alternatives to sports and organised activity in the municipality's efforts for the youth. The youth club is probably one of the most important examples.

"I think a lot of the unorganised youth go to the youth club. A lot of the ones that do not attend other activities are there.... This is a good thing about the club. It becomes an arena for the ones you don't see in other places. If one can get those who don't attend other activities to come here, one goal is reached. That is the only arena they have. The club has a varied offer, even though everything is not organised through activities." ME1

This interviewee sees the youth club as the only service provided by the municipality that gives a social arena to those who do not attend organised leisure time activities.

As a preliminary conclusion it seems fair to say that the priorities of, and youth work done by the municipality, contribute to the given physical structure of social life of the young in Leikanger. Hence it will influence how many young socialise in their spare time. Here, in the words of the young interviewee:

"Sport is a major social arena for the youth in Leikanger." U1

4.7 Future work

When the following interviewee describes the municipality's work with leisure time activities (s)he is open to different initiatives and a different line of thinking.

"More time has to be given to development work in this area, to prevent a standstill, and to keep on looking for better solutions and opportunities." ME11

When (s)he talks of the existing offer (s)he focuses on the development of new interests amongst the young, and wants to prevent a situation where the municipality “is two steps behind” them. The following is on how (s)he wishes to go about:

“It is important to confer with the youth. They are the ones that have the real perception of what it takes. Yes, it is important to confer with the young, and to listen to their wishes. There is much to gain from this, and we can undoubtedly do much better.” ME11

A number of interviewees share the view that a more active role for the young in the decision-making process is needed. When the result of the municipality’s efforts for the young was discussed, it was mainly through a concern for the lack in variety of leisure time offers. In addition, the issue of expanded user initiation and -participation reappears. These are amongst the topics that come up in the interviewees thoughts connected to the construction of a gym and the significance of the child and youth council.

4.8 Leisure time as achievement and socialisation

Gym or multipurpose house?

The building of a gym in Leikanger is an ongoing discussion, and has been for years. It can be interesting to see how the interviewees’ opinions on this matter communicate their views on municipality priorities. They also put forward thoughts on youth attendance in leisure time offers.

“When somebody drops out, handball is of little help. This can lead them to feel even more on the outside. When the gym comes, the contrast will increase. One should have investigated who it is that uses the different services. One would probably find that this is another offer to the successful.” ME2

The interviewee wants a focus on the youth who shows little interest in the existing leisure time offer, and wants future priorities from the municipality to avoid further

alienation of this group. The next interviewee has a different impression of the needs of the youth group. (S)he puts it this way:

“One simply has to get better at listening to what they (the young) have to say.... A gym is the first place to start.” ME5

(S)he is concerned that the voices of the young are drowned out in the existing process of decision-making, and calls for more attention to, and communication with the young themselves. The making of the gym is to her/him, an important step in this direction. In the next quote a different interviewee reaches the same conclusion as the previous interviewee(s)?, but also seems to want an increase in the variation of offers.

“It would have been really great if one could get a gym together. This has been an issue since I started here. But the economy makes it hard. It should not be a place for sports only, but also other things. –A meeting place. A supplement to the other offers here.” ME3

This seems to be in line with one young interviewee’s thoughts on the subject:

“A gym just isn’t enough anymore, it has become outdated in a way. We have waited for it for so long, and people want something more. They (the youth) want a climbing wall, bowling, café and those type of things. A multipurpose house. “U1

In the discussion of where the potential building should be situated, (s)he draws no conclusions, but simply pinpoints an important aspect, also treated by the former interviewees:

“I guess it depends on what one sees as the most important. The social versus the conditions for exercise.” U1

This discussion of the situation of the gym also illuminates differing views on the reasons for building it. The answer to this question seems relevant to the future work for the youth in Leikanger.

4.9 Youth participation and the child and youth council

In this section the focus will be on youth participation. Who and how many attending the community leisure time activities is one aspect of youth participation. The extent to which the young themselves are a part of decision-making and implementation of these activities is another. In the following, we look at the youth council as a means of meeting the interviewee's goal to increase youth participation. First, some thoughts on the youth's influence in the municipality's decision-making process.

“One has to get better at listening to the children and youth. This does not work well enough in the municipality of Leikanger. One simply has to get better at listening to what they are saying. They should have an appointed representative, and in addition one has to get better at taking children and youth seriously.” ME5

In the following (s)he talks of the municipality's goal for broader participation by the youth group in the community leisure time activities.

“No matter how many services there are, there will always be somebody that drops out. The problem is to include this group and to make them join. One should have approached them and asked what they would like. But this target-group is always hard to reach. There has to be made real effort in this direction, both to find the target-group and to do something with the offer. Then one can ask who should do this. Who is in a position to do it?” ME5

The major concern here is *how* to find something that tempts the young who are not already active in the community's leisure time offer. The next interviewee suggests solutions to challenges above.

“The child and youth council is an important resource in the work for this target-group here in Leikanger. This initiative is very positive, and essential for picking up signals of what goes on among the youth.” ME6

This statement shows an awareness of the need to bring the young into the arena of decision-making in cases that will have an effect on their situation, not only in handling the issues that are seen as important by the traditional decision-makers, but also by being a forum where the youth themselves can conceive an agenda.

The council is a forum where the young can express their thoughts on matters they feel are important. It already plays a role in communication between the youth and the municipality. There is a politician who represents the traditional decision-makers from the local government and the head of the culture section serves as the board’s secretary. In this context their task is mainly to hear the young ones out and to bring their thoughts and wishes further in the municipalities’ and local governments’ structure for decision-making. The interviewee expresses great hopes for the role of the council regarding the municipalities’ efforts for the young in Leikanger. As the quote above indicates, (s)he sees this as a unique forum, with the opportunity for the young to assess the issues concerning the young.

A young interviewee, who is also a member of the child and youth council, shares the goal of broader participation amongst the youth group:

“We want the youth that don’t generally do much in their spare time, to attend. But this is not easy of course. I hope we target the right group. As I said, the ones that do not attend anything do not want to show up.” U1

This interviewee expresses concern related to the issue of attendance at the hearings. (S)he has the impression that there is a specific group of young that does not show up

at these gatherings, and thereby is excluded from further influence in the work for this age group in Leikanger. Her/his impression is that this group consists of individuals that show low or no attendance in organised activities. I have not gathered data to specifically support this assumption, but use it as a point of departure, since other interviewees support her impression.

5. DISCUSSION

In this section the previous findings will be put into a theoretical framework. As a contribution to the existing empirical grounds for youth work in the community, I hope this study will add to the knowledge on youth work and be useful for future efforts in this area.

The collected data gave an overall positive impression of the situation for the youth in Leikanger. The interviewees see Leikanger as more or less a good place to live, with an awareness of the youth as a subject demanding attention and priority. Leikanger has valuable qualities and resources from which the youth may and do benefit.

5.1 Values as foundation for youth work

Many interviewees express a wish to listen to the young and find out how they themselves perceive their own situation. In the following, this is seen in relation to the potential that values have in guiding the youth-work in Leikanger. The importance of an ongoing reflection of one's own values, to understand how they influence methods and goals in youth work, will appear in the discussion.

A sporty image

There is a common focus on the beautiful nature and many sports activities, and a number of interviewees outside the youth-group see this as central variables for the youth in order to thrive. It is however an advantage to be physically active in order to enjoy these assets. When the interviewees quote these factors as important for the well-being of the youth in Leikanger, an implicit expectation of certain interest and skills among the youth come forward. Several interviewees, who appreciate nature and physical activity as important for their own well-being, also see these as

important assets for the youth. This shows how values among the interviewees can be transferred to the youth, and thus plays an important role in the understanding of apt youth-work (Naidoo & Wills, 2000). The interviewees' values from the current example are, without doubt, shared by a number of young in the community. What becomes interesting is *how* the interviewees reached this conclusion, and how it relates to the expressed needs of the youth themselves.

A well-educated image

When the interviewees speak of the high level education in Leikanger, this is often seen as typical of the community. In this way, high socio-economic status becomes a characteristic of the community itself, and not exclusive to the well educated. Most interviewees do not address class-differences in the community, and therefore data is scarce on this variable's direct implications for youth-work. It is possible to claim that many interviewees do not treat the *variation* of class in the community as a relevant variable in relation to youth work. However, the position of Leikanger as a "well educated" community is related to both problems and resources beheld by the total local youth-group. Several interviewees mention stress as a threat to the young's well-being. Parental expectations are seen as especially high in Leikanger, due to high level of education in the community. Pressure to perform at school and to socialise through organised activities is not solely linked to the young of well-educated parents, but is seen as typical for every youth in the community. In this way it is possible to say that a trait from one dominant group can be generalised to characterise the entire community. The reality of the ruling class becomes the ruling reality (K.Marx 1992). This example shows how differences in socio-economic status can vanish as a determinant for the youth's situation in the community.

We have seen how Leikanger and its population can be said to have a “well-educated image”, which also extends to views on the youth and their situation in the community. The data does imply that this perceived homogeneity could influence the understanding of appropriate efforts in youth work. This presupposes an equal situation for the youth, and will naturally dismiss the class-variable in youth work. A change of a potentially unfair distribution of resources will not be a //challenge for the interviewees that see youth attendance in organised activities as random. As we will see in the next section, a few interviewees relate attendance at organised activities to youth resources, and express wishes for increased *equity* in the community’s youth work. This does not mean that these interviewees want the youth to be equal, and take part in the existing leisure time offer. It reflects a health promotion principle where possibilities for well-being should be equally distributed amongst the population (WHO's Department of Health Promotion, 1997: The Jakarta declaration).

5.2 Difference in attendance reflect different youth

A couple of interviewees do treat the differences amongst community members as relevant for youth work. One interviewee relates the difference in resources and needs of the youth, to their socio-economic background. (S)he worries that the municipality has a tendency to listen to the most resourceful youth, expressed through a provision of services where mainly the resourceful attend. Non-participation in leisure time activity becomes an indication of municipality failure to listen to the less resourceful, and to provide offers that meet their interest. This concern implies an awareness of the possible connection between attendance at organised activities and socio-economic background, similar to Jørgensens findings (Jørgensen, 1994). Another interviewee

sees the building of a gym as one more service to the “successful” youth, who are already catered for. From this it seems fair to say that (s)he too sees attendance at organised activities as reflecting more than simply playing football. (S)he is critical of the building of a gym because (s)he sees it as further marginalisation of the unorganised, and as a part of an ongoing favour to the well adapted youth. This treatment of the differences among the youth also leads our attention towards a class perspective. When this interviewee calls for a closer look at *which* youth takes advantage of the different existing offers it opens up the possibility for different categorisations in addition to the attendance-variable.

Reproduction of socio-economic differences in Leikanger?

If we follow this further, it becomes interesting to see how Jørgensen`s findings in Sogndal relate to the interviewees` understanding of the youth and youth work in Leikanger. Jørgensen links socio-economic background to attendance at leisure-time activities. He also sees these activities as means of reproduction to the educated middle class (Jørgensen, 1994). The interviewees in Leikanger do not address the influence of class-differences on youth work in the community directly. This aspect does, however, become visible in some interviewees` treatment of different characteristics attached to organised and unorganised youth. I have not collected data to investigate organised activities as a possible means for social reproduction of classes in Leikanger. The previous findings do, however, suggest this as an interesting topic for further research. In the following I look at organised activity as a possible tool for expressing governing values in the community.

The significance of non-attendance at organised activities

There is variation in the interviewees' views on why some young abstain from participating in the organised activities. Some focus on the young and others on the limited offer. This is an example of how the interviewees' values guide their focus and foundations for youth work. If the municipality's provision for sport activities is seen as sufficient for fulfilling the needs of a more or less homogeneous youth group, it seems likely that the reason for non-attendance is apathy among some adolescents. The challenge will thus be to change this group's attitudes in order to improve their well-being. If, on the other hand, the municipality's efforts are seen as not covering perceived needs, this points to structural limitations outside the youth group. Naidoo and Willis encourage reflection on how priorities and methods of work stem from own values. The importance of this discussion in Leikanger is expressed through the differing *aims* for youth work implied by differing values (Naidoo & Wills, 2000).

5.3 Structures governing youth work

Public and private

The division between public and private is also believed to have an effect on the interviewees' understanding of goals of the municipality. This categorisation is a part of the structural prerequisites that guide the interviewees' understanding of the situation. When the interviewees discuss responsibility for the youth's well-being, there is an exclusive focus on the public sphere - as the municipality's realm. Stress among the youth in the community challenges this dichotomy. And it is possible that the traditional division of responsibility makes it difficult for the municipality to tackle this kind of problem. There are different causes of stress, and these can not be related to determinants in one of the spheres (WHO's Department of Health

Promotion, 1996: Ottawa charter). The role of the municipality and its youth work can in this way be less obvious and clear on this challenge. Stressed youth suggest a holistic approach, with joint efforts between public and private youth spheres: hence co-operation between traditionally divided areas (Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93).

The health promotion recommendations also pose questions as to the rationality of the traditional content of municipality efforts for the youth in the public sphere. The perceived responsibilities of providing achievement-oriented activities make organised activities a natural area for investment of resources. If, on the other hand, expectations to attend these activities, and to perform well, contribute to stress among the young, these efforts can also produce unwanted and negative consequences. The municipality's provision for achievement-oriented activities for the youth, can in itself be a reason for stress. A reorientation of aims for youth work can reduce the number of //stress-inducing situations where the youth have to perform. The municipal provision for alternative social arenas for relaxation and recreation will contradict not only the traditional division of public and private responsibility, but also the content of the categories. Whereas this type of socialisation has been an issue for the private realm, the development of skills has been a municipal goal in the public. The traditional division, containing different and set responsibilities, can be a reason for difficulty in adapting the municipality's effort to the interviewees' perception of the youth's needs (Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93).

Youth as a distinct group

In Leikanger there is a tendency to isolate the youth as a distinct group, with their own needs and problems. The separation of the youth group from the surrounding environment can hinder perception of the environment's effect on the youth's well-being and can make it harder to see different ways working for the youth. If the youth is treated as an integrated part of the community, the application of this //context is likely to increase the understanding of youth problems //given by the very same situation. As part of the community, youth development is also community development (Bracht, 1999). In this line of thinking the municipality's responsibility for the youth will include efforts for community development through youth participation and empowerment. This is a responsibility that goes far beyond the provision of sports activities for the youth group. This line of thinking also opens the way for the transfer of issues learnt from youth work, to the rest of the community. An example of this can be increased awareness of variables that influence youth participation, and its possible implications for an empowered community.

Supply –demand

The governmental guidelines oppose the view where the youth are receivers of services provided by the municipality. Several interviewees are also critical of this line of thinking. One interviewee worries that the municipal efforts will “teach children to sit on their behinds and wait for pennies from heaven”. One member of the youth- council wants the decision-makers to open their eyes to the unused potential among the youth, and to give them a more active role in the community. This is just another example of how so much of the interviewees' thinking in relation to youth work is in line with the health promotion recommendations. It also shows how

traditional categories of understanding make it difficult to adapt efforts to perceived needs and health promotion guidelines.

5.4 Community development and youth work

According to the governmental recommendation, the youth work in Leikanger should be a part of a more wide-ranging community development. Youth empowerment will thus be a part of a larger process towards a more empowered local community. With “Everyone is useful” as the name of the Governmental Green paper, the importance of this point is clearly stated. Above we have looked at some reasons as to why this can be difficult to act on in the context of Leikanger.

Empowerment of the youth through empowerment of the community

The Governmental White and Green papers recommend a strengthening of social ties in the community. This is seen as a means of increasing individual resistance to environmental hazards (for example stress) that contribute to the development of *samsykdommer*. The need for social support and social network encourages the creation of new connections and contexts for socialisation beyond age and achievement.

The organised leisure time activities in Leikanger can, on the other hand, be seen as providing a structure for socialisation that brings certain age groups together and to concentrate on specific activities. The organisations are important in the social structure for the youth in the community, and set premises for youth socialisation. In this way the municipality's efforts can be seen as contributing to the divide between the attendees and non-attendees (Aanderaa & Tveiten, 1994). With few alternative

social arenas, this divide becomes important in the interviewees' perception of the youth's well-being. When it comes to mingling between ages and the need for community development and empowerment, the need for a multipurpose house emerges. This is mentioned by a number of interviewees, in this presentation through a member of the youth council. With the low possibility of socialisation of this kind, the provision for a public house seems like a step in the direction of creating a community structure that opens the way for the strengthening of social ties. Socialisation between ages and the strengthening of social support, leads our attention to both methods and goals in the municipality's efforts in the community (Aanderaa & Tveiten, 1994). The critics of the isolation of different groups in different activities suggest certain change in means and ends in the work for improved well-being in Leikanger. If the concerns of the youth are heard, there are still different ways of acting upon these concerns.. The Governmental Green Paper suggests co-operation between groups of inhabitants (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998). In Leikanger's case, this may propose an aim of including people of different ages and socio-economic background, in addition to the youth who have shown little interest in the existing leisure time offer. A reorientation of goals also seems necessary, in order to achieve this. If youth development is seen as a part of community development, the essential factors for the youth thriving might change in the light of this //context.

5.5 Participation

The voluntary organisations

Community participation in Leikanger is a major asset for youth work, and an important source of assistance in these efforts. The willingness to contribute to increased well-being of the youth is a resource in the community, which the youth

gain from. It is essential in making the community a supportive environment for the empowerment of the youth (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998). This resource can also be an asset in a potential reorientation of these efforts. The voluntary organisations, with their organised leisure time offer, are central arenas for adult participation in youth work. Interviewees in the municipality appreciate their contribution, and see possibilities for maximising the municipality's resources through co-operation and joint efforts. When asked about examples of municipality initiatives for young, the interviewees often referred to the work done by SYRIL and other voluntary organisations. This identification seems reasonable, due to municipal funding and mutual dependence in their efforts for the youth.

The voluntary organisations are also given an essential role for keeping the community alive, through their social function. This further strengthens the impression of awareness and effort on behalf of the municipality administration regarding the importance of encouraging this type of work.

This is in line with the general recommendations from White Paper 37. Municipality contribution to an environment conducive to voluntary initiative and effort is stated as a prerequisite for releasing health-enhancing potential in a community (Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93). Leikanger is seen as community with a good voluntary milieu and many members willing to make a personal contribution for the youth.

Organised activity and the youth's well-being

In relation to the role of organised activity, Jørgensen's reproduction analysis concludes with a view of organisations that I find interesting for assessing the health

promotion effect of community participation in Leikanger. His understanding of their role challenges governmental reasons for recommending the strengthening of voluntary efforts through this organisational structure (Jørgensen, 1994), (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998). If the organisations maintain values that the youth have not participated in shaping, the voluntary effort through these organisations does not necessarily have the planned health promotional effect on the youth group (Jørgensen 1994). In this way the community participation in Leikanger can have different effects on youth empowerment. As contributors to a supportive environment, with efforts displaying sincere care, it has a great potential for the empowerment of the youth. The channelling of these efforts through organised activity does, on the other hand, call for an investigation into the effects of these organisations on the well-being of the youth, to better assess the effect of voluntary input.

Youth participation

When it comes to youth participation in the youth work, the picture somewhat changes. The interviewees from the municipality mainly think of adult effort when they give examples of voluntary work in Leikanger. Limited participation among the youth is a concern, and seen as a future challenge. Increased youth influence in decisions and implementation in youth work is desired by both groups of interviewees. The child and youth council is seen as an important step in the right direction. This is a forum where the youth can speak their minds, and be heard by the decision-makers in the community. Previous achievements have given the council //status as important, in enquiries about issues concerning the young, and how to approach these. This corresponds with the logic in White Paper 37, where inclusion of

the target group is seen as vital for adapting interventions to local needs. The work of the child and youth council can in this way be seen as “a final step” in the governmental efforts to reach out to a population, and work with them and not on them (Governmental White Paper 37, 1992/93).

If the council is seen in relation to Jørgensen’s treatment of controlled activity, this poses some questions as to the councils’ role for the young in the community. With elections for office and organised board meetings, the process of decision-making in the youth council is similar to an existing structure of influence in the “grown-up world”. It also holds the possibility of achieving skills, perceived as valuable in the adult and professional realm. If a refusal to comply with the organisational cultures’ demands is a reason for not attending organised activity, it seems very unlikely that this youth will take an active part in the youth council. Even though this can be a means to influence the youth work in a less “organised” direction, it also represents the organisational culture (Jørgensen 1994). Hence it seems likely that the council is a means for increased youth participation by the ones already in compliance with the structure of the existing leisure time offer. This makes it possible to see the youth council as an expression of increased participation and influence by one group of young people.

5.6 The youth council’s role for youth participation and empowerment

How are the total youth group and its interests represented by the participation //that the youth council represent? The answer to this will have important implications for the effect of increased participation on empowerment of the local youth group. This can serve as an example of how the governmental recommendations for user initiation

and increased youth participation do not necessarily lead to empowerment (Governmental Green Paper 18, 1998), (Jørgensen, 1994).

The youth that do not participate in the organised leisure time activities lack an active role in the youth council, and thus seem poorly represented. This is, however, not equivalent to an absence of “unorganised” influence in the work and efforts done by the council. There are several reasons to believe that the council does its best to represent this group’s interest, and therefore have an empowering effect on the youth population as a whole. The wish for bringing the non-attendees into this arena for decision-making was apparent through the whole interview with interviewees from the council. The “hearings” were organised as informal with convenient settings to minimise potential barriers that would prevent attendance. One of the young interviewees in particular sees the possibility of giving different groups of young a voice, to be heard among the decision-makers, as a major reason for the council’s existence. The fact that (s)he is active in several other organised leisure time activities, could imply a wish to expand municipal efforts further in this direction. The representation of the youth attending organised activity in the council could, in this way, contribute to a strengthening of the existing structure and divide between those who do participate in the existing offer and those who do not. The representatives from the youth council make this seem like an unlikely situation in Leikanger.

It seems fair to say that the youth council is an important step towards a more empowered youth group in Leikanger. The council shows real effort in being a representative voice for the entire youth population. The conducted hearings, open to all the young in Leikanger, is an important example of this. Board members also

represent a youth point of view, through their own experiences. They are also in a good position to grasp different concerns among the youth group, through network and school socialisation.

In addition, the council receives attention from decision-makers in the municipality. Interviewees from both groups see the board as possessing a real influence on the youth work in the community. This is a crucial point when it comes to assessing the council's role for youth empowerment and participation. The findings show how the youth in Leikanger have increased control over factors determining their lives. The municipality's efforts have contributed to a more empowered youth group, through the transmission of power vested in defining the agenda for youth work.

5.7 Stated problems and suggested solutions

Stress due to a busy schedule and high parental expectations are treated as a threat to the young's well-being by both groups of interviewees. External social pressure to perform and attend is seen as problematic for the young in Leikanger. The creation of offers and social arenas that will include the "unorganised" is another main focus in the interviewees' understanding of challenges for the youth work. When interviewees discuss the issue of non-attendees, the absence of their voice in defining important factors in their lives, and accordingly the ability to direct efforts according to this, are central.

A message from the young

One main message from a member of the youth council was the need for alternative social arenas in the work for improved quality of life for the youth. This suggests an

orientation away from continuous and traditional work carried out through organised leisure time activity. The organised activities can be seen as a part of the structure that produces the divide between attendees and non-attendees in the community. These activities are more often than not run by adults, and have an agenda lacking youth input. With Jørgensen`s findings in mind, the refusal to attend can be an expression of “revolt against the demands of discipline” (Jørgensen, 1994). Many of these organised activities are achievement-oriented. This is hardly the sole reason for their existence, but still an aspect when attending them. In relation to stress as a threat to the youth`s well-being this does not seem like the optimal orientation for the main bulk of offers. In this way the interviewees focus on arenas solely for socialisation, seem as an apt alternative for both groups of young. Those who do not attend the organised activities will get leisure time offers with less adult control. At the same time, the attendees will get an alternative arena for socialisation without the traditional achievement orientation, and possibly less stress. This directs attention towards the youth club. It is an arena for socialisation with little achievement orientation and adult interference. It is also the municipal offer that is used by youths attending and not attending the more organised leisure time offer. The previous findings suggest continuous and expanding efforts in this and similar projects.

5.8 Potential for youth participation and empowerment

The lack of empowerment, expressed through a lack of youth participation, is seen as a problem by a number of interviewees. Indirectly, empowerment thus achieves a central role in facing the challenges for youth work in Leikanger. The present situation in Leikanger regarding empowerment must also be understood in relation to the interviewees` wishes for future change. Their views of the challenges for future

youth-work reflect the existing situation for youth empowerment. Interviewees from the SOO see a need for alternative ways to approach the youth and youth work in the community. The fact that they are open to change, and willing to give the youth a more active role in controlling determinants important to their well-being is in itself an important step towards an empowered youth group. Expression of empowerment is thus not only seen as the transformation of this hope into action, but also as the existing potential given by supportive environments.

6. CONCLUSION

All in all one can say that Leikanger provides many assets to its youth population. The child and youth council is a step towards increased youth participation, and can also be seen to reflect awareness among the interviewees regarding the importance of empowering the youth group. The municipality has in many ways succeeded in its goal of providing leisure time activities. The interviewees appreciate the spirit of voluntarism in the community, and the municipality uses this resource in its efforts. The youth gain from this through the provision of activities. The young interviewees appreciate this, and seem aware of the initiatives that are there to contribute to their well-being.

Interviewees in the municipality are motivated to sustain and improve the situation for the youth. Many of the ideas and opinions of the interviewees were very much in line with health promotion principles of participation and empowerment. Even though the term “empowerment” was not used among the interviewees, there was a widespread willingness to let the youth decide and act in matters perceived as important to the youth themselves. Still, it is possible to say that many of the good intentions have not yet been put into practice. The failure to listen to those outside organised leisure time activities is one indication of this. Another is the frustration among both groups of interviewees due to difficulties in using the potential inherent in the young.

Some interesting issues have come up when the interviewees` views on challenges for youth work is seen in relation to the existing initiatives in the community. The differences between these factors must be seen in relation to existing conceptual and physical structures in the community. This can make it difficult to adapt the initiatives

to the problems and needs stated by the interviewees. The youth work that mainly consists of organised leisure time activities can be seen as a result of these structures, but also as reproducing them. The organised leisure time offer is built on an understanding of what municipal responsibility consists of and how it should be executed. Examples of this are the public and private-dichotomy and the municipal provision of services with the youth as receivers. The physical structure of housing, sports facilities and the body of volunteers are assets closely linked to the traditional effort. Their existence also suggests the continuity of work in a traditional fashion.

In the example of stress among the youth, this point becomes especially clear. The interviewees state that stress is a problem for the youth's well-being in Leikanger, and some even see the organised leisure time activities as a reason for this. Still it is a challenge to adapt the traditional understanding of the municipality responsibility according to this social fact. It has long been a goal to keep the youth active, not to make them relax. The youth club stands as an important arena in this regard. The youth visit the club that has a structure open to both youth participation and the possibility of deciding its agenda. This is also the one example of a service in which the youth, not attending the organised leisure time activities, participated.

Youth participation and empowerment as a part of community development challenge the traditional structure of youth work and the view of the youth as a distinct group within the community. Health promotion recommendations question both aims and methods when it calls for the creation of new settings and connections between people to improve their //life conditions. The Green Paper states that "everyone is useful" and interviewees call for increased use of the recourses vested in the young. The feeling of

being needed and useful is in itself a step toward increased well-being. Future youth work in Leikanger is in this way believed to improve youth well-being through the opening for initiatives outside the traditional structure of youth work. The multipurpose house mentioned by some interviewees, seems to be a promising focus for future joint efforts between different groups of inhabitants in Leikanger.

The interviewees' values contribute to their understanding of the situation for the youth in Leikanger. This will naturally also effect the perception of apt municipal effort for the group. The collected information suggests that organised activities have an important role in expressing, shaping and reproducing governing values. This show how a structure made for the purpose of improving well-being also can have alternative functions and effects. There is a strong middle-class influence in the municipality. Given the community's well-educated image it seems likely that the organised leisure time activities contribute to the representation of middle class values. In the work for increased well-being among the youth, the issue of class difference in Leikanger is worth considering. Even though I have not applied the perspective of reproduction of values in relation to class-difference, data suggests that this might be an intervening factor in the pattern of attendance at the organised activities.

The importance of attending organised activities seems natural since so much of the municipality efforts are mediated through these services for the youth. Given the few alternatives, the efforts of the municipality through organised activity can be said to contribute to the possibilities and limitations for youth socialisation in the community. The idea of empowerment among the youth in Leikanger can in this context be seen

as the creation of settings for socialisation that makes the attendance at organised activity less conclusive.

APPENDIX 1-INTERVJUGUIDE

Intervjuguide SOO

1.Bakgrunnsopplysninger

- Kjønn
- Utdanning
- Nåværende stilling

- Kan du beskrive en typisk arbeidsdag?
- Hva er dine hovedoppgaver og ansvarsområder?
- Er det noe du ser som særlig viktig og interessant i arbeidet ditt?
- Har du noen overordna mål med arbeidet ditt?

• **Prioritering av barn og unge**

- Hva er ditt inntrykk av ungdommens situasjon i Leikanger kommune i dag?
 - Kan du peke på noen trender? (forandring ved ungdom eller ting som forandres som påvirker ungdom)
 - Hvordan synes du kommunen prioriterer barn og unge? Hvilke resultater kan en se av denne satsingen?
 - Hvem har etter ditt syn ansvaret for å forbedre barn og unges livsvilkår i bygda?
 - Hvordan jobber du for økt trivsel i fht din målgruppe av barn/unge?
 - Hva mener du er de viktigste faktorene for et godt oppvekstmiljø?
 - Hva mener du vil være de beste og mest effektive tiltakene for å forbedre barn og unges livsvilkår og helse i kommunen?
 - Hva slags muligheter føler du og dere her har til å møte disse utfordringene?
 - Er det noen spesielle prosjekt eller tiltak for barn og unge her i Leikanger som du vil bruke for å belyse tingene vi nettopp har vært inne på?
-
- Kan du si noe om forholdet stat og kommune i denne sammenhengen/ hvordan opplever du den statlige styringen? (økonomi, ekspertise, forståelse av/mulighet for praktisk gjennomføring av pålegg osv.)

- **Samarbeidsrelasjoner**

- Hva synes du om den organisasjonsformen som Leikanger kommune er delt opp i?
- Hvem samarbeider du sammen med gjennom jobben din?
- Hvordan synes du dette fungerer?
- Er det instanser/personer du kunne tenke deg å jobbet mer med?
- På hvilken måte vil du kalle innbyggerene i Leikanger som en ressurs i arbeidet for forbedring av barn og unges oppvekstvilkår? Tror du dette potensialet kunne blitt utnyttet i større grad?
- Er det frivillige organisasjoner her, som gjør en innsats på dette området?
- Ser du noe av deres innsats som relevant for ditt eget profesjonelle arbeid?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive det faktiske vs ideelle forhold mellom lokalsamfunn/brukergruppe og deg/din sektor?

APPENDIX 2-INTERVJUGUIDE

- **Intervjuguide**
- **Ungdom**

- Kjønn
- Alder
- Skolegang

- Hva liker du å gjøre på fritiden? Hva er interessene dine?

- **Barne og ungdomsrådet**
- Hva er barne og ungdomsrådet?
- Hvorfor ville du være med i barne og ungdomsrådet?
- Føler du at dere får gjort noe viktig?
- Syns du dere får være med på å bestemme?

- **Ungdom i Leikanger**
- Hvordan synes du ungdommens situasjon er her i Leikanger?
 - venner
 - fritidstilbud
 - hjemmesituasjon
 - skole

- **Om bygda**
- Er det noe bra med Leikanger som et sted å bo for deg? –Enn ungdom generelt?
- Er det noe dårlig med Leikanger som et sted å bo for deg? –Enn ungdom generelt?
- Hvis du fikk bestemme, var det noe du ville ha gjort annerledes?
- Hvem har ansvaret for ungdommens situasjon på Leikanger?

- Hva må til for at en skal ha det godt?
- Kan du beskrive det perfekte sted å vokse opp?

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